AFFECT IN RELATION

FAMILIES, PLACES, TECHNOLOGIES

Edited by
Birgitt Röttger-Rössler and Jan Slaby

Routledge

Affect in Relation

Decades of research on affect and emotion have brought out the paramount importance of affective processes for human lives.

Affect in Relation brings together perspectives from social science and cultural studies to analyze the formative, subject constituting potentials of affect and emotion. Relational affect is understood not as individual mental states, but as social-relational processes that are both formative and transformative of human subjects.

This volume explores relational affect through a combination of interdisciplinary case studies within four key contexts:

- Part I: "Affective Families" deals with the affective dynamics in transnational families who are scattered across several regions and nations.
- Part II: "Affect and Place" brings together work on affective placemaking in the contexts of migration and in political movements.
- Part III: "Affect at Work" analyzes the affective dimension of contemporary white-collar workplaces.
- Part IV: "Affect and Media" focuses on the role of media in the formation and mobilization of relational affect.

In its transdisciplinary spirit, analytical rigor and focus on timely and salient global matters, *Affect in Relation* consolidates the field of affect studies and opens up new avenues for scholarly and practical co-operation. It will appeal to both students and postdoctoral researchers interested in fields such as anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, media studies and human development.

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Routledge Studies in Affective Societies

Affect in Relation

Families, Places, Technologies

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and Jan Slaby**

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Foreword by the series editors

Affective Societies: introduction to the book series

It is with great pleasure that we publish the first volume of the new Routledge book series on *Affective Societies*. The series will present innovative academic work on the social and cultural dimensions of human affectivity. It aims to shape, consolidate and promote a new understanding of societies as *Affective Societies*, and to account for the fundamental importance of affect and emotion for human coexistence in the mobile and networked worlds of the 21st century. As the book series' editors, we want to briefly outline the content and scope of the series and explain its rationale and institutional background.

Affectivity is a central dimension of human sociality. Social and political life is increasingly understood, represented and discursively negotiated in the registers of affect and emotion. Political populism, the commercialization of human emotion or the assessment of welfare in terms of subjective well-being are but some examples of this development. Although many academic disciplines have attended to affective phenomena and investigated, for instance, their ontological status, cultural construction, social functions or interactions with psychological reasoning, the implications of affectivity for human societies at large have not been thoroughly analyzed. In the social sciences, affect and emotion have long been associated with life in close-knit communities, whereas modern societies have been portrayed as "affect neutral," even at times as an epitome of processes of rationalization and modernization. This understanding could hardly be more misleading as it neglects the involvement of affect and emotion on all levels of social, political, institutional and cultural lives.

This new book series is curated by leading members of the Collaborative Research Center *Affective Societies* at Freie Universität Berlin. Within this research center – funded since 2015 by the German Research Council (DFG) – 16 collaborating projects study the social and political dimensions of affect and emotion from the joint perspectives of 11 disciplines, ranging across social and cultural anthropology, sociology, theatre and performance studies, literature, communication, media and film studies, art history and philosophy. The initiative starts from the assumption of a deep and plural involvement of affect and emotion in human social life,

from the micro-level of daily routines and social interactions up to the macro-level of socio-political systems and their different representations within contemporary societies across the globe. The projects investigate how affect and emotion contribute to the formation of social collectives such as communities, groups and social movements; they analyze how affectivity is implicated in producing feelings of belonging and solidarity, of attachment to and identification with groups, social classes, nations or institutions of civil society. Moreover, affect and emotion are approached as crucial factors in social and political conflicts, providing insights into the antagonistic dimension of human coexistence, for example through their involvement in processes of exclusion, discrimination or disintegration within societies.

After a phase of relative predominance of the biological and psychological disciplines in the study of affect, in recent years there have been inventive approaches in the arts and humanities, the social sciences and in cultural and media studies. These lines of work – often subsumed under the terms "affect studies" or "turn to affect" – continue older approaches to social and cultural inquiry in a new guise, expanding them to cover affective and emotional phenomena, thereby providing new directions to previous strands of interdisciplinary affect and emotion research. With its specific thematic focus and its mix of disciplines, our Berlin-based Collaborative Research Center is in a good position to tie in with previous work in affect studies and contribute to its conceptual and methodological consolidation.

As the directors of this new initiative, we experience both the fascination and the difficulties of transdisciplinary affect and emotion research on a daily basis. An ambitious transdisciplinary endeavor of this kind faces complex challenges. One such challenge is the development of an inclusive conceptual repertoire that is firmly anchored in its subject matter, while being versatile and open enough to apply across a broad range of disciplines and fields of study. Another challenge is the development of methods and methodologies that can get at subtle affective dynamics in complex social scenes and settings. These tasks inform our approach in selecting work to be published in the series. As our series' first volume, the present collection gives an insight into the main theoretical claim of our initiative, namely, that affect and emotion are *relational phenomena* unfolding in interaction and are not reducible to individual mental states or corporeal comportment. Even if viewed as a "bodily capacity" in a broad sense, affect can only be understood as a relational dynamic between actors and the complex socio-material environments in which they are embedded. As a leading assumption, the thesis of *affective relationality* provides a theoretical lens and empirical heuristic with which to approach phenomena of interest to our initiative. The present volume – *Affect in Relation: Families, Places, Technologies* – contains work that concretizes, elaborates and showcases several key dimensions of this approach in the

domains of transnational family life, place-making and belonging, white-collar work environments and contemporary media practices. It combines empirical case studies with conceptual and theoretical work so as to sharpen and concretize the guiding orientation, while exploring the intersection of several contributing disciplines and fields of study.

In subsequent volumes, this overall perspective will be expanded and enriched in various directions. Several planned volumes will deal with specific dimensions of contemporary lifeworlds in which affect and emotion play important roles. Among the topics to be covered will be: the affective dynamics of religious practices in globalized, multi-religious and secular societies; recent transformations and fragmentations of the public sphere, especially in the perspective of the affective resonances of language and discourse; work on affective witnessing; new imaging practices and the global circulation of image testimonies; and studies on the affective and emotional dimensions of migration. In addition to themed collections that will bring together leading scholars and researchers working on specific dimensions of *Affective Societies*, we also plan a volume on the central concepts within affect research (*Affective Societies: Key Concepts*) and a volume devoted to innovative cross- and transdisciplinary methods and analytical tools developed within our Collaborative Research Center (*Analyzing Affective Societies: Methods and Methodologies*).

A friendly reviewer has recently referred to our research initiative as the "Berlin School" of affect studies. We take this not only as a compliment but also as an obligation, namely, to indeed provide a home for a brand of scholarship that continues the turn to affect with a renewed focus on socio-political dynamics and frictions, striving for methodological and theoretical rigor while cultivating a sense for the plurality and stylistic creativity that has made the field of affect studies simultaneously so attractive and so challenging. This new Routledge book series on *Affective Societies* aspires to showcase the range, dynamics and plurality of a broad spectrum of social and cultural affect research, while at the same time promoting further conceptual, theoretical and methodological development of transdisciplinary affect and emotion research. While receptive to the inventive, experimental, open-textured and sometimes even anti-academic strands of the turn to affect, we will attempt to strike a balance between the more freestyle and the more scholarly strands of this movement. This includes careful engagement with the various critical responses to affect studies, which the introduction to the present volume will start to do.

Overall, our book series will not present a homogenous outlook but aspires to be an arena for contestation and lively discussion on the grounds of a pluralistic orientation. Openness towards difference does not exclude analytical rigor. An inventive response to global developments is not opposed to established forms of scholarship grounded in disciplinary traditions. A knack for novelty and transformation does not rule out an awareness and appreciation of previous strands of scholarship. Within our

interdisciplinary research center we cultivate an ethos of mutual respect: we always attend to the perspectives, approaches and models of the involved disciplines with a readiness to discover potentials and synergies. Likewise, we invite our readers to look at this work with a generous eye and to read the individual contributions more for their potential and fresh ideas than for their distinction from established lines of research. We hope that the new book series will find a broad readership and inspire scholars to further expand and develop one of the most fascinating areas of academic work at the present juncture.

Berlin, December 2017
Birgitt Röttger-Rössler
Doris Kolesch

Acknowledgments

1 Introduction

Affect in relation

Jan Slaby and Birgitt Röttger-Rössler

The promise of affect

Since the mid-1990s, the study of affect has emerged as a key area of transdisciplinary research and scholarship across the humanities, the social sciences and cultural studies. Early on in this movement, much was made of imports from neuroscience, psychological research, evolutionary anthropology and other behavioral disciplines, so that some critics even conflated the entire movement of the "turn to affect" with an attempted biologization of the humanities and cultural studies (Papoulias and Callard 2010; Leys 2011). However, in recent years the excitement about bio-scientific leanings has noticeably waned within cultural inquiry. Today, affect studies are known more for their careful probing into subtle layers of human experience, for their work on modes of belonging and forms of attachment, or on the dynamics of everyday practices and on the affective workings of old and new media. Likewise, scholars of affect investigate novel forms of governance, developments in politics such as the recent surge of right-wing populism and the maintenance of oppressive structures through the workings of apparatuses, arrangements or institutional settings. As a generic domain of inquiry, the field of affect studies has turned out to be more complex, more dynamic and more ambivalent than its early critics had assumed. No definition or articulation has exhausted the range of affective phenomena covered by the turn to affect. No single discipline or cluster of disciplines – for instance, the psy-complex or the social sciences – can lay claim to monopolizing the affective realm.

There is one particular strand of inquiry – predominantly in cultural studies, media theory and anthropology – that does rally around what we call here the "promise" of affect. This is the conviction that affect epitomizes a dimension of meaning in human affairs that is not a matter of established discourse, of stable identities, institutions, codified cultural norms or categories, but is rather something that is lived, from moment to moment, at a level of sensuous bodily reality beyond codification, consolidation or "capture". Affect, from this perspective, incessantly transgresses individual perspectives and frames of reference (notably the perspective

of the "autonomous subject" of the liberalist tradition). Affect is what unfolds "in-between" – in between interacting agents, in between actors and elements in communal everyday practices, within processes of transmission, be they medial, symbolic or aural, and in the involvement, absorption or immersion when the boundaries of the self become porous (or when they have not even been properly drawn to begin with). While it is impossible to grasp this sensuous immediacy directly, proponents of affect studies undertake it to cultivate a sensitivity for these fleeting moments, these shimmers, these stirrings of the nascent, the not-yet formed, the pre-reflective, the nuanced presences prior to reflection and articulation (cf. Gregg and Seigworth 2010). Such a sensitivity deviates from established methodological canons and, occasionally, from the strictures of theory. Practitioners of this strand of affect studies are accordingly inclined to explore poetic and personal styles, toy with allegiances to the arts, experiment with unusual modes of articulation and presentation (e.g., Stewart 2007; Cvetkovitch 2012). This has led some critics to question the intellectual potency and scholarly credentials of affect studies (Brinkema 2014; Leys 2011; Lutz 2017; Martin 2013; Wetherell 2012) and its political feasibility (Hemmings 2005). Others, however, see in it a much-needed response to the current conjuncture and a timely continuation, under different historical and political conditions, of earlier critical projects of cultural articulation (such as those of Walter Benjamin, Roland Barthes, Henri Lefebvre, Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall among others; cf. Gregg 2006).[1] Moreover, powerful approaches to affect within feminism and critical race theory (e.g., Ahmed 2010; Berlant 2012; Berg and Ramos-Zayas 2015; Butler 2009; Ngai 2005) aptly illustrate the political potency and critical impact of the turn to affect. While problematic issues remain and the debate is very much ongoing (e.g., Palmer 2017), the outlook for affect studies is better – more plural, more critically vigorous, more versatile in style and range – than most of its critics assume.

Our aim in compiling the present volume is to stay tuned to this inventive and engaged strand of affect studies while working towards a more systematic and theoretically coherent perspective on affect. We are convinced that the motivating insights of the "turn to affect" can be preserved and developed further in the form of a conceptually and methodologically more elaborated perspective. In particular, our focus is on the role "relational affect" plays in processes of subject formation. This is what our book's title, *Affect in Relation*, is driving at. This volume brings together perspectives from social science and cultural studies in order to analyze the formative, subject constituting potentials of affect. We understand affect not as processes "within" a person, but as social-relational dynamics unfolding in situated practices and social interaction. Affect is *formative* of human subjects as it binds them into shared environmental (e.g., social, material and technological) constellations, which in turn shape modalities of agency, habit and self-understanding. Such situated

affective comportments coalesce into characteristic subject positions which are addressed, policed, nudged and reckoned with as part of the practices of paramount institutions and social domains. In turn, relational affect, while it is a key formative and consolidating factor for both individuals and collectives, might provide crucial hints to processes of transformation, as affective stirrings may signal changes in institutional routines, in styles of interaction, in habits and practices, and thus indicate the dynamic transition from one given social and cultural formation to another. Relational affect, as we understand it here, is both *formative of* and *transformative for* individual subjects and for the practices, institutions, life worlds and social collectives they are engaged with and enmeshed in.

The volume aims to sharpen a transdisciplinary and cross-methodological understanding of affective relationality. It combines empirical case studies and theoretical contributions from social and cultural anthropology, sociology, cultural geography, culture and media studies and related fields. Expert authors from these disciplines have joined forces to articulate the conceptual framework of affect studies and showcase the field's potential for exemplary domains, opening up avenues for co-operation. In this introduction, we hint at several theoretical developments that led to our understanding of relational affect and its role in subject formation, and we sketch a number of working concepts that helped to consolidate our transdisciplinary perspective. We then introduce the four thematic sections of the book, the separate chapters and the various interrelations.

Affect in relation: idea and theoretical background

The motivating idea of this volume is that affect is best understood as dynamic, intensive relations that unfold between human actors, in and with complex environmental settings, material formations, (urban) landscapes and designed spaces, various artifacts, technologies and media. This marks a significant break from the individualist approaches that are predominant, for example, in the psy-disciplines, while strengthening the lines of thought that view the human psyche less in individual and more in social, relational and political terms. In this section, we contextualize our theoretical starting point by relating it to a number of accounts that inform it. In recent years, several lines of work on affect and emotions have converged on a situated, dynamic and interactive view of affect critical of individualism, mentalism and biological reductionism. We chart some of these proposals in the present section, before we sketch several working concepts that provide a clearer grasp of the main thrust of our perspective.

A first important point of contact between our working understanding of relational affect and the existing literature lies within recent accounts of situated, social-relational, enactive, embedded or even "extended" accounts of affectivity. A good place to start is the influential text

"Emotions in the Wild" by the philosophers Paul E Griffiths and Andrea Scarantino (2009). In programmatic fashion, Griffiths and Scarantino align emotion theory with work on "situated cognition," disconnecting from assumptions of psychological internalism similar to that of other authors in the area of cognition (e.g., Edwin Hutchins' seminal "Cognition in the Wild" [1995]). Instead of psychic interiority and "inner machinery," Griffiths and Scarantino stress social relationality, skillful engagement with the world, and the dynamic coupling of emoting organism and environment, linking their proposal with work in social psychology that emphasizes similar features (e.g., Parkinson, Fischer, and Manstead 2005). We share the interdisciplinary spirit of this paper and of the debates it ignited. However, we want to expand the scope of these perspectives further by taking up ideas and concepts from cultural studies and related disciplines in the humanities.

Additional important groundwork comes from the intersection of phenomenology and cognitive science, where there is a focus on the enactive embeddedness of sense-making organisms in their environment (Thompson and Stapleton 2009; Froese and Fuchs 2012), and on embodied interaction and corporeal "interaffectivity" (Fuchs and Koch 2014). These lines of work have informed efforts to radicalize the philosophical understanding of situated affectivity into accounts of "extended emotions," where the token emotional state is said to *constitutively* involve parts of the emoter's environment (Slaby 2014; Stephan, Wilutzky, and Walter 2014; Krueger and Szanto 2016). So far, however, not much exchange has taken place between this work and the highly productive scholarship on affect within cultural studies.

To get a sense of how these philosophical approaches might resonate with work belonging to the "turn to affect," some clarification is called-for on the understanding of affect and on affective relationality in these strands of scholarship – usually from cultural studies and related fields. Most of these approaches assume a version of a dynamic, non-categorical and relational understanding of affect that aligns with the philosophical tradition of Baruch de Spinoza, although these links are not often developed in detail.[2] In the Spinozist perspective, affect is construed as dynamic, relational and thus primarily "transpersonal" – as opposed to something that goes on in the interior of an individual subject. In Spinoza's monistic and naturalistic metaphysics, affect is viewed as *relations of affecting and being affected* between co-evolving bodies in the immanence of the one "substance" (or "nature"). On this understanding, affect is what unfolds between interacting bodies whose potentialities and tendencies are thereby continuously modulated in reciprocal interplay. In the most radical construal this means that affective relations are ontologically prior to the individuated actors and actants – they are, as feminist theorist Karen Barad puts it in a different context, "relations without pre-existing relata" (Barad 2007). While this is a contested formulation, the point we take

from it is an emphasis on formative processes and on the conditions – both enabling and obstructing – of subject constitution.

With this orientation, the Spinoza-inspired perspective on affect is not too far from what philosophy theorizes under the label of "enactivism," where relational processes of organism-environment coupling are taken as continuously shaping and reshaping – "enact" – the boundaries between an organism and its life-sustaining ambient. Dynamic relations take precedence over individual corporeal and mental states (cf. Di Paolo 2009; Colombetti and Thompson 2008; Colombetti and Krueger 2015). Likewise, in this perspective, processes of formation and development are prioritized over their "products," such as comparatively stable affective states or affective dispositions.[3] Problematically though, these discourses and theories have been conducted so far in a mostly depoliticized manner, so that issues such as the differential allocation of resources, processes of social marginalization, structural violence and political strategies of precarization have not received enough attention in relation to the theoretical terms of enactivism (an exception is Protevi 2009; 2013; see also Slaby 2016).

An understanding of affect as transindividual processes not attributable to individual bearers also implies that affect cannot be equated with emotion. Yet there is a place for emotion within this perspective, namely as recurring sequences of affective interaction that have come to be socially and culturally coded, that is, categorized, narrativized (e.g., in terms of "paradigm scenarios," cf. De Sousa 1987) and subjected to normative regulation with regard to agreed-upon "feeling rules" (cf. Hochschild 1979) in an "emotional community" (Rosenwein 2002) or as part of "emotional regimes" (Reddy 2001), displaying varying "emotional styles" (Gammerl 2012). Thus, contrary to some authors' views – such as Massumi (1995, 2002) – there is no sharp rift between affect and emotion. In effect, just like many anthropologists and sociologists who deal with affective and emotional phenomena, many proponents of cultural affect studies adopt what amounts to a *developmental constructivist approach* that takes relational affective dynamics to be primary, and emotion – including "subjects" of emotion – to be derivative.[4] Yet once emotional dispositions or emotion repertoires have consolidated and become culturally codified, they have an important role in how communal and individual affectivity subsequently play out. Researchers of affect are thus well-advised to have both "affect" and "emotion" in their conceptual repertoire. As this issue is of some importance and is a continuous source of confusion, it is worth elaborating on our take on the putative "affect-emotion gap".

A strong claim for why not to lose sight of emotions when dealing with affect has recently been put forward by social anthropologists. Some scholars, such as Lutz (2017) and Martin (2013), take issue with the sometimes overly sharp distinction between affect – as preconscious, bodily felt intensities – and emotions – as those feelings that are fixed through

various discursive practices. This critique partly echoes objections made by Leys (2011), Wetherell (2012) and other critics of the cultural "turn to affect" – objections directed mostly against Brian Massumi and his followers. Lutz and Martin argue that a sharp affect/emotion dichotomy holds strong traces of the old opposition between body and mind.[5] Both opine that affect is conceptualized by many theorists as "something that belongs to an interior life fundamentally beyond social articulation" (Lutz 2017, p. 187), and emphasize that affect might be defined as presubjective and asocial but by no means as a *presocial* intensity; that it is – like emotion – embedded within and shaped by social processes (Martin 2013, p. 156). However, social anthropologists agree that there is a gap between the signifying order (emotion codes, convention, meaning) and the affective order (non-signifying, autonomic processes taking place beyond the levels of consciousness and meaning; cf. Martin 2013, p. 155; White 2017, p. 177). This epistemological gap "between how bodies feel and how subjects make sense of how they feel" (White 2017, p. 177) is especially demanding when analyzing the entanglement of emotion and affect within particular environments and social processes. A theoretically challenging aspect concerns the question of how far this "affect-emotion gap" encompasses a transformative potential, which might be at the interstices or fault lines between emotion and affect that subjects and collectives gain the power (motivation) to refigure their life or life worlds. However, on the flip side, the "affect-emotion gap" is – as White (ibid., p. 176f.) emphasizes – not only appealing to affect theorists but also to those seeking to capitalize on its generative power, for example, technological companies that create emotional robots, such as the Japanese giant Soft-Banks, or that develop artificial intelligence programs specialized in reading facial expressions (e.g., Affectiva); or other affect-sensitive technologies, like those numerous apps that help individuals to perceive and label their feelings (e.g., GFK App Empathy) and thus implement new regimes of technological knowledge on how bodies might feel and react. These emerging technologies of affect and emotion constitute challenging new sites for researchers on affect. Accordingly, several contributions to this volume critically engage with novel technological apparatuses and set-ups that specifically target user affectivity.

In light of this, we consider the distinction between affect and emotion as analytically helpful. Where the focus is on emotion, the interest lies with consolidated patterns of felt forms of relatedness, viewed from the perspective of persons or collectives and their formulated self-understanding. Where the focus is on affect, the main thrust is towards subtle forms of relationality and processes of becoming; dynamics that are formative of subjects and their emotional orientations, but that might initially escape reflective awareness on the part of those involved. Affect, as heuristically *distinguished* but not sharply *separated* from emotion, is thus a lens to render visible such ongoing relational processes and the surprising turns

they might take. Ultimately though, these two conceptual perspectives work best in concert.

Central concepts

Part of the promise – and the challenge – of the turn to affect has been its rigorously transdisciplinary orientation. It is our conviction that well-made and precisely elucidated *concepts* are required as connectors between different academic and scientific fields, engendering collaboration, enabling the transfer of insights, linking different disciplinary histories and theoretical outlooks, while inspiring debate and contestation. Working concepts help bridge theory and methodology as they inform collaborative viewpoints on complex subject matters in the manner of *sensitizing concepts* (see Bowen 2006), while also showing a capacity for cross-fertilization between different fields and domains of study (*traveling concepts* – see Bal 2002). Such concepts need to be sufficiently concrete but have to remain open-textured enough to allow domain-specific elaboration. In this section we sketch the contours of several such concepts that will appear in the following chapters, and that all contribute to the guiding idea of "affect in relation". If only in outline, the following provides a glimpse of an evolving field of interrelated notions, a larger set of working concepts that has begun to take shape in the day-to-day research within the Berlin-based Collaborative Research Center *Affective Societies* (see Foreword to this volume). The multi-disciplinary team of researchers involved in this initiative collaborates to further consolidate, expand and elaborate this conceptual tableau – work that will be reflected in subsequent volumes of this new Routledge book series (see the forthcoming volume entitled *Affective Societies: Key Concepts*, edited by Slaby and von Scheve).

The first notable concept in this regard is that of *relationality* itself. Here, the provisional, domain-general and theory-neutral character of a working concept is most obvious. "Relationality" indicates an analytical perspective that can be deployed in various fields and for different empirical and theoretical purposes. Thus, no particular type of relation is prioritized. The point is that affective phenomena are approached with a view to their embeddedness within ongoing complex situations in which various actors, objects, spaces, artifacts, technologies and modes of interaction coalesce, all contributing to the particular character of the affective process in question. Thus, researchers might focus on interactive dynamics between persons, from basic forms of preconscious embodied co-ordination, synchrony and affect attunement up to fully self-conscious forms of practical engagement. However, person-to-person relationality is inextricable from further layers of embeddedness, from formative relations to the environment ranging from the immediate socio-material surroundings of interacting agents, to broader discursive, medial or institutional arrangements of various kinds.[6] As a methodological orientation,

generic relationality works as a template for concept formation, as it leads scholars and researchers to construct relational conceptions of phenomena that were previously thought of as separate entities and individual capacities. Other prominent examples of this, outside the realm of affect, are relational conceptions of autonomy in feminist theory (Mackenzie and Stoljar 2000), relational construals of knowledge in social epistemology (Code 1991; Fricker 2007), relational approaches to social actors in sociology and economics (Granovetter 1985) and relational accounts of subject formation in poststructuralist thought (Butler 1997), to name just a few salient instances.

A key fault line between differing approaches to affect has been whether to prioritize interpersonal relatedness (articulated, for instance, in terms of interactive practices among human actors), or whether to focus on the dynamic material dimensions of relatedness, as highlighted in post-human, new materialist approaches (e.g., Bennett 2010; Coole and Frost 2010). In our view, it is crucial not only to keep both strands in play but also to understand them in their interrelatedness. To do this, we suggest that concepts from practice theory are combined with notions articulating a dynamic materialist ontology. This is why contributions to this volume combine notions such as "affective practice" and the related "domain" or "domain of practice" from practice theory (see e.g., Reddy 2001; Reckwitz 2012; Scheer 2012; Wetherell 2012), with notions such as *agencement* or *arrangement* – concepts whose purpose it is to illuminate close-knit entanglements of human and non-human elements, and to allow a focus on dynamic and agentive phenomena partially beyond the scope of human intentional agency and self-understanding.

The concept of an *affective practice* has gained particular purchase in recent scholarship, and is central to several chapters in this collection. Practices are social, situated and normative, not reducible to the contributing intentional comportment of individual actors viewed in isolation (cf. Rouse 2006). Accordingly, a notion of affective practice does justice to the distributed, socio-materially situated character of relational affect, while it keeps in play individual agency and skillful engagement. It allows us to "follow the actors" while assuming that more is going on than what is summoned, brought about or reflected upon by the actors alone (cf. Wetherell 2012, pp. 4, 12). A praxeological perspective strikes a balance between the assumption of order and the expectation of change or transformation – "affect does display strong pushes for pattern as well as signaling trouble and disturbance in existing patterns" (ibid., p. 13). An important dimension of elaboration lies in the direction of affective place-making or, more generally, the active and passive *sedimentation* of affective practices into relatively permanent formations inherent to particular sites and locales (cf. Anderson 2014; Massey 2005; Reckwitz 2012). To approach such affectively shaped and imbued settings, we employ the open-textured notion of a "domain of practice". This concept refers broadly to those socio-spatial

settings that have reached a certain level of stability and permanence due to repeated and ongoing affective performances and interactions. "Domain of practice" is required as an initial identifier of fields of interest for research but stands in need of concretization in the form of site-specific elaboration.

As a bridge in the other direction, that is, from dynamic materialist ontologies to the realm of human practice and interaction, we have found the concept of an *affective arrangement* particularly useful – not least because it can help achieve the kind of local specificity that the concept of a "domain of practice" calls for (see Slaby, Mühlhoff and Wüschner 2017). Inspired by Deleuze's and Guattari's notions of *agencement*, by Foucault's *dispositive of power* and by elaborations of their ideas within *apparatus theory*, *actor-network* approaches and *assemblage theory* (Latour 2005; DeLanda 2006; Buchanan 2015), the concept of "affective arrangement" helps scholars carve out heterogenous ensembles of diverse materials that are directly involved in enabling and sustaining a local tangle of affective relations. An affective arrangement is a dynamic formation comprising persons, things, artifacts, spaces, discourse, behaviors and expressions in a characteristic "intensive" mode of composition, demarcated from its surroundings by shifting thresholds of intensity (cf. Deleuze and Guattari 1986; 1987; Foucault 1980; 1995). This provides a welcome concretization of affective relationality, as the assumption is that relational affect always unfolds locally as part of specific dynamic meshworks that knit together human and non-human elements. In such dynamic formations, a given instance of relational affect is patterned, channeled and modulated in recurrent and repeatable ways. In each case, an affective arrangement brings mul-tiple actors into a co-ordinated dynamic conjunction within a local setting, and these actors' mutual affecting and being-affected – as kindled, sus-tained and mediated by the elements and conditions at hand – is the central dimension of the arrangement. The analytical perspective opened up by this notion can help researchers come to terms with an ongoing affective relationality in complex and initially opaque domains, in par-ticular where actors with different positions, roles, histories, dispositions or habits regularly engage and interact against a background of specific formative elements (such as technological, architectural or institutional arrangements of various kinds). From the perspective of this volume, affec-tive arrangements are seen as *intensive milieus* (Angerer 2017) of subject formation and as key factors in the subsequent stabilization – and in the variation and transformation – of subject positions and their paramount patterns of affecting and being affected. Affective arrangements always emerge in particular domains of practice, on the one hand they are shaped by the social structures, histories and materialities of the given domains and, on the other hand, they shape these structures themselves. Examples discussed in this volume are: the scenes and settings of religious routines (Chapter 5); political mass events on public squares, such as the

Tahrir Square protests in Cairo in 2011 (Chapter 6); the increasingly informal, technologically framed work environments of "network corporatism," with their emphasis on teamwork, communication and connectedness (Chapter 8); co-working spaces with their carefully crafted affective atmospheres and styles of interaction (Chapter 9); and the novel forms of man-machine hybrids in the domain of affective computing (Chapter 12). Also, the affective forms of *kin work*, that is, the practices applied by members of transnational families to perform "intimacy at a distance" that take place in, and create particular kinds of, affective arrangements (Chapter 2).

The daily lives of people who are embedded (like most migrants) in "transnational social fields" (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Glick Schiller 2005), that is, in networks of interpersonal connections stretching across many states, are framed by diverse legal, political and social institutions predominant in the nation-states which their networks transcend. These persons thus experience in their daily lives "multiple loci and layers of power and are shaped by them, but can also act back upon them" (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004, p. 1013). Incessant flows of information, resources, objects, ideas and services circulate through the sets of multilayered and multi-sited interlocking networks of social relationships that make up transnational social fields. These flows – which are inextricable from communication technologies and media practices – involve people in different affective arrangements, both prompting and giving shape to specific affective interactions and practices. A particularly important dimension within transnational social fields are family relations. The contributions to the first thematic part of this volume deal with the different forms of *kin work* (Di Leonardo 1987), or "doing family" in transnational family constellations. They focus on the affective practices migrants engage in so as to come to terms with the complex challenges of living in dispersed family constellations. The practices and experiences connected with transnational life worlds deeply impact the processes of subjectivation, they influence how persons position themselves in their environments, how they mold their social relations, and how they articulate and sentimentalize their belonging.

This perspective on the affective practices of kin work in transnational social fields gives shape to the multi-dimensional understanding of affective subject formation discussed in this volume. The focus on relational affect allows a fine-grained analysis of the processes and activities that result in socially prevalent subject positions, it allows us to focus on both non-discursive and discursive elements, and it widens the scope of the paramount domain of subject constitution from well-researched settings (such as the nuclear family typical of Western middle classes) to a broader range of emerging social arrangements – for example digitized workplaces, online communities, users of novel technologies, or the new political collectives emerging "from below". Highlighting relational affect in

the study of subjectivation enables researchers to identify operations of power that might otherwise go unnoticed or remain under-theorized, such as the subtle – or not so subtle – forms of oppression operative, for instance, in everyday social situations or in the procedures of public institutions (cf. Ahmed 2007; Berg and Ramos-Zayas 2015). Affectively shaped subject positions raise questions of social legibility, of tacit preconditions for the allocation of recognition and esteem, and provide a lens on the unifying or divisive factors within or between communities.

Thematic parts

Affective families

Part I of this volume deals with the affective dynamics unfolding within transnational families. In a highly mobile contemporary world family constellations are marked by tremendous economic, social and political transformations. A high percentage of families around the globe are scattered throughout different regions and nations. Families with members living in two, three or even more countries are in no way unusual. They all face the challenge of keeping in touch, to stay related and to care for each other across long distances. Very few of these transnational families can afford to meet on a regular basis; most have not seen each other for years, or even decades, due to poor financial conditions and/or legal restrictions. But, besides geographical distances, transnational families have to come to terms with manifold rearrangements in their relationships that are linked to the living conditions, social structures and normative orders prevailing in the countries in which they dwell.

The contributors to this theme, who are all anthropologists, share the assumptions that being embedded in transnational kin relations affords particular forms of affective *kin work* or kin practices, which they analyze from two different vantage points. The first perspective concerns *kin work across long distances*: how do dispersed family members manage to stay related? By what mediatized *affective practices* do they create long-distance intimacies? How do they care for each other across space and time? The last aspect relates not only to long family separations but also to the reshaping of intergenerational relations due to aging. The second perspective deals with kin relations and *kin work beyond long distances;* it focuses on the affective dynamics unfolding within immigrant families living in diasporic contexts. Key issues concern the reshaping or transformation of basic kin relations – for example, parent–child relations – through the particular migration regimes, social structures, values and family patterns that prevail in the "country of immigration." How do family members negotiate their roles and contesting ideas about partnership, family responsibilities, parent–child relations and forms of parenting? What intergenerational conflicts and affective tensions result from the

reconfiguration of family roles and clashing expectations and orientations? How do family members handle such dissonances?

The first contribution comes from Maruška Svašek, "Ageing kin, proximity and distance: translocal relatedness as affective practice and movement," who explores the affective practices by which dispersed family members create – or fail to – a kind of "long-distance intimacy." Svašek focuses on the role of communication technologies in transnational kin relations, particularly on the impact of different technological devices on long-distance care dynamics. Special attention is paid to the changing relations of dependency due to age progression, that is to the changing care needs of aging kin and the ways these are dealt with in migrant families. Svašek's contribution builds on empirical research conducted in Northern Ireland on the relationships between adult children and their parents in "transmigrant" families.[7] Her sample includes cases from differing transnational social fields, not only families who are scattered throughout India, Northern Ireland and the USA, or throughout Northern Ireland and Iran, but also families who are only separated by the Irish sea. Her case studies illustrate that many of the challenges faced by transmigrant families are independent of their social and cultural backgrounds but are rooted in their geographical separation and produce quite similar mediatized affective kin practices in order to stay related and lead a translocal family life. Svašek's contribution raises the theoretically important question of how far the technologically mediatized interactions that shape the life of transnational families generate similar affective dynamics, which transcend social and cultural differences between migrants and merge them into "affective communities."

The search for a better future through education is one focal motive for human mobility. Families who can afford it send their offspring abroad to study at internationally acknowledged universities; often parents work extremely hard, or migrate themselves, to earn the money needed to enhance the education of their children. Schools, especially universities, are sites of much hope, aspiration and expectation. The contribution by Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, "*Education sentimentale* in migrant students' university trajectories: family, and other significant relations," follows the educational trajectories of individual university students with a "migration background" in Germany. Special attention is paid to circumstances where academic education becomes a means of social mobility, that is to the interplay of spatial and social mobilities. Based on biographical interviews with young students, who – as in the case of Svašek's study – are from heterogenous socio-cultural backgrounds, she analyzes how they perceive their affective relations with kin, friends and peers, and argues that at this transitional stage of life kinship relations need to be considered against the backdrop of other forms of affective relatedness. The affective dynamics of kin relations are not comprehensible without considering the other social realms in which a person is embedded. The central social sites

in this case study are the complex space of the university, parental homes and transnational family configurations, and the peer constellations within and outside academia. Pfaff-Czarnecka conceives studying as a period of transition between late adolescence and early adulthood, a period of upmost importance for subject formation. She argues that studying affords – often hard – affective "boundary work"; in order to fit in the academic realm university students have not only to develop new relationships (with peers and academic teachers), to learn new interaction styles and modes of behavior, but also to negotiate and redefine older social bonds like their familial relations. (A challenge that most of the students in her sample have to meet is coming to terms with high parental expectations, which often go hand in hand with emotional care and economic support and thus form quite rigid "regimes of belonging".) In her fine-grained analysis Pfaff-Czarnecka depicts that the affective self-formation, the *education sentimentale*, of the students takes place during their navigation through the different social sites and domains of practice that make up their transnational life worlds.

The chapter from Birgitt Röttger-Rössler and Anh Thu Anne Lam, "Germans with parents from Vietnam: the affective dimensions of parent–child relations in Vietnamese Berlin," also deals with family relations within transnational constellations, but unlike the two other chapters in this part it focuses on one particular transnational social field, namely Vietnamese Berlin. It addresses the challenges Vietnamese parents and their children have to meet in the context of their immigration to Germany. Based on an ethnographical study of parent–child relations within the families of former Vietnamese contract laborers, who worked in the previous German Democratic Republic and are now living in Berlin, the authors describe the intergenerational conflicts arising in these families from the perspective of the immigrant's offspring. They depict the affective relations unfolding between parents and children and explore how far these affective patterns are entangled, on the one hand, with the particular socio-political structures of this Vietnamese migration and, on the other hand, with the particular parenting styles and practices of the Vietnamese immigrants. The analysis highlights that the children of Vietnamese immigrants do not form a homogenous group but differ strongly from each other. Depending on whether they have done most of their growing up in Germany or in Vietnam, their childhoods have been shaped by extremely different social and familial patterns, power structures, values and practices. These diverse experiences lead them to position themselves differently within the multi-layered and complex field of Vietnamese Berlin and shape their affective relations – to their families and to the other social domains they belong to. Röttger-Rössler and Lam argue that the different childhood experiences separate the offspring of Vietnamese immigrants into different affective communities; that is, into communities that are formed by their affective relation to the world. While Svašek and

Pfaff-Czarnecka point to the fact that shared experiences create affective communities that cut across national, ethnic and cultural boundaries, Röttger-Rössler and Lam demonstrate that emerging affective communities have the power to divide even close social groups like families. Taken together, these contributions raise an important theoretical issue, namely, how emotion and affect shape processes of social differentiation.

Affect and place

Part II deals in different ways with space and place-making practices in their complex affective dimensions. The contributions, on the one hand, focus on affective relations to place in migration and diaspora contexts, on the other hand, they examine the political dimensions of public and private spaces and places. Affective attachments to place – with their intensively sensuous, bodily dimensions – are among the most significant dimensions of socialization. The multi-sensuous perception of places, that is, of the colors, forms, sounds, smells, odors, haptic textures and architectonic structures connected with them effects a complex somato-sensoric habituation to places, which people do not often fully realize until they leave familiar places. It is thus not surprising that new studies of transnationalism and transmigration in sociology, social anthropology and cultural geography emphasize the central importance of place for feelings of belonging and focus on the multiple strategies of migrants to create "homes away from home" (e.g., Svašek 2012; McKay and Brady 2005; Conradson and McKay 2007; Wise and Chapman 2005). These studies show how many resources and capacities members of diaspora communities dedicate to place-making practices in order to attach themselves to a new place, or to more than one place simultaneously. They raise the question of how much people who are on the move need concrete, sensuously perceptible places, spaces and landscapes to integrate into new environments and to feel "at home". This issue is addressed, on the one hand, from the vantage point of religious practices in different migrant settings, which are deeply entangled with spatiality and materiality and can thus be conceived as affective ways of place-making. On the other hand, the issue of place or home making is approached from the perspective of endangered homes. The deliberate destruction of homes by powerful political agents – be it the displacement of persons in the context of urban gentrification programs or the demolishing of homes through police raids in the name of security (e.g., governmental surveillance of potentially dangerous groups) – is a widespread and highly consequential means of social control. Violating private spaces is an affective practice of domination.

   The entanglement of politics, place and affect also becomes manifest in the role particular places play in social and political movements. Although the fundamental importance of emotion and affect in political processes has long been widely ignored in political and social sciences it is now

receiving increased attention (e.g., Cepernich 2016; Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001; Gould 2009). However, the interlinkage of place, politics and affect has not been much studied up until now. The case studies in this part delve into the complex interconnections between place, space, politics and affect. They comprehend the attachment of person to place as a dynamic affective relationality, which is deeply shaped by social and political processes.

The first contribution, "Spatialities of belonging: affective place-making among diasporic neo-Pentecostal and Sufi groups in Berlin's cityscape" by the social anthropologists Hansjörg Dilger, Omar Kasmani and Dominik Mattes, explores the ways in which the members of two diasporic religious groups (the neo-Pentecostal church and the Sufi order) settled in Germany's capital try to embed themselves in Berlin's cityscape through different religious practices. The authors show that these bodily focused, religious-spiritual practices prove an effective means to instill a *sense of belonging* in the actors and can thus be read as affective practices. Through their religious routine, which can involve highly interactive bodily performances, the community members relate themselves to each other and to their socio-material environments; they ground or place themselves through these practices into their new local lifeworlds and reshape these local worlds at the same time. The authors take a comparative perspective and examine the similarities and differences between the two religious groups with regard to their place-making practices. Their results point to interesting affective similarities across the two communities, despite their highly different orientations and historical trajectories. They show, for example, that both religious groups engage in affective practices that transcend their actual location in Berlin's cityscape and involve them in a network of translocal social relations and material flows. In their gatherings and prayers, and through the mediatized circulation of religious objects (video-sermons, books, spiritual music, etc.) the believers connect themselves to significant spiritual leaders and sacred places in other parts of the world. It is through such localized religious practices that they create translocal *affective communities*. Similarities also emerge regarding the affective relation to what is conceived by both religious communities as the "sinful," immoral Western style of life. Both groups developed practices to protect themselves and to withstand the manifold seductions of their new social environment. Such practices, the authors argue, constitute an important means of place-making, that is, a means of affectively grounding oneself in a new lifeworld.

The part's second chapter, "'Midān Moments': conceptualizing space, affect and political participation on occupied squares" by the political scientists Bilgin Ayata and Cilja Harders, deals with the occupation of urban squares in the context of political protest movements. Drawing on empirical data on the uprising in Egypt in 2011 the authors offer a "thick reading" of Tahrir square as an affective space. They interpret the highly

affective dynamics enfolding on the square during the 18 days of its occupation in January 2011 as "Midān Moments". The Arabic term *midān* (English: square) refers to the central square of Egypt's capital, the *Midān at-Taḥrīr*, a place closely linked to Egypt's political history; while the noun "moments" denotes the temporal dimension of the events that took place in Cairo's "Liberation Square". With "Midān Moments" the authors refer to periods out of ordinary times on a delineated space, periods that are characterized by an intense affectivity unfolding through the bodily co-presence of protesters and their practices in this space. Ayata and Harders argue that the practices of protest in conjunction with the materiality of the occupied square created an "affective arrangement" that enabled the protesters – at least momentarily – to downplay and neglect all gendered, political, economic, religious or ethnic differences between them, in order to form an affective community – however fragile and short-lived. Ayata and Harders provide a rich description of the mass protest on *Midān at-Taḥrīr*. They depict in-depth how the affective atmosphere of the square was changed through the affective arrangements connected with its occupation (the tents and fire places, the unusual absence of traffic noise, the conversion of the mosque into a provisional hospital, the reshaping of the place's spatial order through barricades and checkpoints, the manifold activities of the protesters and so on) and argue that, due to these affective rearrangements, during the 18 days of occupation the *Midān at-Taḥrīr* turned from a battlefield into a utopian space, a place of becoming the "independent republic of Tahrir," as it was called in 2011.

The third contribution in this part, "Muslim domesticities: home invasions and affective identification," by Gilbert Caluya, who is an expert in gender and cultural studies, addresses the affective processes that unfolded during the course of home raids among Australian Muslims mandated by the Australian government in the context of state-organized counter-terrorist efforts. Caluya's contribution maps out the affective meaning of home as a place of security, familiarity and intimacy, from the vantage point of domicide. He illustrates that police and military invasions of houses and flats always constitute violent acts against the home as a place of belonging, as the crystallization point of important social relations, and shows that these acts alter the affective relations of the persons concerned in a fundamental way; not only do their affective relations to the state and to their daily social environments become dissonant and flawed, but also their relations to each other become fragile. In his analysis, Caluya depicts how the circulation of images and stories of Muslim home destruction and invasion across the internet and in everyday life, produces "scenes of affective identification" (Berlant 2008) that simultaneously generate a Muslim counter-public. News media regularly film such raids to report them, they thus bring into circulation lots of images of Muslims being arrested and their homes being vandalized, which are shared not only in the public media, but also among different Muslim

networks. "In each shared post," Caluya states, "members of the Muslim community express their heartbreak, share condolences for the affected family and pledge their prayers." Through and with these expressions of sympathy and the sharing of sadness, pity and anger a sense of solidarity, of connectedness and belonging to the *ummah* (world community of Moslems) is created. In other words: the *ummah* as an *affective community* is enacted through these shared feelings.

Affect at work

In many countries of the Western hemisphere, capitalist corporations have long begun to rival the nuclear family as a significant formative milieu of affective socialization. The office has turned into a breeding ground for personality – a dwelling place where actors are both habituated and policed so as to fit the mold of their work environments with their characteristic styles of interaction and requirements for performing professional etiquette according to changing "laws of cool" (Liu 2004). In most work environments a team of co-workers, a "boss," a leader or divisional supervisor, and the styles of interaction and etiquette paramount in the respective workplaces, are key factors for shaping individual comportment and demeanor and for formulating the display rules of personality, self-image and character (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007). In terms of affect and emotion, corporate environments thus merit attention not only as a site for research into processes of subject formation, but also as a domain that calls for genealogical elucidation and critical reflection.

The contributions to Part III inquire into the ways in which affective involvements continue to function as an important dimension of subjectivation during adulthood. Perspectives from sociology, cultural and media studies and social philosophy aim to assess the complications that lie in those affective relations specific to the work cultures of modern "network corporatism". Increasingly, reciprocal and dynamic forms of affective involvement – as opposed to hierarchical and authoritarian – have become focal in these domains. Now prevalent are those forms of affective involvement and skillful practical engagement with stylized workplaces, with informal networks of co-workers, and also with digital workplace technologies, that seamlessly mix the realms of professional and private life – such as, for instance, a Facebook friends list or group chat applications (Gregg 2011).

The framework of relational affect can help theorists achieve a more nuanced understanding of how these intensive, multiply mediated affective engagements are experienced as meaningful and rewarding, while they might at the same time play a role in subtle schemes of (emotional) exploitation and other precarious arrangements. Over time, affect-intensive workplace arrangements can turn out to be draining or outright toxic, leading to exhaustion, hopelessness or pain, especially on the part

of those who have to shoulder the brunt of the affective labor required to keep these spaces buzzing with energy and ostentatious joyfulness. Likewise, notwithstanding all talk of eye-level interaction and flat hierarchies, modern workplaces remain engines of difference when it comes to gender-related interaction patterns, hidden biases and stereotypes (see e.g., Koch et al. 2005).

In light of this, it is important to ask at which exact point an affective arrangement ceases to be enabling, motivating and empowering and instead becomes toxic, oppressive and exploitative. Which criteria might enable those involved to tell the difference? Is it even possible to gain a critical distance in the midst of one's own, full-on affective involvement, especially in times when professional work continues to be unrivalled as a major source for meaning in standard biographies? Relational affect shows up here in its full ambivalence. The joys of connection, the near-addictive thrill of the online contact and real-time feedback might play a role in numbing the critical faculties of those involved. High-octane information workplaces *affectively habituate* not only office-regulars, but also home workers or occupants of co-working spaces, by way of the immersive quality of their affective arrangements. In response to these developments, the focus of analysis needs to shift to the devices and techniques whose purpose is to govern employees by stimulating and intensifying affective relatedness, thereby potentially giving rise to new emotion repertoires. From teamwork to real-time employee engagement and creative open space arrangements, as in Google's offices or the hip co-working spaces springing up across the globe, employee governance – including templates for gratuitous self-governance – draws on techniques operating on a register of affect and social relations. Individual commitment, performance and creativity are stimulated not by coercion but by selective intensification of affective and interpersonal experiences, often within arrangements specifically designed for such purposes. As a result, affective over-identification with one's firm, mediated by the "team" as a friendly micro-habitat, and self-exploitative behaviors – often in line with traditionally gendered interaction patterns – are made more likely and seem more natural.

The contributions to this part inquire into the roles of affect and affective relationality within the organizational cultures of contemporary forms of corporate capitalism. The changing affective relevance of work-related activities is critically reflected, both on a case-based empirical level and in terms of conceptual foundations. Affective arrangements with immersive qualities, socio-technical assemblages that engender symbiotic man-machine couplings and a transformed guise of care work – epitomized in the new social position of "community manager" in co-working spaces – are focal points in these contributions.

The part's first chapter, by philosophers Rainer Mühlhoff and Jan Slaby, is programmatically entitled "Immersion at work". The authors

begin their text with a review of the main lines of the affect theoretical perspectives of Spinoza and Deleuze, focusing on relationality, power (*potentia*) and on the concept of an affective arrangement. On these grounds, they then argue that the new affect-driven type of governmentality in network corporatism comes with a new form of subjectivation, which is not based on discipline but on immersion; the encompassing involvement of individual actors by means of a full-on engagement of all available personal and affective forces. Immersive arrangements do not merely govern the employees' outward behavior but also their *potentials*: creative and motivational resources on a deeper level of personhood. In a framework that combines the study of power relations with a philosophy of the subject, enriched by insights from affect theory and workplace ethnography, Mühlhoff and Slaby differentiate these new regimes of "governance by affect" from earlier disciplinary regimes.

In Chapter 9, media theorists and workplace researchers Melissa Gregg and Thomas Lodato attempt one of the first-ever, all-encompassing empirical studies of co-working spaces in the US and worldwide. These are places that not only sell workspaces and facilities but also community and conviviality to the "solopreneurs" of post-financial-crisis embattled economies. The authors' observations circle in on the role of community managers – often self-employed, untrained, job-sharing individuals who run those spaces, providing everything from concierge and clerk services to network culture match-making, inspiration and emotional support for members – a tech-inflected "infrastructure of care and guidance". The diffuse task profile of the position is often matched by the precarious situations and patchwork characters of the occupants' biographies. A new guise of affective labor emerges, albeit with resonances to earlier, gendered types of office-based carework such as, classically, the secretary of the Fordist corporation. It turns out that the affects that are so priced as the atmospheric backbone of these informal workspaces need to be constantly fueled by the labor and commitment of these novel *affect agents* of network sociality, often in arrangements whose exploitative nature is barely covered by a veneer of mandated cheerfulness, energy and optimism. In a writing style that might be dubbed *tech melancholia*, Gregg and Lodato mediate on the sometimes sad, sometimes hopeful realities of affective labor at the current margins of professional work.

Sociologist and affect theorist Robert Seyfert (Chapter 10) ventures into the realm of algorithmic trading with his case study on "Automation and affect". Drawing on his own fieldwork, Seyfert focuses on the intensive, multimodal and "symbiotic" nature of close-knit human–machine relations in the domain of high-frequency trading (HFT). One of his findings is that, contrary to what one might expect from "automated" trading systems, the higher degree of technological sophistication in HFT environments does not come with fewer but with more forms of affective involvement. Paramount in these domains are the intimate *bonds* between

humans and machines. This type of automation intensifies affective relationality and thus the level of engagement and absorption on the part of traders, and this is vital for the functioning of these systems. Seyfert points out that this has important consequences for the types of subjects that emerge on the digital trading floor. Steeped in cyborg-like symbiotic relationships to their machinic environment, these subjects are not reflectively *operating* the algorithmic trading systems but turn *themselves* into components of the systemic set-up. Accordingly, the subjectification at issue is not a matter of disciplining independent individuals, but a matter of *de-subjectifying* them so as to engender a more encompassing absorption – symbiosis – with the digital infrastructures on the trading floors. Inextricable from this are changes to patterns of attention, bio-physiological body types, aural regimes and pharmacological inclinations, as compared to earlier generations of stock market personnel, potentially with far-reaching consequences for habits of perception, reflection and decision-making. Seyfert's study, while exploring a novel type of human–machine affective relationality, also leads us to the final topic of this collection: the relationship between affect and media.

Affect and media

As a phenomenon of *relationality* – which here means, among other things, the dynamic *transmission* of impulses, energies, forms and expressions – affect displays an obvious proximity to media and processes of mediation. Historically, it can be shown that forms of inquiry into affective phenomena have long had an affinity to ideas of mediation, sometimes at the border between the ordinary (empathy, emotional contagion, atmospheres) and the occult (hypnosis, telepathy, séances with the dead or distant, and so on). Early forays into telecommunication and broadcasting technologies had fired up the scholarly imagination at the intersection of what would only later turn into the separate disciplines of sociology, psychology and communication and media theory (cf. Blackman 2012).

Resonating with these early trends, the renewed cultural turn to affect in the past 20 years is inextricable from changes to prevalent media regimes in digitized network societies. Affect – particularly when it is understood in terms of pre-personal intensities and relational dynamics – is congenial to a media landscape dominated by ultra-fast, often subliminal, stimulation, by constant multi-modal affecting through ambient technologies and ubiquitous computing, and to the increasing density of multiple media practices, technologies, forms and formats in tangles of transmediality (Chow 2012). The pre-personal, non-categorical and relational understanding of affect that is discussed in cultural affect theory fits this post-Gutenberg-Galaxy media landscape, but thus far, the broader implications of this media-invoked reformatting of subjectivity are not very well-understood. Given this, it is an important task for contemporary affect

studies to refine its command of media analyses. Studies of the co-evolution of affective relationality and changing media practices, ambient technologies and regimes of media use in various sites of public and private life are urgently needed. The contributions to Part IV explore aspects of this co-evolutionary entanglement between affects, subjectivity and media by focusing on transformed and complexified milieus of subject formation. Not coincidentally, they also bring into view aspects of a profoundly transformed *public sphere* in an age of ubiquitous mediation and in increasingly fragmented, dispersed and participatory media landscapes.

There is no contemporary scholar better suited to be a guide for these debates than Lisa Blackman, cultural theorist and "postdisciplinary" media historian at Goldsmiths University. Blackman is acclaimed not least for her comprehensive historical discussion of the early entanglements between notions of affect and mediation, which links work on early sociology, psychoanalysis and crowd psychology with debates on hypnotic suggestion and paranormal phenomena (Blackman 2012). In Chapter 11, "Affect and mediation," Blackman charts a tableau of vital issues at the intersection of media and subject theory from a present-day viewpoint. Her main points of interest are the emergence of social media and dispersed, increasingly user-driven, media environments characterized by the imbrication of different media formats and practices (transmediation). An important part of her survey is devoted to illustrating how the new media landscape overlays different temporalities in a register of performativity, involving users ("prosumers") at a level of affect and agency rather than representation, co-shaping mediated events through forms of re- and premediation while manifesting spectral versions of the past at the margins of the dominant frames of presentation. In a more critical vein, Blackman expresses skepticism not only with regard to ahistorical, psychobiology-informed conceptions of affect but also with regard to work on media practices forgetful of the complex histories of discussions on mediation, transmission and relationality.

Complementing Blackman's perspective Chapter 12, by German media theorist and affect-studies-pioneer Marie-Luise Angerer, discusses transformations in embodied subjectivities in times of intensified human–machine couplings, socio-technical hybrids and affective computing. Angerer adopts a rigorously ecological perspective on both affect and media, an optic that is well-suited to grasping technological transformations to the background dimension of contemporary lifeworlds and interactive practices. Crossing an influential line of critical feminist work on human-technology imbrications – from Donna Haraway, Sadie Plant and Patricia Clough – with her own innovative approach to media ecology, Angerer inflects recent developments in digital consumer technologies with their pop-cultural uptake (e.g., recent movies centered on human-form AI systems, such as Spike Jonze's *Her*). Suggestively entitled "Intensive

bondage," the chapter explores ways in which human actors come to find themselves bonded affectively to a growing panoply of "technological others" – digital assistants, control systems, network infrastructures – thereby forming intensive milieus. Particular emphasis is put on how the evolving algorithms of affective computing close-in ever more intimately on user subjectivities, signaling the dawn of a new age of biomediated bodies and psycho-cybernetic assemblages. Angerer's text might be read as a plea to scholars of affect to update their perspective on affect and media so as to better understand today's unprecedented degree of entanglement between subjectivity, milieu and digital technologies.

The final contribution in Chapter 13, by Berlin-based film scholars Nazlı Kilerci and Hauke Lehmann, marks a change of register which is still focused on the affective workings of contemporary media. The authors undertake a detailed case study of affect-poetic forms employed in recent Turkish-German cinema. By way of a close analysis of film sequences, it explores the role of affect in conceptualizing the link between political dimensions and the realm of audiovisual images. Inspired by the work of political philosophers Nancy and Rancière, Kilerci and Lehmann oppose the framework of identity politics. As an alternative, they conceptualize the political in terms of the conditions and conflicts that constitute a community, focusing on a dimension of the cinematic image in which aesthetic forms and modalities of perception provide the conditions for the description of commonly shared worlds. The text lays out building blocks for an approach that looks to concepts of affective experience and generic relationality in order to conceptualize the political relevance of cinematic images in a new way. Thereby, the authors locate the political significance of genre films on a deeper and more specifically affective level. In an exemplary fashion, this closing chapter demonstrates how an affect analytic perspective can approach contemporary art forms with a high degree of formal sophistication without losing touch with the wider contexts and conditions of art production and reception.

Outlook

Besides addressing their specific research questions, several of the contributions also assess the potentials, prospects and future pathways of affect studies more broadly. For more than two decades affect has been a productive, albeit contested, field of inter- and transdisciplinary inquiry. It is time to probe into *affect's future*. It is our conviction that the best way to do this is by conducting case studies that not only ignite a focused reflection on the state of the field, but also showcase the fascination of affect, affective dynamics and affective arrangements as an inspiring and productive field of research.

To conclude this introduction, we want to point to one dimension of the topic that strikes us as particularly relevant and pressing for future

work. This concerns the specifically *political* character of relational affect. As several contributions to this volume elaborate, affect is a collectivizing force as it lets individuals coalesce into groups or "affective communities," often on the grounds of interactive practices and relational dynamics that initially elude conceptualization. "Affective communities" are often extremely heterogenous, made up by persons stemming from different social, ethnic, national or religious groups. These different actors are united not by a unitary orientation, but by a set of partially shared experiences, practices and concerns. We conceptualize "affective communities" as complementary to Barbara Rosenwein's notion of "emotional communities". Rosenwein (2002) coined this term to describe groups of people who are united by a set of shared feeling rules or codes, that is, by a single predominant and normatively regulated way of labeling, expressing, controlling and evaluating feelings. Members of an emotional community are socialized into the same feeling systems, they know and master the same emotion repertoires. In contrast to emotional communities, which form around particular social and historical emotional regimes (Reddy 2001) and gain a certain stability over time, affective communities do not depend on shared feeling rules and emotion repertoires. On the contrary, as several chapters in this volume illustrate, affective communities emerge through experiences, practices and concerns that may cross-cut social, cultural, ethnic, religious and gendered differences. That is, affective practices and affective arrangements are capable of uniting actors into novel collective formations, if only transiently. Thereby, affectivity has the power to divide even close-knit social entities, such as families, for instance when family members are engaged in different social fields and thus come to be immersed within different affective arrangements, as is often the case in immigrant families. This may stir up tension and cause conflict, but may also contain the seeds for sustained social change. Here lies an important issue for future work on affect, namely to assess whether (and how) the emergence of affective communities out of shared experiences, practices and concerns facilitates not only the transformation of established social differences and boundaries but also the creation of new emotion repertoires and thus, in the long run, new emotional communities. Part of the promise of affect lies in its power to transcend and reshape conventional social and emotional orders and thus to alter societies.

Notes

1 An important but somewhat under-credited figure in this trend is Lawrence Grossberg. See, for instance, Grossberg (1992) and his highly informative interview with the editors of the *Affect Theory Reader* (Gregg and Seigworth 2010, pp. 309–338).
2 This metaphysical background is complex and multi-faceted. It includes the choice of a process-ontological instead of a substance-ontological framework.

See Seyfert (2012) for a concise explication of the theoretical core of affect studies. Schaefer (2015) likewise provides a balanced theoretical and genealogical reconstruction.

3 Dorothy Kwek (2015) has elucidated Spinoza's conception of power as the capacity to affect and be affected (cf. Spinoza 1985). Kwek emphasises the aspect of receptivity or sensitivity (*being affected*), so that it becomes clear that the potentialities of bodies – in the sense of power (*potentia*) – at issue always include their agentive and their receptive capacities, respectively. See also Balibar (1997) and Gatens and Lloyd (1999) and especially the Deleuze branch in the Spinoza reception, for instance Deleuze (1988; 1990).

4 In sociology, symbolic interactionist approaches (e.g., Katz 2001; Collins 2004) stress the social situatedness of emotions, while work in social psychology takes emotions to be configurations of social relationships (Parkinson, Fischer and Manstead 2005). Christian von Scheve (2017) recently provided a discussion of these and related constructivist approaches vis-à-vis cultural affect studies. Other social relational accounts of affect/emotion of recent date are Burkitt (2014) and Wetherell (2012).

5 See for example the critique of Lutz (2017, p. 187) in Michael Hardt's (2007, ix) introductory statement to the volume *The Affective Turn* (Clough and Halley 2007).

6 See Pedwell (2014) for a convincing approach to affective relations that resonates in several respects with the one developed here.

7 The term "transmigrant" was introduced by Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc (1995, p. 48) in reference to "immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state."

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Part I
Affective families

2 Ageing kin, proximity and distance

Translocal relatedness as affective practice and movement

Maruška Svašek

> I sit in the lounge and stare at the fax machine, feeling a heavy emptiness in my chest. What used to create a lifeline between my mother and myself has now become a dead object. The device no longer stares at me with her eyes, urging me to pick up the handle; pleading that I write and send a message. No longer does her handwriting, (so familiar that it is an extension of herself), almost miraculously materialise in my living space, its noisy appearance making me aware that, at this very moment in time, the original is curving through her own fax machine. She is gone. And my house has become a different place.

This passage, written after my mum's death in 2008, illustrates the most basic aspect of the human condition: we are born, we live and we die. It also emphasises that life is lived in time and space: we cannot but be in and move through the world. This takes us to one of the themes central to this chapter: the dynamic spatial embeddedness of ageing beings. In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) famously argued that space is socially produced and has interrelated physical, social and discursive dimensions. My own reflections illustrate the usefulness of this perspective when exploring the family life of kin who live apart. The text alludes to the existence of two, physically separate architectural structures that, although located in different countries, are lived-in places that are integral parts of the extending, interlinking life worlds of a mother and her adult child. Their social and emotional interaction is partly enabled by their own spatial movements, time spent together, memories of earlier togetherness and imagined future get-togethers. Their contact is also afforded and shaped by technological means. In my own case, the fax machine not only facilitated interaction across distance with my increasingly deaf mother, but also gained impact as a powerful visual reminder of her absence and death. In its materiality, the machine gained affective agency and vitality, and the potential to act upon geographically distant individuals.

I refer here to Alfred Gell's theory of agency that conceptualises the configuration of people and things as dynamic "agent-patient"

relationships, and to Jane Bennett's concept of "vital materiality". Gell (1998) pointed out that material objects can embody complex intentionalities and mediate social agency as people and things exist in fluid relationships with mutual impact. A car that breaks down, transforms from its function as "patient", acted upon by its driver, into an active "agent", blocking the driver's intentions. People also use artefacts (including communication devices) as secondary agents to extend their own will, for example, when a gift produces a counter-gift. Jane Bennett used the term "vitality" to explore the influence of non-human agency on human beings, explaining that,

> [b]y "vitality" I mean the capacity of things – edibles, commodities, storms, metals – not only to impede or block the will and designs of humans but also to act as quasi-agencies or forces with trajectories, propensities, or tendencies of their own.
>
> (2010, p. viii)

To explore the ways in which material surroundings (in my case communication technologies) enable or disallow people to interact emotionally across distance, I draw on the perspective of "relational affectivity", a concept developed by the Collaborative Research Center *Affective Societies* in Berlin.[1] The Center defines "relational affects" as "affective interactions in relational scenes, either between two or more interactants or between an agent and aspects of her material environment" (Slaby 2016, p. 1). In this chapter, I employ Slaby's definition of "affect" as "an intra-active dynamic unfolding in – and variously framed and channelled by – social 'domains of practice'" (ibid., p. 2), as it productively resonates with my earlier writings on emotions and subjectivity and the dialectics of people and things.[2] The domain of practice explored in this chapter concerns kin relations in translocal and transnational families, and zooms in on moments when adult children and their ageing parents provide and receive support, using a variety of communication technologies. The question is how individual emotional dispositions, arising from long-term social dynamics within families, can be explored in tandem with wider relational affects related to people-people and people-thing dynamics. How do technological devices influence long-distance care dynamics?

My understanding of "care" (Svašek 2010b) is influenced by the work of Baldassar, Baldock and Wilding (2007), who, drawing on Finch and Mason (1993), have identified five dimensions of care: personal support or "hands on" care; practical support (such as giving advice); emotional support; financial support; and providing accommodation. For obvious reasons, I also make a distinction between "virtual" and "proximate" caring practices (see also Kilkey and Merla 2011, p. 6). The analysis is based on research conducted in 2009–2010 in Northern Ireland that explored family dynamics in situations where adult children and parents either

resided in different countries or were separated by the Irish Sea.[3] In all cases, at least one family member resided in Northern Ireland (Svašek 2010b). The research focused on families who were in a financial and legal position to stay in touch through technological means and visits, and explored the ways in which histories of long-distance and physical co-presence allowed mutual support and informed a sense of family life. The project asked various questions, including: what capacity do landlines, smart phones, faxes and computers have to stimulate connectedness? How do the devices mediate interactions? When are they experienced as natural extensions of self, and when does their mediating force come to the fore? Another set of questions focused on changing relations of dependency in the context of age progression, exploring changing care needs of ageing kin, care negotiations, and the potential of virtual and proximate care.

My ethnographic approach combined biographical and semi-structured interviews with focus groups activities, participant observation, autoethnography and questionnaires.[4] The study included people with longer family histories in the region (locals) and people with more recent ones (migrants).[5] Most elderly interviewees were Northern Irish locals with children who had migrated to the US, Australia, the European continent, or who had crossed the Irish Sea to settle in England, Scotland or Wales. Most adult children were migrants whose parents resided in homelands such as China, India, Iran, Poland and Germany.[6] Proportionally more women were willing to talk to me, I assume because of the gendered theme of care and the emotional weight of the topic. Its sensitive nature showed through expressions of love, sadness, guilt, grief, resentment and anger during the interviews.

Translocality, transmigrants and affective relational practice

To explore migration and interconnectedness in a globalising world, numerous scholars have used the term "translocality" to investigate practices that link migrants to locations of origin and settlement (Appadurai 1995; 2003; Smith and Guarnizo 1998). As Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013, p. 235) have argued, the term "implies 'transgressing' of locally bounded, fixed understandings of place and emphasises the importance of places as nodes where flows that transcend spatial scales converge".[7] Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton Blanc (1995, p. 48) introduced the term "transmigrant", referring to "immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state".[8] The concept labelled a historically new type of migrant who, because of intensified movement across global networks, not only settles in new localities, but also maintains strong connections with his/her homeland, building "social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (Glick Schiller

et al. 1992, p. 1). The perspective has proven to be increasingly relevant in the past 20 years, as newly emerging technologies and apps have further intensified long-distance interactions.

While numerous scholars have investigated the predicament of migrants in countries of settlement, this chapter extends the focus to family members in countries of origin.[9] I agree with Loretta Baldassar, Cora Baldock and Raelene Wilding (2007), who have argued that it is necessary to take both groups into account if we wish to understand care dynamics within dispersed families. This also means, as Janet Carsten (2000) has pointed out, that kinship should not be conceptualised as a taken for granted biological or contractual state of being, but rather as an active process of involved relatedness, both in face-to-face situations and across geographical distance. In addition, this chapter emphasises that, to understand kin dynamics in dispersed families, we must include a focus on non-human agency and, apart from investigating interactions between (ageing) bodies, also explore interactions between bodies and (communication) devices. Affect, in this perspective, is not an abstract flow in an undefined network, but a concrete process of local and translocal activity that involves people and things, and that is felt by actual, breathing, emplaced individuals. The notion of "affective practice", in other words, zooms in on

> moment[s] of recruitment and often synchronous assembling of multimodal resources, including, most crucially, body states. It is the participation of the emoting body that makes an assemblage an example of affect rather than an example of some other kind of social practice.
>
> (Wetherell 2012, p. 159)[10]

The following account examines how emoting bodies experienced and used communication technologies in their attempts to stay in touch and give and receive support. What were the possibilities and limitations of specific devices? And how did their use of particular technologies draw on, and interlink with, interactions during actual visits?

Connected histories of aspirations, duties and care

Translocal care dynamics can only be understood through a longer-term intergenerational perspective, taking family aspirations and culturally specific feelings of duty and obligation into account, as demonstrated by the following case (cf. Baldassar and Merla 2014, p. 7; Svašek 2010b). One of the Indian couples who agreed to be interviewed came from North India. The wife, Lakshmi, had moved to the UK to complete her medical studies, and her husband, Sachin, had followed a year later with their young child. Both were medics in their late-thirties. We had been friends for several

years, so I knew the family quite well. It was May 2009 and I had made an appointment with Lakshmi to interview her about her experiences of translocal family life. When she opened the door to their rented accommodation, she reminded me that her parents had just come over for a visit. A kindly, smiling, elderly couple greeted me. We had a cup of tea and I inquired from where Lakshmi's parents had travelled. Her father said that they had spent some time with their eldest daughter in the United States, and that after a few weeks in Belfast, they would fly on to London where their second eldest daughter lived. "It makes more sense financially to make a longer trip and see them all", he explained, "and it is nice to be able to spend time with all our children, seeing with our own eyes how they are doing". The conversation made clear that the four locations in India, Northern Ireland, England and the US formed a connected space of affective relationality in which different forms of care were negotiated and practised. The types of support given and received changed as relations of interdependency transformed (cf. Kilkey and Merla 2011; Merla and Baldassar 2010).

When Lakshmi indicated that we could start the interview, what followed was a brave account of how she had left India for the sake of education, parting with her parents and husband, and leaving her one-year-old baby daughter in the care of her mother. Her own emotional disposition was at least partially informed by her father's predicament. This was highlighted when her father, a retired doctor, (and the first person in his family to have gone to university in India), explained that he had missed the chance to study and work abroad. He had done all he could, he said, to ensure that his children would have that opportunity.

> When I failed in achieving some of the items, I wanted to make my children to achieve [them]. Then I tried a lot, I sacrificed myself for almost all the items.

He worked hard to earn enough money to give his children a good education in India and sent them abroad to enhance their careers. He recognised, however, that he had relied on efforts by his wife and children to make his dream come true.

> [My children] also supported me a lot in making the plan a success. I have put the money on them, if they could not succeed, I would have failed. Now they've made a great success in my life, I am very proud of my children … I am very happy, I am seeing my children living in a better position than me in their life. Even compared with other people in my whole family area, we are in a better place.

The sacrifice of absence, of having to miss out on co-present family life, was something the whole family had to deal with. Reflecting a gendered

understanding of care, Lakshmi's father explained that, while he had been the main breadwinner, his wife had been the main source of emotional support.

> My wife, she also sacrificed a lot in almost all the items of self-satisfaction. … I was away from the family for thirty years, but in weekends I used to visit my family and then look after the items which they needed, and I had to support them monetarily. But emotionally my wife has supported the children a lot. She's seventy per cent more successful in every aspect than me. But I'm the planner in the family, what to do and what not to do.

Unlike her father, Lakshmi had moved far away to the UK, so could not visit her kin during the weekends. She had found the separation from her child very hard to cope with. "I missed part of her growing up, when she was very young", she said with tears in her eyes, "and those times will never come back". As her husband was too busy with his work, her mother had taken up the care for her baby daughter and provided updates through telephone conversations. These conversations were essential to Lakshmi's sense of motherhood and showed her mother's emotional competence in long-distance care.[11]

When asked whether she used the phone often to get their support, Lakshmi commented:

> I would ring every day when I was living on my own, sometimes twice a day, it could be three times a day as well. So my phone bills are astronomical, I'm sure it doesn't matter. Obviously, if I was busy with exams or something then I might not ring for a week. But initially when I was on my own, like before I had a [hospital] job it was quite, it was a struggle to ring as well because phone cards, the phone cards would cost a lot of money. But once I got a job I would, I'd ring very, very regularly, yeah.

Gell's perspective of dynamic agent-patient relations highlights Lakshmi's interspersed experiences of the phone as passive tool and active agent. On the one hand, the device was an extension of her voice, projected into Indian space. On the other, it was a "greedy", expensive technology that "forced" her into a needy position. Despite the costs, however, her overall experience was positive as the phone afforded a much-desired sense of physical nearness, also with her sisters who lived in the US and England. As an active affective component in the production of relatedness, the technology clearly helped to strengthen their sense of ongoing sisterhood. As Lakshmi noted, the conversations were often about unremarkable everyday life events.

[I wanted] just to talk, [letting them know] what I was doing, if I made something nice or even if I bought something I would, even silly things I would just ring.

The sound of her sisters' voices evoked memories of their shared child-hood, and stories told by her husband and parents fed her imagination of their ongoing lives in India. It helped her to imagine how her daughter was growing and developing, a process that strengthened her self-image as mother, and that of her parents as caring grandparents. Strings of questions and answers over longer time periods also helped the family members to involve translocally in each other's locally lived lives. Through subsequent phone calls and frequent updates, they showed an ongoing empathic engagement and attachment. A comment "I saw your aunt last week, she is ill", for example, could be recalled during a later call, and followed by "how is she now?" and "have you been to hospital X?"

When Lakshmi's husband and young daughter joined her in Northern Ireland a few years later, she felt less lonely, but still missed her parents and sisters. She continued having conversations with them, now mostly using a mobile phone, taking advantage of much cheaper calls. The affordable calls and texts raised expectations of staying in touch on a daily basis. While everyday communication helped her to stay close to her relatives, the increasing time commitment hampered her re-embedding in new social worlds in Northern Ireland, giving her less time for new colleagues and friends (Eriksen 1995, pp. 69–90; Viruell-Fuentes 2006). A few other participants in my study commented on the dilemma of the translocal "gift of self" (Baldassar 2007), an issue that demonstrates the potentially over-bearing vitality of communication devices that are active round-the-clock. When ringing at inconvenient moments, a device that is generally experienced as a cherished property can suddenly transform into an intruding presence, an invader of one's personal space. It shows that technologies aimed at sending out signals across distance influence local sensorial environments, implying that people, as receiving targets, "are not only *in* places but also *of* them" (Casey 1996, p. 19). Communication technologies can also be used to constantly remind busy relatives of their translocal obligations. In Lakshmi's case, one of the recurrent themes brought up by her parents was her study progress. While words of encouragement boosted her confidence, they also reminded her of their high expectations. Virtual support was, in other words, double-edged, as it put moral pressure on her to realise her father's dream.

Distance, anger and frustration

Laksmi's husband, Sachin (40), also kept in touch with his Indian relatives and, while his mobile phone allowed them to create a sense of shared temporality, he also found the calls frustrating at times. This was illustrated

when his mother rang during one of my visits. He apologised and walked out of the door. About ten minutes later, he re-entered the room with an expression of desperation. He explained that his cousin's wife, who had faced problems during earlier pregnancies, was expecting another child. Showing concern and wanting to give advice, Sachin had urged his mother to take her to the hospital. His mother, however, had replied that it was wrong to do so, as it was an "inauspicious day" to travel.[12] Disregarding her words as due to a "lack of education", he complained,

> [w]e try to help by giving advice but my family lives in a rural area and is superstitious. It's frustrating, we are too far away to be able to do anything about it.

His account highlights that knowledge about well-being and family care is negotiated in social networks that interlock in different degrees (Massey 1993). In the case of Sachin and his family, differing perspectives on risk and safety clashed, as his view was informed by medical training, and theirs by Hindu cosmological timeframes. Sachin felt angry and helpless when he could not influence his mother's view.

The story not only emphasised the limits posed by geographical distance, but also highlighted the cultural distance from his relatives that Sachin had felt for a long time. It illustrated his personal trajectory, on the one hand connecting him to rural family networks in India, and on the other, embedding him in a professional network that stretched across the globe. A few days earlier, he had told me how he had "escaped" the village community through education, first moving to a nearby town and eventually graduating from a medical college in the city. His earlier physical proximity to his family had not produced a sense of strong relatedness; he had always felt an "outsider", he said. Marrying a city-based, middle-class, university graduate and interacting with other university-educated colleagues, his sense of alienation from his home village had increased. This feeling strengthened after his arrival in the UK, when more radical distances complicated communication. His embeddedness in different social spaces seemed at times incommensurable.[13] Also relevant was the fact that, unlike his in-laws, his own parents could not afford to pay for a trip to Northern Ireland, which meant that it was harder for them to imagine his life abroad.

After a few years, having looked after the running of the household in Belfast, Sachin returned to India to work, leaving his wife and daughter behind. He needed to go back, Lakshmi told me, to make sure that he would not lose his professional medical skills. For Sachin, staying in touch with his wife and daughter by mobile phone was essential, and then the family also used Skype, though less intensely because of limited connectivity in India. A few years later, Lakshmi decided to follow her husband with their, by then, 11-year old daughter, a decision motivated by a combination of factors related to ageing and changing responsibilities of care.

First, having to combine her role of mother with a demanding hospital job was increasingly challenging. Second, her daughter would soon be a teenager and she was worried about the bad impact Northern Irish youth culture might have on her behaviour. Third, her husband felt he was missing out on seeing their daughter grow up and therefore put pressure on her to return. Fourth, she had now fulfilled her father's wishes, having succeeded in getting a British medical degree and gaining work experience abroad. Finally, her parents were not getting any younger. Her brother had recently migrated to New Zealand, so none of the children were left in India. Lakshmi felt a moral pressure to be close to them, to be able to provide hands-on support. Long-distance support no longer compensated for the emotional cost of living apart.[14]

Lakshmi's return to India did not mean that she gave up on long-distance communication with kin. Since she did not live with her parents, the telephone remained an important medium of contact, frequently used to check up on them and organise face-to-face interaction and support. Technological devices continued to play a crucial role in the negotiation of care commitments. As a returned migrant, she was now in a position to keep her siblings informed about their parents' changing needs and, to co-ordinate support, Facebook became a crucial medium.

Experienced synchrony, circulating stories and connected lifestyles

A variety of technologies stimulated kin to develop networked lifestyles that synchronised distant lives (see also Nedelcu 2012; Nedelcu and Wyss 2016). My research in Northern Ireland found that, for many, family histories of frequent long-distance engagement created an almost taken-for-granted habitus of shared temporality, experienced as a natural part of everyday life. Synchronised temporality across locations was particularly important when people were confronted with significant life transitions and felt an increased need for emotional support and practical advice (Svašek 2010b). Lisburn-based Iranian Salma (39), for example, who had followed her husband from Iran to Ireland in the 1990s, explained to me in 2009 that, when she had become a mother in 1998, she had felt a strong desire to connect with her parents on a daily basis.

> When I had my first child I thought, "oh my God, I'm so lonely". I never thought I [would feel] so lonely here. My mum and my dad, they came and they visited, they stayed here, we went home, calling, being on the phone 24/7 basically sometimes. I used to go home twice a year.

Her Iran-based parents were as much involved in translocal activities as she was. Visits and return visits were part of mutual caregiving, a practice that, in addition to long-distance communication, shaped the family's

cross-continental affective space. Interestingly, for Salma going to Iran became a burden in some ways, as she found it hard to return to Northern Ireland. In her own words, "every time we went home and I came back I felt more homesick. It was quite difficult." At the time, the emotional, practical and financial burden of trips to Iran, and her desire to have daily contact with her family back home, had fed her preference to stay in Northern Ireland. She explained that,

> I would call home every day for an hour because I was thinking, "if I pay the ticket to go home I could only see them for three weeks but I could pay all this money and could still talk to them as if they were still here". So that was my way of coping with everything, just calling home and talking for hours and hours and they used, they would call as well, it was just both ways.

At the time of the interview in 2009 she was a working mother with three children and her husband was an extremely busy entrepreneur. Pressed for time, she was still on the phone almost every day, "even today, just I phoned today, yesterday, and the day before, weekend, that's my whole, that's my way of keeping contact with my family". When I asked her what kinds of things she discussed, she said, "Everyday, oh everything, every-thing, like 'Oh [my youngest daughter] has a cold, what do you think we should do?'" Phone technology also created a wider affective space that bound her to the extended family. Frequent calls with relatives living in different countries ensured that news and gossip about tragic, joyful, ordinary or shocking events could circulate quickly. Indian Pradeep (42), a medic who lived with his wife and five-year-old daughter in Bangor at the time of my research, also noted that discussing what was going on in the wider family helped him to revitalise his awareness of kin connections. When I spoke with him in 2010 he said that,

> if you are in touch, yes, you are linked to them, and you are reassured that everything is going OK, but also that you are part of their think-ing and their activities and other things, yes. So, yes, so it keeps you in touch. I think it is important.

As for Selma and many other research participants, the telephone shaped the experience of co-temporal family relatedness.

> You can be surprised that I have a lot of relatives in Mumbai, as well as my parents who are near. I could be speaking to one of them and they could tell me, "oh we met your dad at your cousin's house or your mum at another place". And you give them a ring and you say, "what were you doing there?" So, yes, you have a fairly good idea, pretty much on a week-to-week basis as to what's happening.

The circulating stories were partly used as forms of extended agency to evoke specific emotional reactions amongst interlocutors, to harmonise moral expectations and to co-ordinate lifestyles. The accounts, first narrated, then remembered and further retold, often reinforced particular notions of moral personhood, setting norms for "proper" care relations within families. In a study of Tamil families in Tamil Nadu and Singapore, Velayutham and Wise (2005) found that phone calls and texting were specifically used to police behaviour, making sure that migrant relatives were behaving according to the strict gender and kinship expectations that dominated in the homeland. In some families this use of communication media had disastrous effects, as kin who did not obey were permanently excluded. In a historical study of Irish nurses who immigrated to the UK, Ryan (2008) also found examples of women who had been ostracised, for example, after news had spread about a (secret) divorce. None of my interviewees referred to anything as drastic as permanent exclusion, but some alluded to unreasonable demands, expectations and accusations.

Polymedia: access, affect and affordance

The existence of multiple communication and information technologies created a "polymedia" environment for relatives who had access to a variety of media (Madianou and Miller 2012, p. 8). Other kin had a more limited choice. There were various reasons for this, including lack of technical knowledge, disinterest in the opportunities given by the Internet, limited financial means or bad connectivity (Svašek 2010b). Different media co-constituted different affective environments, offering specific possibilities and challenges. Phoning afforded opportunities for emotional performance, especially for speakers who did not want to disclose information that might be visible through body language (cf. Baldassar 2007). Pradeep welcomed this technical limitation, which helped him to avoid sharing small problems with his relatives. He explained:

> I think there is a natural protective mechanism to try and not bother the person who's at a distance. So, yeah, if it was something minor, maybe I wouldn't tell them that and if it was something minor they wouldn't tell me, but if it is something important, I expect them to tell me.

Various Irish elderly parents also indicated their reluctance to share problems with their children over the phone, showing that the medium was an active player in the affective environment. It gave users the opportunity to put feeling rules that regulated emotional disclosure into practice. Some adult children found the limitation of the phone challenging as it was hard to judge whether their parents needed help. "I wish I could look through the phone", I once told my sister, speaking at a time when our

mother was feeling lonely and smart phones were not yet in wide use. Allison Forbes, manager of a Northern Irish consortium of senior clubs, argued in 2009 that insecurity about the well-being of kin could be difficult for both children and elderly parents, saying:

> It's hard on the children too I think because they're away and they're not, they probably know that their mum's too proud to tell her she's not feeling well…. You're not on the doorstep, so you can't tell.

This was as true for children of Northern Irish descent as for those with roots in other countries. For some, Skype was a good alternative to the phone. Rather than substituting for older technology, Skype conversations complemented telephone use. Visual synchronisation made it harder to hide signs of anxiety, sadness and worrying body conditions, and easier to respond to smiles and laughter. Several interviewees mentioned that they could get a better idea of their relative's state of mind when they were able to observe facial expressions and body language. "It's like I am over in my mum's house having a coffee", a Belfast-based French migrant told me enthusiastically. An Irish mother indicated that she had used Skype when her daughter had felt extremely homesick after she had moved to London. "Every Sunday morning we would have breakfast with her", she said. "We'd just put our laptop at the end of the table as if she was eating with us; and she would do the same in her London apartment." Some grandparents used Skype to develop their grandchildren's language skills. Heidi's daughter, for example, who spoke German and English at home, regularly spoke German with her maternal and paternal grandparents through Skype. Other dispersed families kept Skype on when watching similar television programmes, or when simply being at home and just occasionally talking to their absent-but-present relatives. Most of all, this form of spatio-temporal synchronisation was an attempt to create a sense of shared, everyday family life. However, it also functioned as a one- or two-directional controlling gaze that was not welcomed by all. At times, the constant material and affective presence of computers in living rooms caused frustration and anger. Some interviewees complained about the endless pressure to engage translocally and said they had purposely started to use alternative devices. Facebook and WhatsApp were mentioned as useful media for sharing stories and pictures with a wider kin network, without the need to react immediately. Combining different types of communication technology was thus a useful way in which busy kin dealt with the double pressures of local and translocal engagement.

The limits of technology

Problems with connectivity brought the, sometimes lacking, quality of digital devices to the fore, influencing the mood of frustrated users.

Interestingly, at moments like that, people realised that they did not have full control over their devices. Connectivity was particularly bad in some Asian locations. The limits of certain technologies also came to the fore when it was hard to synchronise time between different time zones. Northern Ireland-based Baru (30s) explained that his parents, who lived in Bangladesh,

> would have gone to bed by 10 o'clock so it's more, it's much convenient to pick up the phone and call rather than waiting for them to be online and Skype, and facing problems of low electricity, if you know what it means. In some parts of India and Bangladesh, because of the huge consumption of electricity, the production cannot actually cope with that. So, like, every vicinity will have electricity [turned] off for two to three hours.

Baru and his America-based sister preferred to use Facebook when exchanging information with the family back home, as it did not need to be time co-ordinated and produced a sense of permanence that a bad-quality Skype interaction could not offer.

Unfamiliarity with Internet technology also produced an experience of object agency, as the stories of some exasperated interviewees illustrated. An elderly Northern Irish man grumbled about his lack of computer skills, complaining that his struggles to use Skype hampered the experience of a "natural" interaction with his children and grandchildren in the US. Some older interviewees spoke with nostalgia about the postal services. Even though letters and parcels took a long time to arrive, the knowledge that they had been touched and handled by their kin gave them a special aura. Brian (89) and Mary (84) had encouraged their three children to move away from Northern Ireland during the Troubles. Mary fondly showed me some drawings, made and posted by her granddaughter who lived in Germany. She gave them pride of place in her lounge, as constant reminders of a much-loved grandchild. To ensure frequent interaction, their children had taught them how to use a computer, but Brian admitted,

> [w]ell we're not too good with that, are we? I can't do anything with it at all but we all, we manage, we get on the phone as well and they tell us what to do and what not to do, or if we're doing something wrong or, yeah.

His wife added that their eldest son

> set up whatever our program is on our laptop with his in Germany, and when we have any problem he can rectify it from Germany.… That shows you how well we're taken care of!

We talked at length about the difference between long-distance communication and actual visits. Although they felt they could express and receive love and support using various technologies, they stressed that interaction from a distance could not fully replace the direct, multi-sensorial experience of an actual visit.

B: Och aye it's different. A phone call's not like a personal call or face-to-face meeting with somebody.
M: It's nice, it's very nice to have it, it's great to have it, and the, well you can see how happy people are and what, no, it's very good. [But] you can throw your arms round them there in the hall whereas on Skype, you can show your love and all that but it's not the same.

Their account illustrated the experiential difference between long-distance communication and physical co-presence, and the significance of the interspersion of virtual and proxy care practices. However, the decision for kin to meet up was not straightforward. Most elderly parents in this study had obligations to people and places outside the family network and were reluctant to give up the independence of their own home for longer time periods. Similarly, adult children had busy lifestyles, and some found it hard to accommodate their parents when they were visiting. Tellingly, most parents and children preferred a combination of regular shorter visits with frequent long-distance contact. However, this was a solution that was hard to organise and that many could not afford.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the social dynamics of care within translocal families, arguing that the experiences and movements of both migrants *and* their homeland-based relatives must be taken into account to understand how virtual and face-to-face care relations develop. The examples demonstrated that it is vital to take a longer-term perspective to clarify how practices of relatedness and care are negotiated when family members enter different life stages and are confronted with changing responsibilities and expectations. The perspective of affective relationality helped to bring various aspects of mobility, technology and family life into focus. Kin relations between parents and their children were clearly not a biologically stable given, but were constituted, negotiated and maintained through processes of communication, interaction and experienced co-presence. These dynamics called for a perspective on movement, both synchronically, as people aged, and diachronically, as individual kin lived in, and between, different locations. At specific moments in time, the paths of adult children and their elderly parents crossed, joined and diverged, creating affective moments of presence and absence in which virtual and

proximate care relations developed, reversed or broke down. Intergenerational care, including emotional support, practical support and hands-on care, were thus practised locally and translocally in interlinking fields of interaction. New patterns of support were formed, for example, when parents came to rely on their, now adult, children for hands-on assistance. Care arrangements that were developed over time were often reciprocal, with parents supporting children and grandchildren, and adult children providing support to their ageing parents. Mutual visits helped elderly parents and adult children to reconnect and demonstrate loyalty and attachment, but were also emotionally challenging and demanded active emotion management. Memories of visits, recalled during subsequent long-distance exchanges increased a sense of continuity, and plans for get-togethers shaped commitments and expectations.

Communication devices, central to virtual care practices, did not only function as connecting tools between parents and children, but were also vital material objects that co-constituted the relational affective field. Distinct devices afforded different kinds of emotional interaction and performance in the various translocal family domains. Their affective impact depended on the kind of sensorial interaction they allowed, on possibilities of spatial and temporal synchronisation, on practical issues such as portability, and on the kind of knowledge needed to use them. Mobile phones, carried around, allowed users to stay in touch at any time. While this was often experienced as an advantage, providing a sense of extended agency and immediate access, the pressures of continuous availability were also regarded as disadvantageous. Devices were perceived to have agency when their demanding presence and gaze was felt to be too invasive, when technologies failed, or when kin lacked the skills to use them. Their limited mediating force was also felt in moments of crisis when the need for actual co-presence became urgent.

Visits allowed sensorial experiences beyond the capacities of technology-mediated interaction. For the people in this study, stretched out geographies of virtual interaction were tightly interwoven with memories and anticipations of physical co-presence. To produce a sense of ongoing relatedness, communication devices were, however, vital players that co-constituted the social domain.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 The Collaborative Research Center *Affective Societies* criticises theories of emotion that overemphasise human intentionality and have a rather static understanding of emotion states in individuals, and it critiques those theories of affect that solely focus on the impact of unconsciously perceived, non-intentional forces on human activity.

2 In earlier work (Svašek 2005; 2008; 2010a, 2010b; 2012a, 2012b; 2013) I took a processual approach to subjectivity and emotional dynamics, regarding individual beings as mobile and changing persons in "transit" and "transformation". In addition, I used the term 'transition' to explore the ways in which artefacts can gain new meanings, values and efficacy when moved to or used in new socio-spatial and historical settings.

3 The project was funded by Changing Ageing Partnership (CAP).

4 The biographical method, developed by Fritz Schütze (2008a; 2008b), is based on the assumption that there is a strong connection between the complex process of identity development and a narration of life historical events (see also Miller and Day 2012; Schütze and Schröder-Wildhagen 2012; Svašek and Domecka 2012).

5 While I had planned to interview equal numbers of adult children and elderly parents across the two groups, the final selection of participants reflected the dynamics of migration to and from Northern Ireland between 1950 and 2010. Due to the conflict that became known as the Troubles, during the 1970s and 1980s there was little migration to Northern Ireland, and many people left, moving to England, Scotland or Wales, or immigrating to other countries.

6 For the purpose of the research, I regarded both the Republic of Ireland (a separate state, bordering Northern Ireland) and England/Scotland/Wales (part of Britain, but one needs to cross the Irish Sea to reach them) as places "abroad". Those born in Northern Ireland, the "locals", had British citizenship but not all identified themselves as British. Some regarded themselves as Irish, others as Northern Irish. Please see Table 2.1 showing number of interviewees within the groups.

   I also involved 20 Indian members of the 50+ group and about 40 locals in two focus groups, and distributed a questionnaire to residents of Hong Ling Gardens, a residential home for Chinese (mainly Hakka-speaking) migrants in Belfast.

Table 2.1 Interviewee groups

Groups	Female	Male	Total
Local adult children, parents abroad	1	–	1 (3%)
Migrant adult children, parents abroad	9	6	15 (43%)
Local ageing parents, children abroad	7	4	11 (31%)
Migrant ageing parents, children abroad	5	3	8 (23%)
Total	22 (63%)	13 (37%)	35 (100%)

7 For an overview, see Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013).

8 The speed of change means that "technological developments often seem to surpass research" (Madianou 2012, p. 279).

9 An increasing body of research on translocality has explored how relationships amongst family members have been reconfigured because of geographical distance, influencing practices of mothering (Madianou 2012; Parrenãs 2005), spousal interaction (Brettel 2003, p. 143; Hamman 1986; Lomonaco 1993), and

care of elderly parents (Baldassar, Baldock and Wilding 2007). Some have explored the significance of communication technologies, from letter writing, to phoning (Viruell-Fuentes 2006), to Facebook (Miller 2011).

10 Whetherell has criticised theories of affect that refer to global flows and impact in abstract networks but fail to focus on individual emotional experience and agency.

11 Koehn and Rosenau (2002, p. 114) identified "emotional competence" as one of the dimensions of "transnational competence", a set of skills needed to "participate effectively in activities that cut across two or more national boundaries". Diane Wolf (2002) used the term "emotional transnationalism" to analyse tensions between the expectations of Filipino migrants and those of their parents and grandparents.

12 In Hinduism, the terms auspiciousness and inauspiciousness refer to "a scale of the degree to which events, times, and relationships are conducive to the wellbeing of society or individual" (Flood 1996).

13 Geographic nearness is never automatically correlated to social proximity and emotional resonance. This finding also implies the opposite, namely that social and affective identification can be reinforced and developed from a distance.

14 Numerous researchers have discussed the moral obligations felt by migrants towards their kin in the homeland. Baldassar (2007; 2015) noted that "the act of migration, by causing physical separation, absence and longing, places the migrant in a difficult moral bind, in particular concerning their obligations to care for ageing parents" (Baldassar 2015, p. 2).

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3 *Education sentimentale* in migrant students' university trajectories

Family, and other significant relations

Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka

Studying – the many-years-long passage through university – is a process of personal transformation that is forged in affective constellations. Dynamic in itself, studying is especially demanding when students migrate, spatially *and* socially. Their mobilities go hand in hand with different forms of transgression that bear upon personal relationships (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2017). As young adults, most students maintain their familial attachments while also finding significant new relations (Sadrudin 2017; Hurrelmann and Albrecht 2016; Pietsch 2017). Since families are "regimes of belonging" (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2012), mostly offering a wide range of resources while restricting personal freedom, the affective bonds, especially between generations, are often experienced in ambivalent ways (King 2014). On the one hand, individual aspirations are often intertwined with those of close relatives (Raiser 2007), whose care and support often comes with very high expectations as well as a fear of failure. On the other hand, while thriving on (affective) support, social and spatial mobilities may occur at the cost of alienation and conflict – because belonging has a price.[1] Under these circumstances, emotional interaction styles are likely to become an object of reflexivity while studying that may question cultural certainties and challenge established constellations between kith and kin. Furthermore, while negotiating family roles as "offspring", numerous students engage in establishing new families, which add to the range of affective ties, possibly instigating new pressures.

This chapter follows the trajectories of students enrolled at a German university and is driven by an interest in affective attachments unfolding in interpersonal constellations that bear upon the process of fitting in to academic life. The students in question have their migrant background in common.[2] And precisely this commonality will be object of a closer scrutiny because the collectivizing marker of migrant is too often taken as an important personal attribute without further investigation. The suggested procedure is therefore to trace individual trajectories and analyse how they are enabled and constrained by individual properties, by affective constellations evolving in interactions (see Slaby 2016), by resource endowment as well as by the power of symbolic boundaries (Lamont and

Molnár 2002) at work in the social realm of their university. I start by discussing the process of studying as a period of transition between late adolescence and early adulthood. The passage through the university (see Pfaff-Czarnecka and Prekodravac 2017) is analysed with regard to the interplay of different kinds of mobility involved. Special attention is paid to circumstances in which academic education became a means of social mobility.[3] On the basis of four distinct trajectories, affective work in relations and its importance in negotiating different kinds of boundaries, symbolic and otherwise, is discussed. These four trajectories evolve in several social domains of practice: in the complex social space of university; in parental homes; and in peer constellations both within and outside university. These social domains of practice have crucial effects upon affective interactions that shape and are shaped through the pathways of educational trajectories.

Studying: between adolescence and adulthood

While more and more persons enter universities at a later stage in life (see Archer *et al.* 2001), the students this inquiry focuses on are all in the third decade of their lives and have come to university shortly after having completed their school education. The dramatic edge of transition from school to university is still vivid in the accounts. The dramatis personae in the forefront of this analysis all agree that academic studies have significantly shaped the coordinates of their life course. University study has some very different properties to the learning experience at high-school level. It is understood as more specialized in terms of the selected subject, while being more comprehensive in the sense of acquiring a range of knowledge and properties considered conducive to fulfilling one's aspirations. Enrolling at university often leads to leaving home and often the home town; it always means engaging in new interpersonal relations. While adolescence is seen as a period of developing a sense of self, often accompanied by different transgressions – including challenging interpersonal constellations such as "family orders" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1971; King 2014) – the pathway through university can reinforce inner struggles between conformity and a quest to challenge boundaries encountered on the way. Numerous students struggle with the pressures of studying being considered a self-defined pathway while trying to disentangle themselves from specific familial pressures and still thriving upon the backing provided by their natal home (Röttger-Rössler, Chapter 4). Seen from the vantage point of boundary work (Zolberg and Woon 1999), the process of studying is, in any case, ambivalent: full of discipline (also due to the ongoing economization and managerialism of contemporary universities); yet providing a largely protected space-time for personal transformation.

Migrant-student family constellations have already been the object of several scholarly inquiries (Raiser 2007; King 2014). Familial environment

has been depicted time and again as crucial in deciding on peoples' chances in the educational field (Bourdieu and Passeron 1971). Today, scholars concur that the possession of economic, social and cultural capital matters in terms of enhancing or restricting the chances in an academic course of study. At the same time, scholars disagree with regard to their assessment of the power of institutional barriers for successfully completing a course of study.[4] Some claim that these continue to impede the course of studies;[5] whereas others suggest that the salience of social boundaries, resulting from the interplay of different capital forms, has loosened within university realms, with university premises increasingly opening up to, so-called, "non-traditional students" (Archer *et al.* 2001; Kristen *et al.* 2008). Notwithstanding the differences in assessing the salience of social background, the importance of familial support (Raiser 2007), and that of "significant persons" (El-Mafalaani 2012), encountered in the course of education is generally seen as crucial, not only for tackling the passage from school to university, but also for successfully completing one's course of academic study.

Studying at university level is, in any case, a process of movement that bears as much upon students as it does on their interpersonal relationships. Acquiring knowledge accompanies the individual process of subjectivation. In their biographic navigation (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2013), students are tasked with weighing their diverse attachments, commitments, aims and aspirations against one another. It is essential they make choices and these usually result from negotiating visions (e.g. those that are individually developed vs. those embraced in family constellations), self-perceptions, properties and resources. The support and expectations espoused by closer (and often not so close) relatives (and acquaintances) influence individual pathways. Their resource endowment makes students more or less exposed to different barriers and boundaries. For students from an academic background, for instance, a sense of belonging to the academic realm is probably present from the outset, while they are enrolling at the university. Students lacking such a background, however, may suffer from a sense of alienation, at least during the initial stage of studying (Pietsch 2017). They might feel like trespassers – or can be made to feel as such.

Context: contemporary universities

Universities are made and unmade as much by external forces bearing upon them as by individual and collective transformations occurring in their realms. Universities can be seen as places of friction (Tsing 2005), as they bring different entities together, such as formal university structures, regulatory practices, teaching staff and students. The global race for resources, status, authority and influence prompt universities to engage in manifold reforms (Shore and Wright 1999; Münch 2011; Huber 2012). While global

university rankings have intensified the drive towards elitism, simultaneous efforts to enhance equity (or egalitarian representation) and to accommodate diversity have opened up universities to, so-called, non-traditional students.[6] With the ongoing diversification, or indeed heterogenization, of student bodies – in terms of ascribed criteria, resource endowment, skills, imagination, expectation and aspiration – universities are turning into dynamic spaces of social encounters, in which very diverse personal trajectories may intertwine, confront or run parallel to each other.

Whereas knowledge production as such is a perennial process of transgression (Mecheril and Klingler 2010), for instance by challenging epistemic horizons, the sociality involved in interactive research and learning processes maintains and contests manifold symbolic and social boundaries (Lamont and Molnár 2002; Tilly 2005). Such boundaries are set by differences in resource endowment, possibly coming to the fore as "class characteristics" (Bourdieu 1988), as well as through different kinds of diacritical markers such as gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation and race.

Encounters and negotiations along and across these diverse boundary lines may take place in lecture halls, in seminar rooms, in private student–teacher interactions as well as in many other venues frequented and used by students, increasingly including social media. Students cohabit (a term introduced by Butler, see e.g. 2015), partaking in close encounters in locations that are partly self-selected (learning groups, leisure activities, sharing flats, political engagement) and partly imposed or provided (obligatory courses, sharing dormitories). In this vein, contemporary universities are sites of social production and reproduction where the modalities of social relations are interrogated, contested, negotiated and transformed.

Four trajectories

For the purpose of this analysis, four student trajectories have been selected. These are based upon long conversations entailing semi-structured and narrative parts and have followed the grounded theory method. The four students with a migrant background are all enrolled in the Legal Studies Department at City University, located in western Germany.[7] The empirical material used here was collected in the framework of the SFB 882 "From Heterogeneities to Inequalities" by the author. The ethnographic present is the year 2013. All personal names have been changed. The sample used here consists of open and partly narrative interviews. An important criterion for selecting the interviewees was their acquaintance with the German education system, that is, having had a prolonged experience at German schools, resulting in a very good command of the German language. Out of the 13 cases on legal study students (along with others from different disciplines) collected in this project, four were selected for this analysis. They reveal commonalities in the observed pathways of "sentimental education", while also bringing

significant variation to light. The four cases do not represent "typical" kinds of affective variation mirrored in the broader sample but were selected to show important differences between them.

Samir

Samir came to Germany, with his parents and siblings, as a refugee when he was three years old. According to him, his parents are analphabets. He decided to study law early on. Samir's main motivation developed on the basis of repeated situations of rightlessness experienced by his family. He initially enrolled at another university but shifted because he found the atmosphere too hierarchical and exclusive. Having enrolled in his desired study course, he has developed a strong perception of not fitting in. He finds himself surrounded by fellow students from academic backgrounds, many with parents working as lawyers. In this vein, Samir's affects are strongly buttressed by his perception of difference vis-à-vis his peers (see Röttger-Rössler 2016, p. 11). He has developed a strong sense of being left alone. Samir claims: "I have never met anybody who would explain to me how the university works." He is at a loss when putting his courses together and he doesn't know what to learn and what to ignore. Fellow students do not share their transcripts; exam questions from previous terms are withheld: "Of course they all knew it, but they did not tell me." He also feels that his close friends went into hiding before an exam and re-emerged after it was over.

Samir has to cope with health problems, increasingly realizing that his peers are progressing significantly faster than himself. His lack of social and cultural capital is matched by financial problems. His stipend granted by a political foundation does not provide the means for receiving tutorials or for buying additional course materials. Samir is also pressed for money because he has established his own family, with two young sons, which also bears on his time resources. At the same time, he is happy that, when meeting his friends, he can take his elder son along. When reflecting upon his own difficulties, Samir expects that his struggles will at least benefit his children:

> I always said that even if all this here does not bring me much; should I lose it, then still I have made the experience … so that if my son comes to me one day, asking "what am I to do now?", I can tell him: well, you can apply at this and this university, you can study this or that and this is how you can obtain the relevant information.

Samir never received any such advice from his parents:

> My parents never influenced me, well, they never have seen a school report of mine. They never could support me in the sense of telling

me which is the proper way, and which is not. But they have always supported me by saying: whatever you do, we stand behind you.

This support is under pressure, however:

> In our culture circle, people talk. When you change university, people will say "he couldn't cope".… Well, I wouldn't go under should I not be able to complete my study course, but I think that it would be a social manslaughter for the entire family and friends.… So there is always this fear that they will say: "he did not make it".

In his university parcours, Samir suffers from the fact that he cannot pass the required exams or proceed at a similar pace to his peers. Lacking academic teachers who support him, he also finds little backing among his friends, who are only available in their leisure time and do not include Samir in joint learning activities. The lack of peer support is echoed by the lack of parental support. In fact, Samir is the one providing backing for his parents in dealing with offices and hospitals due to his language skills and to his command of "how the German society works". He is the family pioneer who has entered the academic world. His practical knowledge of how a university works will, as Samir expresses, hopefully be of use to his children. Samir expects parental warmth and respect, whether he becomes an academician or not. But his fear of failure nags at him, possibly even more so as his ambitious plans are scrutinized by relatives and family friends.

Ekin

Ekin came to Germany at the age of two as a refugee. Ekin lives with her divorced mother, who works as a teacher, and with three significantly younger siblings, and she gives her mother a hand in daily care. She talks of her siblings with love, but highlights time and again that looking after them puts substantial demands on her schedule/time budget. Besides, she finds it difficult to learn with all the noise, but she has learned to cope. When attending school, she felt ashamed of her family's poverty that showed, for instance, in her worn clothes ("I still remember how humiliating it was when the teacher indicated to a hole in my trousers."). She talks about the many dismissive glances her family received while shopping and their difficulties in coping with language deficiencies in administrative procedures.

Ekin perceives herself as a really disciplined student, comparatively more successful than a number of her fellow students:

> Contrary to my fellow students, I progressed rapidly. I still … progress very well, because I pass most of the exams at the first try, and in legal studies it is essential to cover all modules.

She sees her study progress as lying in general principle of motivation and diligence, which are crucial for success. Her words reveal the perennial comparison that goes on between students. While Samir fares badly in comparisons, Ekin stands out. She does not engage in peer teaching, but goes her own way. She knows that she still has a long way to go; at the same time, she considers herself prepared for her journey:

> Next year, I will start preparations for my final exam and I have to participate in two internships. And then, hopefully, writing the exam and passing it. Well, I would have big difficulties, but the good God knows how much I have learned. And it is not always easy for me to learn, since I also spend a lot of time supporting my siblings. But this was never bad for me. But always with hurdles, always with hurdles, and one day one is hardened and goes through life comparatively well.

Ekin is particularly fascinated by social law. She thrives on such topics as accommodating religious difference in immigration societies and asylum law. In "her" professor she found a role model who is very bright, socially engaged, human and civically oriented. She is happy to be employed as a student assistant to her professor. This is where she has found her sphere of belonging; her study and her work feel like home. It comes as no surprise that she is thinking of pursuing an academic career and aspires to become a professor.

Tamira

Tamira came to Germany as a refugee at the age of four, with her parents. Her father works as a skilled labourer, her mother is a housewife without any school education, but one of her uncles is a barrister who practises in her country of origin. She has experienced her parents as touchingly supportive of her and her siblings:

> (The educational success of their children) is very important to them. What they did out of love for us, what they wanted above everything, because they could not do it, for various reasons. And that's why they wanted to keep all opportunities open for us … so that we have a chance … they wanted to give us a chance.

The interactions with her uncle have contributed to her selecting this course of study, after more than a year of searching after completing her *Abitur*. In her account, she is happy with her selection of law but, similar to Samir, she is not without angst, and is anxious that she may fail the final exam: "and then we have nothing at hand. This is a big danger that retrospectively I perhaps wouldn't have taken."

Unlike Samir, upon enrollment at the university she immediately found friends with whom she could share leisure time and learn. Early on she moved into a shared apartment with three female fellow students from the same country of origin; according to Tamira, "culture somehow attracts you". At the same time, she acknowledges that only upon coming to know the others has she realized how religiously and culturally diverse her country of origin is. The four women love cooking together and they cooperate in peer teaching/learning.

An important venue for establishing friendships among her fellow students was a course dedicated to law in her country of origin. The German professor conducting this course turned into both a role model and a mentor. Perceiving his interest in the legal and social dimensions of her country of origin, she found, to her surprise, that her migrant background was a resource. Tamira's boy-friend is of German origin. It is thanks to his (family) contacts that she was able to go through an important internship experience in a large barristers' chambers. Now, she can draw upon her partner's experience, skills and his outlook on life. Tamira thinks highly of her partner's family's religiosity. Not sharing the same religion, they all nevertheless put a similar emphasis on religious values and practice.

Tamira always seems to be confronted with national, religious and cultural boundaries, while navigating them without huge difficulty. She reflects upon concentrating her friendships on peers from her own country of origin, hinting at the possibility that some forms of cultural distancing are noticeable in her university's everyday life. And yet, she sees encountering other forms of life and different legal norms as enriching. In her daily practice, she is accustomed to shifting between different cultural forms and to travelling between her country of origin and Germany. Her major quest is to make herself useful to society. Legal knowledge appears to be a useful means for doing so.

Dritan

Dritan came to Germany as a refugee at the age of four. His father was a skilled worker in his home country, who engaged in politics. After he was thrown in jail, his mother had to give up her university studies and is now employed as a worker. Dritan's school education in Germany started with pronounced difficulties, but he and his parents soon developed an aspiration that he become a lawyer. Upon completing his primary education, the teachers gave Dritan a recommendation for a *Hauptschule* – the type of secondary school that leads to menial or technical jobs (at best). It was Dritan's mother's boss who made her aware that attending *Hauptschule* was incompatible with the aim of becoming a lawyer. Upon his parents' insistence, the teachers agreed to enroll Dritan at the junior high school (*Realschule*) for a trial period, where Dritan had positive experiences with

his teachers. He realized that they saw his potential, which boosted his self-confidence significantly:

> It made me fly, in the sense that, when I changed the school all my friends from the *Hauptschule* said. Wow, now he made it; he managed to change to a better school.

Learning now came significantly more easily to him so that he could move once again, to a *Gymnasium* that gave him the route for enrolling in legal studies. In his long narrative, this was the emotional moment, when he sensed recognition, after a long history of interactions that had given him the sense of being problematic. Henceforth, the sense of self-empowerment boosted Dritan's educational pathway, a turning point that buttressed his vital energies of becoming (Slaby 2016, p. 7).

University has offered different openings to Dritan. He enjoys his course of study and takes the opportunity to participate in specialized workshops and seminars, where he can get himself noticed by his professors. Two have offered him a position as a student assistant. While deepening his legal expertise, Dritan has realized that he wouldn't want to concentrate purely on legal studies. He is increasingly fascinated by the interrelation between law and politics, so he has also enrolled in political studies. At the time of the interview, he was studying both courses simultaneously. These two subjects could completely fill his time, but he also engages in sports and artistic activities, while earning money as a journalist. Dritan says that he wants to understand the interconnections between different spheres of societal organization, notably between law and politics. He aims to become a professor.

What do these pathways have in common?

Samir, Ekin, Tamira and Dritan all look back at great hardships their families encountered around their exile to Germany. They have been made aware of the discrimination experienced by their families in their countries of origin through family stories; as children, they witnessed the difficult years upon arriving in Germany, their new country of residence. They all experienced their parents as vulnerable, lacking language skills and general cultural know-how. Samir needed to assist his parents time and again in offices and in hospitals, acting as a (cultural) translator. Dritan saw that his parents knew little about the German educational system, initially accepting the teachers' decision to send him to a *Hauptschule*. All four students are aware of their parents' economic struggles. They know that their parents have tried their best to provide a good foundation for their children's future. They all speak with great respect and warmth of their close relatives.

All four students are experiencing the university as a space of opportunities, or, in more general terms, as a space of "openings" on new

horizons. They are proud to dwell in the world of knowledge and they understand their individual pathways as a combination of academic learning and personal development. Legal studies – with the joint emphasis on public, humanitarian and asylum law – give them the opportunity to acquire knowledge about structures that enable people to realize their rights. Thinking about their upbringing in Germany, all four look back at their migration experience, but their attitudes are those of concerned citizens. Their knowledge is expected to be put at the service of society and not of a specific ethnic or religious community. In fact, while reflecting on their course, none of the interviewees has depicted himself or herself as a migrant. This is not a category they would use in the midst of the academic realm. What the four cases have in common is their experience as political refugees. This may be the reason that Samir, Ekin, Tamira and Dritan are particularly politically alert and socially engaged.

All four young persons come across as reflexive agents, especially when remembering how their parents put their own needs second to the urge to give their children a "bright future". When they look back at humiliating experiences of being aliens and poor newcomers, they see their personal and professional futures as an important project. The interviewees display a characteristic that has often been observed in the children of migrants, namely that of feeling more in command of "local knowledge" than their kin. They reveal a high esteem for their parents and for family norms; none of the four overtly addressed the issue of alienation vis-à-vis their natal family that could result from academic exposure.[8] And yet, the quest to forge new ties of belonging runs through all four accounts. The strong sense of home stemming from vibrant family constellations seems to be translated into an urge to forge new spaces of becoming in the academic world. The mission "to become" is possibly all the more urgent as all four interviewees are reflexively undergoing a process of climbing the social ladder through education.

Varieties in affective relations

Samir, Ekin, Tamira and Dritan tell different stories of how they manage to forge their belonging in the academic realm and how they reconcile the different dimensions of their commonalities and attachments and differ in their "affective repertoires" (Slaby 2016). They are guided, on the one hand, by emotional patterns derived from values and norms espoused by their families. On the other hand, the new domains of practice that come with higher education shape new kinds of affective interactions. These can be at odds with one another. Against the backdrop of his study struggles, Samir expresses a strong ambivalence vis-à-vis the world of his parents. He reports familial warmth and his parents' openness with regard to his choices. As compared to other migrant parents, he says that his exert less pressure and reveal a lower ambition. At the same time, they are

embedded in a wider community whose pressure bears heavily on the parents and – in consequence – on Samir. Failing in his studies would negatively impact the entire family's honor. Samir also repeatedly expresses his sense of feeling alone. While voicing a diffuse support, his parents could not provide him with guidance on how to study. This is where he puts his emphasis when saying that one day his sons will get the proper kind of support a student requires for successfully going along an educational path. What he couldn't get from his parents will be put at his sons' disposal.

In Samir's *education sentimentale* his peers (whom he calls "friends") leave him with a sense of struggling on his own in the academic realm. In this vein, peer constellations match the family constellations; Samir's world is relation-rich, but only in the private realm. He cannot take advantage of social capital in his vicinity – be it from family or friends – to successfully gain a foot professionally. At the same time, the command of new cultural capital acquired in the academic field confronts him with the risk of alienation from his parental home – even if he does not want to see it. This is all the more troublesome as, between the lines in his narration, the world of his childhood appears oppressive. University space is where he wants to immerse himself, but he is experiencing a dissonant distancing (Slaby 2016, p. 4) from the social body of peers.

Ekin thinks of her personal trajectory as going well, in fact, particularly well, despite the many hurdles on her way. The hurdles appear to lie in the situation at home (support for her mother and siblings) and in the cumbersome facets of her economically poor upbringing. That she had found her belonging at her law department is pronounced with much emphasis. Deserving "to dwell" there comes from her hard work, from excelling, from striving hard to negotiate all the hurdles encountered on her way through the educational course. The skills she has acquired at home come in very useful for successfully going through her studies and possibly also for gaining ground in a future professional life. They have made her resilient. In Ekin's narration, her fellow students are particularly remote, neither do they count in her description of learning, nor when socializing outside the classroom. She positions herself vis-à-vis the elder generation (i.e. her mother and her key academic teacher) and vis-à-vis her much younger siblings (i.e. in vertical terms). Negotiating her belonging between her mother's home and the *Lehrstuhl*, works at the price of being distanced from her peers. She manages to combine her familial and her professional belonging but at the price of ongoing effort and continuous strain. While Samir needs support in learning, Ekin would be able to provide it, but she is under severe time constraints and is very much concentrated on her newly acquired role of student assistant. Her self-reliance makes her better equipped for the widespread competition among law students (see Pfaff-Czarnecka and Prekodravac 2017).

Tamira makes her way through university in a different constellation, but sees it as rather exceptional. Soon after she mentioned her parental home, the main attention in the narrative is shifted to the "horizontal" realm of all the persons, especially peers, she met upon enrolling in her study course. Her upbringing – embedded in a larger, transnationally strongly interconnected family, which includes a barrister – has prepared her for crossing worlds and for moving between different social worlds. Her sense of dwelling in the world and the process of finding her purpose occur in close exchanges with her female friends, co-residents and her partner. Her learning about the world and studying is strongly intertwined with affective negotiations in interactions with her room-mates – one important social "domain of practice" (Slaby 2016, p. 2) – and with her partner. Little effort is required to differentiate between leisure time and study time; sometimes they are separated and sometimes combined, depending upon circumstances. Tamira seems to thrive while encountering difference. In her experience, difference does not instigate inequality, but is a factor in expanding intellectual and emotional horizons. (She briefly talks about some academic teachers not being "sympathetic" to students seeming "alien", but quickly drops the subject.) Her sense of belonging is closely intertwined with the high value stress on civicness and, in this vein, with her urge to be useful to society.

Dritan also thrives on crossing boundaries and on his ability to combine different interests and occupations in his young adult life. His parental home provided him with the strong urge to engage politically and civically. An important aspect of his commitment is the quest to understand "things". It is not sufficient for him to become a lawyer and handle the legal system; Dritan wants to understand how law works in the field of power relations. Having gone through difficult times at school where – similarly to Samir – he had a troubled relationship with his teachers, at least in the initial years, he then became aware of his potential. This sense is continuously nurtured as he engages in social fields; sports, theatre and journalism are spaces where he can realize the sense of leading a purposeful life for society. The world of his parents is an important starting point for developing a strong sense for political engagement. Dritan's "politics of becoming" are geared towards establishing his belonging in the world of knowledge – knowledge that can be put at society's disposal. Like Tamira, Dritan is combining worlds and displaying an overtly civic attitude. Having moved away from his parents' home in social terms, he is managing to integrate the different realms of belonging quite effortlessly. Dritan's pride in having "achieved" is matched by his academic teachers' assessments.

These four students struggle in different degrees with angst and alienation. Samir knows them well and experiences how they are intertwined. For Dritan these emotions are not very noticeable within the university realm, but were strongly felt throughout his childhood. Tamira chooses to

ignore instances when teachers do not comport themselves in "sympathetic ways", but is well aware that her concentration on friends "with a migrant background" is a strategy to ignore social distance. And the thought of possibly failing her final exam confers a feeling of angst. All four students have developed new affective ties of attachment to significant others while acquiring and shaping their sense of navigating the academic space. Hence, they have forged their belonging based on personal liking and their own attitudes and, above all, through acquiring knowledge – academic as well as emotional.

University parcours

In light of this analysis, the *process of studying* at university level must be seen as an interplay of formal university structures with the ways in which individuals negotiate their passage through the university. The concept of "university parcours" (Pfaff-Czarnecka and Prekodravac 2017) aptly captures the dynamic nature of studying as well as the power of boundaries at work. Thus, the process of studying unfolds as an interplay between passing through formal changeovers (e.g. exams); interactions (e.g. students and teachers) as well as "*Vergemeinschaftung*" (community formation), especially among peers. Taken together, these constellations result in a student's parcours entailing more or fewer challenges. "Passing" through a university parcours is in any case a transformative experience – as all four cases have brought to light.

The concept of parcours enables inquiries into individual learning processes and into an individual student's entanglements with the other *personas* acting within the academic environment. In this vein, studying is a thoroughly social experience. Individual progress in learning is perennially assessed, measured and compared with that of fellow students – with Samir's and Ekin's experiences in striking contrast. Academic teacher-student interactions may work as enabling (for Ekin, Tamira and Dritan) or as constraining, as opening new horizons of aspiration, or invoking critique, shaping subjectivities in unpredictable ways. Peer constellations may prove vital in forging and questioning symbolic boundary lines, evoking contention and shaping activism along political (Dritan) or social– which all four students embrace – aspirations.

This analysis brings to light that students are embedded in multiple domains of practice, they are simultaneously family members, possibly breadwinners, civil society agents, sportswomen/-men, persons engaging in particular hobbies and activities. In student lives, learning and living may be multiply intertwined. Even "ratio" and "emotio" work together closely: students may find a "home" in the realm of law or at a *Lehrstuhl* where they develop a sense of "fitting in" (finding passion in a topic such as asylum law); [9] they may also make their "home" in a space where learning and exchanging with teachers and peers is possible and rewarding.

In this vein, the *Lehrstuhl* provides an "affective atmosphere" (Slaby 2016, p. 9), shaping the studying process.

The four discussed trajectories show that students experience their university parcours in different ways, but some important similarities come to light. In their interactions: Ekin, Tamira and Dritan managed to engage with professors and gained their support, so that they received academic guidance that went beyond the usual interactions between teachers and students. Through their employment as student assistants, Ekin and Dritan found attachment at their *Lehrstuhl*, that is, a social basis that may provide an important precondition for forging an academic career.[10] While the bulk of Ekin's and Dritan's private interactions are outside of the university, for Tamira peer constellations as a domain of practice proved to be immensely important for finding her feet in her studies. Samir's example illuminates, though, that it is not the sheer fact of having contacts that is important, but rather the nature of those contacts. Exams are crucial for developing one's sense of belonging. They are a linear measure of progress that provides a scope for comparisons with peers and are accompanied by particular "affective regimes". Success boosts self-confidence; failure is a throwback, especially in legal studies – a course of study characterized by a high degree of competitiveness and selectivity. Passing an exam provides students with the sense of belonging to a "class" of those faring well, of those who are fit to study law and who deserve to practise it.

Belonging matters!

Does inquiring into personal pathways through the realm of higher education touch upon the question of belonging? It should have become obvious from this analysis that it does – in many respects. Belonging and inequality are linked. For some decades now, studies on education have inquired intensively into access, inclusion and exclusion that are particularly burning problems for students lacking capital (economic, cultural and social) who are seeking to enter universities and are striving to complete their studies successfully. There is a mass of German research analysing the constellations that impede children from participating in their desired educational courses. Until a few decades ago, the intersections of class, gender, religion and region (i.e. intersections that Ralf Dahrendorf's formula "*katholische Arbeitertocher vom Land*" aptly captures)[11] informed early preoccupations with inequality in education; more recently, migrant children, especially those from Muslim backgrounds, have occupied centre stage in the critical literature (Geißler 2005).

While Bourdieu and Passeron's (1971) powerful critique of schools as reproducing social inequalities continues to be highly influential, more recent contributions provide important additional perspectives, such as addressing the power of "institutional discrimination" (Gomolla and

Radtke 2009). To give one example: Dritan's narrative revealed that school teachers can act as gatekeepers in deciding a pupil's fate. If Bourdieu and Passeron's model focused on pupils' capital endowment (especially their economic, social and cultural capitals), the "institutional discrimination" model concentrates on the other side, that is, on the exclusionary power of institutions oriented by ideas of who does and who does not fit their premises. It goes without saying that the concept of "fitting in" (see Alheit *et al.* 2008) is closely related to that of "belonging".

That the field of higher education can be interrogated as an embattled social space was only established in recent years (see especially Eribon 2016; also Ahmed 2012). As long as the number of, so-called, non-traditional students enrolled at universities was low, inequalities in access to higher education were hardly an issue in academic inquiries. This state of affairs has changed since the field of tertiary education has expanded significantly, hand in hand with opening university premises to new kinds of students: Archer *et al.* (2001) inquired into inequalities around gender, age, class and race boundary line; contributions to Lange-Vester and Sander (2016) reveal the magnitude of the inequalities resulting from a lack of capital endowment. More fine-tuned studies, such as that by Losch (2017), concentrate on specific boundaries (e.g. the changing face of IT courses that, until recently, comprised only male teachers and students, which created a male culture that gave female students a sense of not belonging). Numerous publications follow the trajectories of international students (e.g. Jongyoung 2011) and show their difficulties in gaining ground in a foreign education system. Forms of othering are found in discourses on international students, as well as on those with a migrant background, that come from university administrators' efforts to provide special services for student categories considered "problematic" (Iverson 2012; Ahmed 2012). Yet another thrust of publications question the post-colonial underpinnings of the global higher education system (Madge *et al.* 2009).

Despite difficulties or obstacles, more and more non-traditional students manage to enter universities and finish their envisaged course. At the time of their interviews, Ekin, Tamira and Dritan had not completed their courses, but their steady progress suggested that they were likely to obtain the university degree they aspired to (whereas Samir clearly expressed doubts regarding completion). Whether their high-flying ambitions can be realized is another question – beyond the scope of this analysis. Their trajectories, and those of numerous other students analysed in recent publications (El-Mafalaani 2012), give an idea that the realm of higher education cannot be seen as an inaccessible fortress for those lacking the relevant capital forms. The question is then not whether students "coming from outside" (wherever "outside" is) can forge a belonging in the academic realm, but rather under what conditions.

Discussion: multiple belonging and social mobility through education

To combine different lifeworlds that have little interpersonal and/or cultural continuity and overlapping requires a lot of endurance, will, socializing, support and creativity. All social worlds have their own codes, and specific codes are especially resented under particular circumstances. "Dwelling" in a social world requires specific forms of knowledge and these different forms can be at odds with one another. Transgressing social boundary lines requires knowledge considered valuable on both sides of the boundary, along with the knowledge of how to negotiate social boundaries. According to Bourdieu (2007), a broad spectrum of knowledge and personal characteristics is required. Among which are attentiveness, apprehension, command of the rules on proximity and distance, as well as social feeling rules, everyday knowledge, social intelligence and many more. Self-confidence is particularly important when crossing social boundary lines in the upward movement through social space. Those who have managed to enter new social spaces guard their boundaries against "trespassers" (as the academic realm may view outsiders) and may develop new layers of resilience and gain "experiences of individual empowerment" (Calhoun 2003). These inform the human intuition of what is possible and what is not. Success is likely to trigger further success; failure may restrict the personal horizons of aspiration. The ability to combine different lifeworlds and to navigate through different domains of practice give people the ability to move in the world with more ease. But persons can also strive to abandon former lifeworlds that may be seen as too restrictive or oppressive. They can find new belonging in a profession or in a function as adults, after their childhood was experienced as prone to alienation.

It goes without saying that individual in/ability to negotiate boundaries is embedded in societal settings. Institutional discrimination, categorical differentiation (often resulting in discriminatory attitudes) and class disprivilege are important preconditions for boundaries to come to life and make actors struggle to negotiate them. The four students whose educational trajectories have been discussed here come from countries that, in Germany, are usually associated with a low level of educational skills and aspiration. All of them mentioned that they are "seen" as "migrants" by others, particularly Samir who comes from a family with little economic, social, cultural or symbolic capital. His disprivileged position has certainly influenced the scope of difficulties in his educational path and has possibly instigated the exclusionary practices he has had to endure. It is beyond the scope of this analysis to assess why some of the four have been more successful in their study course than others, but it is quite striking that the biggest educational success is with those whose mothers have gone through a substantial amount of formal education.

Conceiving of biographical navigation as a process of weighing and combining different constellations of belonging casts a special light on social mobility. Social "climbing" cannot be seen as linear. Different social worlds are separated by symbolic boundaries that have the effect of social divisions. Salient habits make people gravitate towards the established spaces of belonging unless the personal urge to forge a new belonging or to abandon one's restrictive life world becomes so pronounced that the hard work of boundary crossing becomes a pressing issue. Specific constellations of belonging are significantly easier to combine than others. The personal trajectories discussed above indicate the dynamic nature of moving across social boundary lines and negotiating belonging.

The careful observation of students with a migrant background must make us cautious not to engage in "methodological migrantism". To be sure, the migrant experience has significantly shaped the four students' life experiences. Indeed, looking back at migrant experience has possibly created "affective regimes" (von Scheve 2016, p. 18), that is, forms of patterning through discourse, language and ideologies within which all four persons continue to dwell. Their family constellations are similar in the sense that parents want their children to reach beyond their own possibilities and because parents depend upon their children's knowledge and skills, to a large extent. However, the available literature on social mobility reveals that family constellations without a migration experience also frequently conform to this pattern, the difference being that migrant children's success is especially linked to a family's "successful arrival". In the intersection between migrant background and class the two dimensions reinforce each other – as can be seen in the example of Samir. Growing up in a social world where he never met a person who had seen a university from the inside (as is often the case with many "social climbers") he is paired in his case with the importance of helping his family with language and practical skills, time and again, to fulfill the promise of "achieving". The other three trajectories can be seen as "migrant trajectories" because their quest to achieve and their family support are pronounced. As children of families who had to leave their countries as refugees and were acknowledged as such, they reveal a strong sense of justice and social sensitivity. At the same time, they share pathways of moving socially upwards through education with non-migrants. The four educational parcours reveal a fair amount of variation, making it difficult to simplify inferences on "migrant background" as a personal property. If there is a strong common trend, then it is that they narrate manifold experiences of being *seen* as migrants in the society of arrival.

Conclusion

"Fitting in" to the university was analysed here as affective work. This notion may evoke Arlie Hochschild's terminus "emotion work" (1979) in

the sense that affective work is enfolding in interactions structured by different kinds of inequalities and boundary lines. In the case of "affective work", the emphasis is not on conforming to accepted norms of emotional expression, but on the affective efforts involved in integrating oneself into a new social domain. *Education sentimentale* is "affective work", it encompasses the never-completed effect of challenging established norms and finding one's own emotional ground through exchanges with significant others. Navigating through late modern organizational settings – in these cases universities – reveals the importance of affective relations. The educational process throughout the study course is accompanied by meeting, observing and engaging with a number of significant persons that enable the process of boundary crossing – except in the case of Samir. Studying cannot be reduced, therefore, to acquiring academic knowledge. It is a process shaped by social relations, by navigating boundaries, by perception and performance of social closeness and distance. Most pronounced are the affective relations between fellow students, but encounters with academic teachers are of equal importance.

Even in one single study course, that of the Legal Studies Department at one German university, that an individual will adapt to an academic norm is not entirely predetermined. Contemporary universities allow for a range of personal positionings and a range of habitual forms. Accordingly, students can retain strong ties to their parental home, especially when living there or close-by, or try to sever those ties completely (not found in the sample used in this analysis). A number thrive by establishing new spaces of personal belonging and they experiment, combining different worlds. The time spent at university is a period of transgression – an important element of adolescence and early adulthood (King 2014) – that is balanced with the quest to "fit in" to a student body and eventually into a professional role. In the four cases discussed, these transgressions may not seem striking, but they are relevant: from the point of view of all four interviewees, they have entered the academic realm, to which most of their parents did not belong, and have acquired new skills and habits. From the point of view of academic "self-certainties" a migrant entering the academic realm of an élite study course such as Law is certainly a transgression.

"Fitting in" is affective work because a study course depends so strongly upon social relations.[12] The sentiment of belonging can be enhanced when personal experiences are recognized (as by Tamira's professor) and by communicative proximity with professors and peers. Acquiring the essential skills of interpersonal communication in academic settings can significantly boost the individual sense of empowerment and widen the personal horizon of possibilities and aspirations. Performing commonality (including perceiving it) with peers or the department enhances the sense of belonging to the university.

The entire process of sentimental education at the cross-section between a pre-structured course and the partly unexpected personal

constellations of affective relations during study is a crucial element of subject formation when navigating between natal family, peers and significant others. All those who study undergo a thorough transformation of attachment configurations. They have to rethink and refigure intimate social relations with kin, friends and peers against the background of a new social environment. As Röttger-Rössler (2016) argues, navigating between different spaces of belonging instigates affective dynamics while being driven by them. While the trajectories followed here were largely a continuation of affective patterns experienced at home, the social space of their university provided a broad range of new affective relations that forged a sense of future possibilities.

Notes

1 As discussed in the EASAS panel "The Price of Belonging", organized by Hölzle and Pfaff-Czarnecka in July 2016.
2 In this chapter the notions "students" and "studying" are limited to university education.
3 On this concept, see especially the collection edited by Lange-Vester and Sander (2016).
4 Such as Pott 2002, Raiser 2007 and Lange-Vester and Teiwes-Kügler 2004.
5 See the collection edited by Lange-Vester and Sander (2016).
6 This problematic term responds to tacit notions of "academic normality" in terms of class, gender and race. Depending upon national, university or disciplinary context the category of "non-traditional" student may also include further dimensions of difference, such as religion, LGBT-orientation or internationality.
7 All names have been anonymised.
8 See, Chapter 4 in this volume.
9 A *Lehrstuhl* is a typical German academic institution, a research and teaching unit organized around one professorial chair.
10 In the German system student assistant employment is considered an important first step towards an academic career. Numerous professors started as SHKs at a *Lehrstuhl*.
11 See Dahrendorf (1966). With this formula he captures the intersection of the dimensions "labour class", "landed", "gender", and "catholic religion" (that at the time of writing was considered especially detrimental to women's education), which reduced chances in educational pathways.
12 On the concept of "fitting in", see especially Alheit *et al.* (2008).

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4 Germans with parents from Vietnam

The affective dimensions of parent–child relations in Vietnamese Berlin

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Introduction

This chapter explores the challenges faced by Vietnamese parents and children in the context of their migration to Germany and the specific affective constellations to which they led. What does it mean to raise children in transnational social fields, and how do the children themselves experience their upbringing in such settings? What does it mean to be brought up in a household influenced by practices, objects, values, and people from a distant "homeland" that often differ considerably from German ways of doing and evaluating? Our goal is to work out which affective relations unfold between parents and children within Vietnamese families living in Germany and to explore how far these affective patterns are shaped by the particular features of this Vietnamese migration. We conceive affect in line with von Scheve (2017, p. 28) as a "fundamental 'mode of being', a continuous bodily orientation towards the world with meaningful evaluative qualities". These modes of being are not individual states or qualities, but relational phenomena that emerge in interactions in relation not only to other bodies (human or non-human) and material objects, but also to ideas or "ideational bodies" (von Scheve 2017, p. 26), such as a nation or a congregation of faith. By affective relationality, we mean the interactive dynamics unfolding between individuals in particular sociocultural settings. In this case, the setting is the transnational social field of Vietnamese Berlin (see also Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004, p. 100). A transnational social field is, according to Glick Schiller and Fouron (2001, p. 3), a "network of social relationships that link together an array of transmigrants and individuals in the homeland connected to each other through kinship, friendship, business, religion, or politics". In a transnational social field, it is not only persons but also ideas, norms, objects, and domains of practice that are linked across political and cultural borders. This chapter focuses on the family structures and parenting styles prevalent in what we call here "Vietnamese Berlin". We take the perspective of the immigrants' offspring;

that is, we describe how young adults view not only their relations with their parents but also their parents' parenting models and practices. We analyse how they position themselves in the transnational social space of Vietnamese Berlin and how these positions shape their affective relations with their parents.

The empirical data underlying this chapter have been collected within our ongoing research project "Formations of Feeling in Vietnamese Berlin" that is part of the Collaborative Research Center *Affective Societies.*[1]

At the time of writing the data consist of: 36 interviews with young Vietnamese women and men aged 13 to 35 years; explorative observations carried out in different educational and social welfare institutions; and thematic analyses of several Internet forums.[2] The results presented in this chapter draw upon a first analysis of the data collected so far. Thus, we are reporting here on a "work in progress," that is, on preliminary rather than confirmed findings.

Background

The migrants of North and South Vietnamese origins living in Germany are an exceptionally interesting population group due to the ways in which the political history of their country is entangled with Germany's own recent past.

From 1975 onward, the South Vietnamese fled to West Germany (the Federal Republic, FRG) after the Communist occupation of their part of the country. Predominantly in the 1980s, North Vietnamese people came to East Germany (the German Democratic Republic, GDR) as contract workers. Migration conditions differed greatly for these two groups in terms of both their origins and their arrival in Germany. The roughly 40,000 political refugees (the, so-called, boat people) from South Vietnam, most of whom fled as family groups across the South China Sea in boats, arrived in the FRG within the framework of quota agreements in UNHCR aid programs. As a result, they were provided with assistance and integration programs (Kollath 2005; Vo 2006).

For the North Vietnamese contract workers, in contrast, the GDR had no intention of integrating them into East German life. The bilateral agreement with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was to accommodate them in company dormitories, restrict their residence permits to five years, and not allow them to bring their families with them or to start new families (Dennis 2007; Wolf 2007). Of the total of 70,000 contract workers, the majority came in the years 1987 and 1988; that is, shortly before the fall of the Berlin Wall. In Vietnam, they had worked mostly in agriculture or industry; only a minority had an academic background.[3] With the end of the GDR at the beginning of the 1990s, the contract workers were dismissed en masse, which was made possible by changing the government agreement with Vietnam. The companies were given the

right to dismiss their contract workers with three months' notice before their departure. Up to the end of 1991, 45,000 contract workers returned to Vietnam. However, roughly 25,000 remained and tried to develop new perspectives in a reunified Germany. Because they had neither work nor residence status after reunification, this was a very hard process, and few of them found permanent jobs. Most became self-employed and tried to make a living through trading (in flowers, textiles, or fruit and vegetables) or running small restaurants (Kleffner 1995; Kreienbrink and Mayer 2014).

These highly divergent background and migration contexts led to the formation of two extremely different groupings that are strongly dissociated from each other (Baumann 2000, p. 41; Su and Sank 2017, pp. 21–22). In Berlin, which is currently home to about 20,000 Vietnamese, this difference expresses itself spatially: The former boat people and their families are distributed across various "West Berlin" districts; whereas the former contract workers live mostly in the "East Berlin" districts in which their company dormitories had been located.[4]

In this chapter, we concentrate on the former contract workers and their offspring, who form the majority of Vietnamese immigrants in Berlin and who have been the main focus of our research project.

Family structures and parent–child relations

One significant aspect that emerges when looking at parent–child relations within this group is the strongly emphasized distinction from an emic perspective between a "one-point-five generation" and a "second generation". The one-point-five generation is the label given to the children of Vietnamese immigrants who were born in Vietnam, where they spent part of their childhood before coming to Germany. The "second generation" are those born in Germany. This differentiation constitutes a highly important line of demarcation between children of Vietnamese immigrants: It was mentioned in nearly every interview we conducted, without any prompting.[5]

The one-point-five generation

Many of the children of former GDR contract workers came to Germany several years after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 because of the legal right to family reunion in a reunified Germany. Generally, they came with the other parent who had remained in Vietnam. A great number of these children were aged ten or older, in other words, they had spent the largest part of their childhood in Vietnam and had been shaped by Vietnamese familial structures, socialization practices, and modes of childrearing. For many years, both the children and the parent who had remained in Vietnam had had only long-distance communication links with the parent

in Germany in the form of occasional telephone calls, money transfers, and presents sent by post. The intensive, everyday contacts possible today through advances in communication technologies were not available in the 1980s and 1990s. Most members of the one-point-five generation describe these occasional telephone calls with the distant parent as being not very emotionally close. It was members of their daily familial environment in Vietnam and, most frequently, their grandmothers who were their close caregivers and attachment figures. Hence, the move to Germany was always accompanied by saying goodbye to major attachment figures, as the following quote illustrates:

> I could hardly remember my mother. She went away when I was three years old. Then, in Germany, I said mother to a woman who was really a stranger to me. My real mother was my grandmother in Vietnam.
>
> (26-year-old female)

The young woman making this prototypical statement was 15 years old when she left Vietnam and came to her parents in Germany. Her mother had traveled to the GDR as a contract worker. Some time after the fall of the Berlin Wall, her father had followed, and the last to come was the daughter.

In short, the one-point-five generation and their parents generally had several years of familial separation and experienced transnational parenting. They now have to come to terms with the familial reconfigurations shaped by life in Berlin and the accompanying affective dynamics.

Against this background, we assumed that the following three aspects would be particularly relevant with regard to the affective relations between parents and one-point-five generation children: the first two – *distance between parent and child* and *distance between parents* – point to distancing factors; whereas the third – *shared experience* – refers to bonding elements within parent–child relations.

Distance between parent and child. It is likely that an estrangement or distance emerged between the parent or parents who first came to Germany and the children growing up in Vietnam, due to what were often many years of separation. After reunion in Germany, both sides had to cope with the fact that the children's central attachment figures live in Vietnam, and that both parents and children are, or have become, strangers to each other. This applies particularly strongly when parents had to leave behind what were still very young children.

However, when reading through the interviews with members of the one-point-five generation, we noticed that, in most cases, saying goodbye to Vietnam, the journey to Germany, and the reunion with the parents were described quite undramatically, without any pathos.

Many said they had been told they were going to Germany only shortly before what was an already fixed departure. Moreover, they were often not

informed about the full consequences of the journey, as was the case with Tuyet, who came to Germany when she was nine years old:

> My mum told me that we are now going to visit your father in Germany for three to six months and then we shall come back again, and I believed it…. We then went to a refugee center – a kind of assembly center – and that was in Königswusterhausen; and we applied for asylum there because the visa that we had been given was somehow valid for only three months, which is why we had to apply for asylum; and it was exactly there when I finally realized that our stay in Germany might last somewhat longer than just three months.

She describes settling down in Germany, in a district of East Berlin with a strongly Vietnamese character, as being relatively unproblematic:

> It was a residential area for Vietnamese people and it was a four-room apartment with four different families living in one apartment…. Living in Ahrensfelde was also a great advantage for me because there were also a lot of other Vietnamese children. I could get to meet other children relatively quickly and I also found friends very quickly and that also was a very good distraction for me. I can still remember that we attended a German language course together…. At the time, we were all between eight and ten. We also traveled on the bus by ourselves and signed up for a German language course – I think that was in Wartenberg.

Tuan (32-year-old male) was also told only half the truth. One day after school, his father told him he would be traveling to Germany in the coming week to join his mother who had gone to the GDR as a contract worker and, following reunification, had opened a little kiosk in a district of East Berlin.

> My father said this would be better for me and my sister. He would follow us some time later. I had not seen my mother for six years; she had left when I was three years old. I could no longer remember her properly…. Of course, I was sad to leave my father and my grandparents. But I was excited and very, very curious…. It was only much later that my sister and I found out that our father had never planned to follow us; that our parents had separated.

Looking back now, this was the first time that he was no longer certain whether he had ever received this information from his parents directly rather than from other people. That would be the usual way: Children hardly ever had something communicated to them directly by their parents. The parents had agreed to separate without seeing each other

again. Tuan also describes settling down in Germany as being uncomplicated.

> A lot of Vietnamese people lived in our part of the city. At the beginning, that was good because of the language. There were a lot of children and I had playmates straight away. Later through the school, however, I had more German friends.

Our other respondents describe their family reunions in Germany in very similar ways. The presence of a large Vietnamese community and many peers in districts of East Berlin made it easier for them to arrive and settle down. Most families lived in one or two rooms in the dormitories for former GDR contract workers, now occupied mostly by Vietnamese families.[6]

   In Vietnam, it is usual for young children to be cared for not just by their parents but also by other family members. This is reflected in the descriptions of childhood years in Vietnam. For example, Hang (32-year-old female) reports:

> At the weekend, we would visit my grandparents on either my mother's or father's side of the family. My grandparents were still alive then, and I spent most of the summer with them in the countryside.… Because my father had to work, he would send me to my grandparents in the countryside until, I think, I started attending secondary school.

Nhung (34-year-old female) gives a similar description of family conditions during her childhood in Vietnam:

> There was no preschool for me, and I stayed at home with my grandma on my father's side and played there. She was the person I was most attached to when I was small, because she had always carried me and fed me at mealtimes. My mother had … only breastfed me and was otherwise away at work. I know that I had a really, really close attachment to my grandma.… My grandma also always took me to school and when I was then in first grade, and I still know that the school was quite a long way away. I always walked … and my grandma took me there for the first few months.

The majority of our interview partners from the one-point-five generation had been brought up in Vietnam within extended family constellations. They had usually lived with their parent(s), grandparents, aunts, uncles, and diverse cousins under the same roof. Their parents were by no means their only and primary caretakers. On the contrary, they were often absent for work, as the quotation above shows. Caretaking for infants and younger children was shared among different family members, including older

siblings. These forms of distributed caregiving lead to multiple attachments; they relate and orient the child toward the whole family group and not primarily to their parents. It might be assumed that these multiple caregiving and attachment patterns create an affective relationality that differs considerably from the monotropic, parent-focused, dyadically organized caregiving and family patterns prominent in Germany and many other Western societies.[7] We shall return to this point later.

Distance between parents. Another affective force that might lead to estrangement or distance in parent–child relations is linked to the fact that in numerous cases, marriage partners were also separated over many years. Depending on how long the couple had actually lived together, separation might have either weakened their closeness and trust over time or given them no chance to develop. A further strain on the partnership was the unequal cultural competence in relation to Germany. The partners who came to Germany first generally possessed the necessary knowledge for living there, which placed them in a privileged position compared to the other partner. Particularly when the woman came to Germany first and was therefore the more competent partner, this frequently led to major tensions between marriage partners that relate to the patriarchal Vietnamese family structure. Tuan, for example, told us that his mother had later explained to him why she wanted a divorce from her husband: She was no longer willing to subordinate herself to him and his family after having managed her life alone for many years. These affective constellations within partnership relations also influence parent–child relations. Many of our interviewees mentioned struggles and tensions between their parents. Retrospectively, they related these not only to the difficult living conditions their parents had faced in Germany but also to the different gender roles prevalent in this country. However, we cannot discuss this important aspect in more detail here because of limited space.

Shared experience. The affective forces that might foster estrangement or distance in parent–child relations are also counterbalanced by aspects that bond. For example the one-point-five children share with their parents the experience of "being foreign" in Germany – an experience that particularly shaped the phase of their arrival. They are familiar with the Vietnamese lifeworlds, social structures, value orientations, and ways of behaving, and they have – often very close – emotional ties to family members living in Vietnam. All these aspects naturally depend strongly on the age at which the one-point-five children came to Germany: whether they were still relatively small children, older children, or adolescents.[8] This aspect of the children's age when immigrating, and hence how long they were socialized in Vietnam, creates further differentiations within the one-point-five generation. The time the children spent in Vietnam is also decisive for a further potential common ground between parents and one-point-five children: mastery of the Vietnamese language.

The second generation

This generation, in contrast, is characterized by a poor knowledge of Vietnamese. That may seem surprising, but in most of our conversations and interviews members of the second generation pointed to a marked "language gap" between themselves and their parents: Whereas the parents speak only a rudimentary German, the children have only a basic knowledge of Vietnamese. Hence, communication with their parents is limited to simple everyday matters; the language gap prevents them from carrying out more complex discussions. This language gap is attributed to the continuous absence of the parents due to work. Supporting the family required, and continues to require, that both parents go to work. In addition, most former contract workers are self-employed. This is accompanied by greater stress and insecurity as parents leave home early in the morning and do not return until very late. The children are very much left to themselves or placed in the care of German childcare and education institutions. However, alongside these structural factors linked to the migration history, a further aspect seems to play an important role: There is a fundamental lack of a "culture of dialogue". This is often indicated as another reason for the "speechlessness" between first and second generations:

> In the evening, our parents ask whether we have learned enough and completed our household duties. There is no further conversation. Things like "How was your day?" "What did you experience today?" "How are you?" are completely uncommon. Our parents never ask us what we think about something. We are also not allowed to contradict them. They see that as a lack of respect.
>
> (18-year-old male)

For each generation, the parents' limited knowledge of German is enough to understand the practical demands of everyday life. However, for many of the young women and men in the second generation, it is only when they visit Vietnam that they realize how limited and basic their knowledge of the Vietnamese language is:

> My relatives in Hanoi always laughed their heads off at my Vietnamese and I could hardly understand them. Then, for a while, I did not want to travel to Vietnam any more … I believe that our parents always spoke only a very simple Vietnamese with us. Later, I made up my own mind to take language classes.
>
> (24-year-old female)

Alongside this two-sided "speechlessness," the relation between parents and second-generation children is shaped by the children's weaker ties to

Vietnam, together with their stronger orientation toward German values and behavior standards. Most members of the second generation only know Vietnam and their relatives who live there from the occasional visits that the majority of them describe as a tiresome obligation. The 18- to 20-year-olds had visited Vietnam an average of three times in their lives. However, the first time was mostly when they were infants and they have no conscious memory of it. On these infrequent journeys – because of the cost – they predominantly visit paternal and maternal relatives. During these family visits, the children born in Germany can neither build up intensive relationships with their Vietnamese relatives nor gain an in-depth understanding of the country, because they generally only spend their time where the family lives and do not travel the country.[9]

Discussion

With regard to the affective dimensions, we have to ask how far the combination of these factors – the language gap, differences in the emotional ties to Vietnam, and the different identification with German values and behavior – leads to a greater affective distance between second-generation children and their parents than that between one-point-five generation children and their parents.

Although the second generation did not experience a long-term separation from their parents, the factors mentioned here seem to indicate a more than trivial affective dissonance and thus a potential for alienation.

Because our research is still a work in progress, we are not yet able to draw any firm conclusions. Nonetheless, there are several indications that the one-point-five generation has less conflict with parents than the second generation. It seems as if the self-perceptions in each group play a decisive role. Most members of the one-point-five generation describe themselves as "mediators" or "bridge builders" between Vietnamese and German lifeworlds, whereas the second generation seems to tend toward more confrontation. This can be seen clearly in, for example, Internet forums in which young German Vietnamese discuss conflicts with their parents. Here, the majority of conciliatory voices that call for people to see the parents' point of view and avoid breaking up the family come from members of the one-point-five generation. One of them described the second generation in the following words: "They are Germans with Vietnamese parents whom they don't understand."[10]

However, there are also many members of the second generation who see themselves as cultural mediators; who have an overt interest in their parents' homeland, the Vietnamese language, and Vietnamese culture; who view trips to Vietnam not as a tiresome obligation but as an enrichment; and who also have good relations with their parents. An important issue in future research will be to explore which sociostructural and family-biographical factors make this possible. Age is also a decisive factor in this

context: Our data indicate that the attitude toward Vietnam changes with the coming of age. Many of the second-generation members who are now in their early twenties and very interested in the homeland of their parents, told us that it was previously the other way around. This shows the importance of taking a life-course perspective when dealing with identity formation (see also Svašek, Chapter 2).

Nonetheless, it is clear that the one-point-five and the second generations take different positions in the transnational social field of Vietnamese Germany, and that this influences their specific parent–child relations. Put simply, the former seem to view their family life from a more Vietnam-centered perspective, whereas the latter take a more Germany-centered one.[11] Another important distinction between the one-point-five and the second generations concerns the different family structures within which they were raised: Whereas the one-point five generation was brought up mainly in extended family and multiple caregiving constellations, the second generation was or is being raised primarily in nuclear families. In this context, it is important to bear in mind that living in small nuclear families is generally not a deliberate choice for Vietnamese immigrants. It is more likely to be something imposed on them by their specific migration conditions. The parents, who themselves grew up in extended families, have acquired hardly any experience with which to meet the demands of parenthood in small nuclear family structures, which require a more personal involvement, even just in terms of time, than that required of parents in distributed caregiving contexts. Moreover, the demands imposed by their predominantly self-employed work as small entrepreneurs grant them very limited free time and they mostly have to leave their children to care for themselves or place them in institutional care arrangements. The one-point-five generation did not mention this as a problem in their talks with us. In addition, they did not complain about the accompanying duties and responsibilities for domestic chores or caring for younger siblings that this imposed on them. They simply took this for granted:

> I think I just took them for granted; that is, I never questioned these obligations.… Why do I have to look after my sister, why do I have to do the cooking? It was simply done.
>
> (33-year-old female)

In contrast, the second generation describes these conditions with what are, in part, markedly more negative connotations. They complain particularly about their parents not having enough time for them:

> They simply have no time. They never do anything together with us like the parents of my German friends do. They, for example, go swimming with their children at the weekend or they go climbing or

whatever. Ours? Never! Nothing doing! They wouldn't even think about it. They consider that to be a waste of time.

(16-year-old male)

This quote suggests that the second generation have different expectations regarding parental behavior, which are oriented toward the parental practices of their German surroundings.

Parenting models and practices

Members of both the one-point-five and the second generations characterize the parenting style of their parents in the following terms: authoritarian, achievement-oriented, distanced, focused on filial piety, and characterized by many prohibitions, strong supervision, and physical punishment. In the corresponding formulations, individuals refer repeatedly to German parenting models and practices that they perceive as permissive, supportive, and sensitive – so to speak, as a more positive alternative. How young Vietnamese view their parents' parenting style is shaped decisively by German standards experienced through relationships with German friends and fellow school students. Young Vietnamese frequently address the numerous experiences of exclusion that they have to face due to the prohibitions of their parents:

> Often I just couldn't keep up. l wasn't allowed to go to the movies, to go to birthday parties, there were a lot of television series I was not allowed to watch; and later when everybody started going to discos and the like in the evening, I was excluded completely. I was ashamed to always have to say that my parents wouldn't allow it. Then I'd pretend I'd got something better to do. Eventually, everybody stopped asking me whether I wanted to go out with them.

(19-year-old female)

The pressure imposed by extremely high expectations regarding academic achievement is emphasized repeatedly. Statements such as the following are frequent: "A grade of 1.3 is still okay, but a grade 2 is already mega stress: shouting, bad moods, and prohibitions; anything worse than a grade 2: beatings" (17-year-old female).[12]

A Vietnamese social worker from the one-point-five generation who works for the youth services reported on what were often really drastic cases. At a professional conference on the childrearing competence of Vietnamese parents, organized by a Vietnamese network in Berlin, one of the main discussion topics was corporal punishment. Debates frequently referred to the following saying: Thương cho roi cho vọt, ghét cho ngọt cho bùi [If you love your child, give him a beating; if you hate him, give him candy and goodies].[13] This saying shows how Vietnamese ideas on

forms of good parenting involve being strict and willing to inflict severe and even corporal punishment. These are viewed as an expression of parental love and care (*thu'o'ng*), whereas forms of indulgence are judged to be bad parenting. These childrearing ideals are diametrically opposed to the ideas that underlie German educational institutions and emphasize supportive, explanatory, and encouraging childrearing practices, while evaluating corporal sanctions, such as beatings, as legally punishable violations of the best interests of the child. These contradictions lead to numerous affective tensions – particularly in interactions with education and childcare institutions in Germany, youth welfare offices, family support centers, and the like. In cases in which, for example, the youth welfare office intervenes, the childrearing competence of Vietnamese parents is often questioned, they have to attend childrearing courses, and in dramatic cases they even lose the right of custody.

According to those we talked to, the goals of Vietnamese parents are to rear obedient, respectful, and achievement-oriented children. In this context, they refer frequently to Confucianism and its concept of filial piety (*hiêu*). Parents are authorities, which obliges children to honor them and be respectful and obedient toward them. In general, the seniority principle plays a central role: Younger persons basically have to respect and defer to their elders. In this context, even contradicting one's elders is considered to be disrespectful and is not to be tolerated. Children are expected to fit themselves into hierarchical family structures, with the youngest taking the lowest place. The "traditional" Vietnamese family is described as an extended (i.e., encompassing several generations) patriarchal unit in which the oldest male member is the "undisputed head of the family," and men are viewed as being basically superior to women. Filial piety also means that children fulfill their parents' expectations concerning their education and occupational choices. Higher education is of utmost importance for Vietnamese parents. The best possible school education, with the best possible grades, followed by university studies is their main educational goal. How pressing these parental wishes are becomes evident in the fact that some of our one-point-five interviewees confessed to having played upon their parents' ignorance of the German education system and having pretended to study at a university to satisfy their parents' wishes, although, in reality, undertaking an apprenticeship.[14]

> I'm the head of department.… That's a high post, and they know that I earn good money and that I do not work for Vietnamese people, but that it's a real business that has a name for itself and actually that is also important.… They think I studied, but I did not study … I simply lied and said that I had studied … I completed my *Abitur* and then I did nothing for a year except prepare myself to study … and I worked on the side as a full-time waiter.… What I wanted to study was

communication design … I applied, but did not get in, and then I had a part-time job … as a temporary employee at the time, and then, because I did not get a study place, I worked part-time for 25 hours a week – at that time, I could not tell my parents that I had not got a study place, so I told them I was going to university because they have no way of controlling me; I was an adult now and I could say what I wanted. They can't look it up, check it. They have to trust me blindly … it's been three years now … my parents think I have successfully completed my studies, but up to now, honestly speaking, if one of them asks me what I am studying they don't know what I have studied. They also weren't really interested; their only real concern was that I have studied at all.

(26-year-old male)

The children's success at school is the focus of parental interest and is encouraged through continuous admonishments and a close monitoring of academic achievement. Activities that are of no direct use for an academic career, such as hobbies, are considered superfluous and they are either not supported or even prohibited. Failure at school is considered to be unacceptable; poor grades lead – as pointed out above – to negative sanctions. Young people also say they feel under a strong pressure in the way their parents continuously compare them with other, "better," children in the Vietnamese community. As far as academic achievement is concerned, these practices are crowned by success in Germany: Vietnamese students are considered to be "child prodigies". Their academic achievement at school is above average. These characteristic educational practices are all based on the Confucian idea that children are a tabula rasa and are first formed (*gebildet*) by their upbringing. Childrearing is conceived primarily as purposeful and goal-directed teaching and training – a concept that is diametrically opposed to the current central concept of playful-explorative learning in German pedagogics. Teachers report that this is also an implicit field of tension.

We shall now turn to the affective dynamics entangled with the family structures and parental styles outlined so far.

In Germany, the Vietnamese configuration based on parental authority, hierarchical family structures, gender asymmetry, and filial piety is losing its hold. This is predominantly because the parents are dependent on their children. Once the children reach a certain age, they possess far greater competencies regarding the German language, social structures, and lifestyles than their parents. There are numerous contexts in which they serve their parents not only as language translators but also as cultural translators – whether accompanying them to doctors and officials, or helping them fill out forms and documents, or explaining German legal regulations, or whatever. Here we have to recall the situation of the first generation, that is, the former GDR contract workers: After the fall of the

Berlin Wall, they found themselves almost overnight in a new social system without any clear perspective. Under difficult conditions, they took a pragmatic approach and acquired as much knowledge on this "new Germany" as they needed to earn a living. They built up only limited, function-related contacts with German lifeworlds. Their children, in contrast – regardless of whether they belong to the one-point-five or the second generation – are integrated much more strongly into German ways of living. Indeed, this is something that the parents themselves have promoted through their strong emphasis on their children's education. The resultantly greater linguistic, social, and cultural competencies of the children transform them into important mediators for their parents, and this changes the power structure in the family. In numerous contexts, it is the children who know more and are more competent, and it is the parents who depend on their help or advice. As a result of this role reversal, the authoritarian family structure starts to falter. In our interviews, young Vietnamese – belonging to both the one-point-five and the second generations – describe how extremely hard it is for them to balance their role as cultural mediator with the norm of filial piety that particularly forbids any contradiction. Both sides are aware that there are numerous situations in which their roles are de facto reversed, and it is not the older but the younger who are implicitly in charge. "I don't have any problems with my parents in this regard," one young woman told us, "I am always extremely respectful, I recognize and heed all signs of respect and obedience, and then it works" (25-year-old female). Others reject this "playing the game". They refuse to stage the filial piety components or to mask their own powerfulness behind gestures of respect and obedience. However, regardless of which strategy individuals apply, this discrepancy between social norm and reality is a significant affective area of tension in the daily lives of Vietnamese families.

But there is another aspect related to education that seems to lead to strong dissonances in many parent–child relationships. The children's high level of secondary and tertiary education results in a major gap in educational attainment within the families. Most former contract workers have no higher education. Hence, in this regard, they are inferior to their children. This gap in education seems to lead frequently to tension; and this is particularly the case when parents demand obedience from children who perceive their parents as being "ignorant" in the specific context. In the interviews, this educational gap emerged as an important topic for both groups of younger generations. In some of our interviews, as in numerous entries on the Internet forums, the young people revealed an extremely derogatory view of their "uneducated" parents. This asymmetry seems to represent a sensitive and tense dimension within parent–child relations.

Conclusion

Our goal was to explore the affective dimensions of parent–child relations in Vietnamese Berlin. Our preliminary analyses of the data collected up to now show that three dimensions are of particular relevance for the affective relations between immigrant parents and their children.

1   Depending on whether and how long the children of Vietnamese immigrants were socialized in Vietnam, different affective distances emerge in parent–child relations (mediatory one-point-five generation vs. confrontational second generation). This relates to the different self-positioning of the childhood generation in their transnational life-world. Close ties to Vietnam and to family members living there on the side of the children help them to empathize with their parents. In contrast, a more distanced relation to the homeland of the parents and a stronger association with the German way of life is more likely to cause tension and dissonance between parents and second-generation children. However, we have to bear in mind that the attitudes of the younger generation toward their parents are age-dependent. The often harsh judgments of, and distanced attitudes toward, their parents displayed by the second generation might change over time. In other words, the self-positioning of the immigrants' children within the transnational social field of Vietnamese Germany/Berlin may reverse over the course of time and thus also alter parent–child relations. This shows the importance of taking a life-course perspective in this context.

2   The different ways in which immigrants' children are being reared lead to another domain of contested parent–child relationalities: The one-point-five generation was socialized mainly in extended family structures and plural caregiving patterns, and thus acquired multiple attachments and an affective orientation toward the whole family group. The second generation, in contrast, was socialized in nuclear family arrangements, which was not a voluntary choice for the parents, but one due to their migration history. However, their parenting style was and continues to be shaped mainly through their own familial experiences – that is, through hierarchically organized extended family structures and multiple caregiving practices. The second generation, on the other hand, is deeply influenced by the family structures and parenting models prevalent in German society. These frame parents as the main caregivers, emphasize the parent–child dyad as an exclusive relationship, and stress the importance of supportive, indulgent, and nonauthoritarian parenting styles. For the second generation, the greatest part of their socialization from earliest childhood onward was within German early childcare and education institutions such as kindergarten and school. The children spend the greatest part

of their day in institutions that confront them with value orientations, behaviors, and practices that are not customary within the parental home.[15] Second-generation children tend to evaluate their parent's parenting styles and practices primarily through "German eyes," and this leads to considerable affective dissonances.

3   The asymmetry in language and knowledge competencies resulting from the history of migration, along with the educational gap between parents and children weakens the hierarchic family structure, and particularly the cultural model of "filial piety". Parents are no longer superior in all situations. Former family heads lose their authority and may be "demoted," as Carola and Marcel Suárez-Orozco (2001, p. 76) label these role reversals. They lose their authority because they have no "map of experience" concerning the host country with which to guide and advise their children. This change in power structures within the family also changes the affective relationality between the generations. However, the affective dissonance resulting from the parental loss of status, or "demotion," relates to both one-point-five and second generations. In this respect, the two generations do not reveal any significant differences. The affective tensions accompanying intrafamilial role reversals are equally problematic for both. Despite all their differences, they share – as Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001, p. 1) express it – one common denominator: immigrant parents.

As they emphasize themselves, the children of Vietnamese immigrants in no way form a homogenous group, but differ strongly from each other. Depending on whether they have done most of their growing up in Germany or Vietnam, they have a very different range of experiences that brings them together into different "affective communities," that is, into communities that are united by their affective relation to the world.[16] Their childhoods have been shaped by extremely different social and familial patterns, power structures, values, and practices that – viewed from a social-psychological perspective – would make them seem more like two different rather than one single generation. Just like Carola and Marcelo Suárez-Orozco (2001), we find it extremely important to pay sufficient attention to these intragenerational differences and not to follow the approach taken in many studies on transnational families and view the children of immigrants as a homogenous group.[17]

Both one-point-five and second generations are socialized in(to) a transnational social field, a hybrid setting, encompassing Vietnamese and German structures, values, and practices, but they are embedded differently within this multilayered and multisited field. This shapes their affective relations, their "modes of being," or their relation to the world (their *Weltbezug*) in a fundamental way.

Notes

1 Alongside the authors, members of the project team are Gabriel Scheidecker, who is investigating the socialization of infants in Vietnamese Berlin as a post-doctoral researcher, and Tran Thu Trang, who is collaborating with us in numerous research activities as a student assistant. We thank them both for their always creative and congenial collaboration.

2 The thematic analyses were of 22 biographical interviews with the one-point-five generation (14 females, eight males) and 14 interviews with the second generation (eight females, six males).

3 Initially, the majority of those living in the GDR were students, trainees, and academics, about 10,000 in number (Kollath, 2005). From 1980 to 1989, a total of roughly 60,000, mostly North Vietnamese "contract workers" were employed in the GDR (Wolf 2007). This number also included many who had already come to Germany in the 1970s for vocational and university training, then returned to their home country, before coming back to Germany to translate for the contract workers. All these groups have very different migration histories, and they accordingly position themselves very differently both in Germany and in their transnational lifeworlds.

4 In 2014 a total of 84,455 people with Vietnamese citizenship were living in Germany, with nearly the same number with German citizenship. Around 104,000 persons from the total number of 165,000 belonged to the first generation of immigrants, and 61,000 to the second and third generations (Su and Sanko 2017, p. 21). Only 29 percent of the first generation have German citizenship (see also Schaland and Schmiz 2015, p. 13).

5 A number of studies in the social sciences distinguish not only the first and second generations of immigrants but also an "in-between generation". Rumbaut (1997), for example, differentiates according to the age at the time of immigration between a 1.75 (immigration in preschool age), a 1.5 (immigration in mid-childhood, between six and 12 years old), and a 1.25 generation (immigration in adolescence between 13 and 18 years old). However, our Vietnamese respondents generally assign persons who immigrated to Germany at preschool age to the second generation.

6 They all viewed these comparatively restricted living conditions as being similar to living conditions in Vietnam and therefore as familiar and completely unproblematic.

7 For further information on multiple forms of caregiving in different cultures, see Otto and Keller (2014), Quinn and Mageo (2013), or Röttger-Rössler (2014).

8 Our respondents classified young children who lived in Vietnam from shortly after their birth up to their third year of life as belonging to the second generation and not the one-point-five generation.

9 This is reported very frequently. Many only gradually open themselves up to their parents' home country and the Vietnamese language as they approach the end of their secondary schooling, aged 17 or 18. They then make an effort to learn the language and travel through Vietnam on their own initiative. It is interesting to see that the former contract workers do not seem to follow any active "language policy" and try to impart the Vietnamese language to their children at private language schools. This distinguishes them not only from a number of other migrant communities who consciously raise their children bilingually, but also evidently from the boat people, who, according to Wolf (2007, p. 12), pursue this strategy to forge a link to their country of origin. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001, p. 74) report similar findings on the "children of immigrants" in the United States.

10 Our data suggest that relationships are generally more harmonious in families with older siblings belonging to the one-point-five generation, who mediate between parents and the younger siblings born in Germany.

11 Some recent studies on the children of immigrants in the United States (Alba and Nee 2003; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2004; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, and Holdaway 2008) demonstrate that the second generation often identifies mainly with their country of birth and show little interest in the home country of their parents, or as Levitt (2009, p. 1228) puts it: "transnational parents … do not necessarily produce transnational children".

12 A grade of 1.0 is the best possible grade in the German system; a 2.0 is good.

13 Or the old English saying "Spare the rod and spoil the child," taken from the Bible, Proverbs 13:24: "He who spares the rod hates his son, but he who loves him is careful to discipline him."

14 Four out of our total of 22 respondents in the one-point-five generation reported comparable untruthfulness toward their parents.

15 Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001, pp. 73–74) view schools as significant "contact zones" of major importance for integration in a new country (see also Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2009).

16 The historian Barbara Rosenwein (2006) coined the term "emotional communities". She uses it to describe groups of people who are united by the same feeling rules; that is, by the same ways of expressing and controlling feelings, of assigning meaning to the same feelings as being either valuable and desirable or harmful. Rosenwein (2006, p. 26) emphasizes that emotional communities do not form around a single emotion, but only around complex emotional constellations or feeling systems. Drawing on Rosenwein, we understand "affective communities" as groups of people who are united by an affective way of looking at the world, or mode of being that is based on similar experiences and thereby enables them to form a community.

17 Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001, p. 1) emphasize the need to distinguish "immigrant children" who are born in the homeland of their parents and who migrated with them or followed them later, from the "children of immigrants" (born in the new country as second or third generation). They argue that the experiences of recently arrived immigrants – "immigrant children" – are unique and must be isolated analytically from the experiences of subsequently born generations.

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Part II

Affect and place

5 Spatialities of belonging

Affective place-making among diasporic neo-Pentecostal and Sufi groups in Berlin's cityscape

Hansjörg Dilger, Omar Kasmani and Dominik Mattes

Introduction: religion, migration, and belonging

Since the 1990s, anthropologists have explored the multiple ways in which diasporic religious groups establish a sense of belonging in the context of transnational mobility and migration. A wide range of actors from the Christian and Muslim spectrums provide moral guidance and practical assistance in day-to-day activities before and during the process of migration (Lauser and Weißköppel 2008; van Dijk 1997). They also offer social and emotional support for their members in transnational fields and establish a sense of belonging to their families and communities of origin that extend beyond national borders and to others in diasporic contexts (Levitt 2007). At the same time, anthropologists have highlighted the contentious role of fundamentalist religious groups who, despite actively taking part in the globalization of media and the economy (Meyer 2004), partially reject the core moral values of the "modern Western world" (Karagiannis and Glick Schiller 2006).

Anthropological studies on religion, migration, and belonging have increasingly focused on the dynamics of spatiality and materiality. They have demonstrated that publicly enacted religious practices and audiovisual stagings create particular forms of belonging in the diaspora and locate experiences of migration in urban spaces (Krause 2008). They have also indicated that spatiality in charismatic religious communities is linked to specific localities and is simultaneously marked by imaginings of universal belonging (Knibbe and van der Meulen 2009; Hüwelmeier and Krause 2010). Lastly, they have laid out a differentiated reading of material artifacts (e.g., media, holy objects, and bodily fluids) through which configurations of spatiality, belonging, and religious practices take shape, and religious meanings and discourses become haptically tangible (Houtman and Meyer 2010).

In this chapter, we build on anthropological studies of religion and migration that examine the role of religious-spiritual practices in the construction of belonging within the context of migration, and in so doing

also address the importance of materiality and spatiality.[1] At the same time, we expand on such studies by focusing on how religiously and spatially mediated modes of belonging become embodied in the life worlds of members through affective and emotional experiences and ties that relate the members of the two groups of our study to the wider socio-material urban environment (Dilger et al., forthcoming). In this regard, we draw on research on religion, affect, and emotion, which highlights the importance of exploring religiously informed emotional and affective processes "in reference to the social context" (Lyon 1995). Moreover, the active learning of religious "emotional regimes" is an interactive process that helps individuals navigate transitions and crises throughout the life course (Riis and Woodhead 2010, p. 11).

We focus on the case studies of two religious groups that, notwithstanding their distinct histories of settling in Berlin's cityscape, engage in bodily focused and affect-driven practices as a way of establishing their members' moral, social, and spatial sense of belonging.

The Tekke-i Kadiriyye Gençliği is a youth-based prayer circle in Neukölln belonging to the Kadiri Sufi Order whose organizational center is in Istanbul, Turkey. The Berlin circle is a predominantly Turkish-speaking group, comprising mainly young men born and raised in Germany whose parents arrived in the country as guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*) during the 1970s. It is organized around an elderly Sufi master whose role is authorized by the Istanbul-based grand shaykh of the Order. The group has been active in the neighborhood since 2001 and conducted weekly ritual gatherings at their center in Neukölln. However, since July 2016, when the center unexpectedly shut down, the Kadiri Sufis of Berlin have been meeting in several other mosques in the area, as well as in private homes.

The Deeper Christian Life Ministry (Deeper Life) started in 1973 as a small Bible study group in Lagos led by William F. Kumuyi. Since its registration as a church in 1982, Deeper Life has grown significantly and today constitutes one of the largest churches in sub-Saharan Africa. Like many other African-initiated neo-Pentecostal mega-churches (Adogame 2004; Knibbe 2009; Marshall 2009; van Dijk 1997), Deeper Life has managed to establish branches all over the world, including in North America, Australia, and Europe, with 15 congregations in Germany alone. The congregation in Berlin was registered in 1999 and today comprises 80–100 members of varied socio-economic backgrounds, the majority of whom are first- and second-generation migrants from Africa.

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework of our argument and then reflects on the spatial distribution and urban visibility of Berlin's Sufi orders and mainly African-initiated (neo-)Pentecostal churches, most of which were established in the years following Germany's reunification. With detailed ethnographic accounts from our fieldwork, we then show how affective belonging in the Berlin branches of the Kadiri Order and

the Deeper Christian Life Ministry involves, in contexts of mobility and migration, not only highly affective and interactive bodily performances, but also multifarious material and symbolic engagements with place and space. We argue that a comparative perspective is fruitful for understanding the similarities and differences in religious group practices of place-making and "claiming territory" in urban settings (Dilger 2014). A methodical attention to affect in this regard opens up specific possibilities to comparatively apprehend the dynamics of spatial belonging in the context of migration with regard to its bodily, translocal, transtemporal, and moral dimensions.

Embodied belonging and religious place-making

Since 2000, belonging has gained prominence in scholarly analyses of a wide range of social processes, including contemporary dynamics of migration and mobility, displacement, and home making (Lähdesmäki et al. 2016). Belonging, when understood as an "emotionally charged social location" (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2011, p. 2), proves a particularly productive notion for addressing the multiply connected and affectively abounding modes of interaction that exert influence on the way individuals and collectives connect to each other and to their socio-material environments. Exploring belonging thus always implies a discussion of the politics that draw distinctions between members of a particular social collective and others who are excluded (Antonsich 2010; Yuval-Davis 2011). Moreover, it involves perceptions and concrete performances of commonality, as well as continuous labors of mutuality (Anthias 2006; Pfaff-Czarnecka 2011). At the same time, it takes into account people's varying affective attachments to particular material objects (Svašek 2012) and places (Röttger-Rössler 2016) that play an essential role in forging a sense of home, whereby belonging emerges as a profoundly "materialized and bodily experience" (Lähdesmäki et al. 2016, p. 236).

We proceed from the stance that religion can be a powerful means of fostering a sense of belonging in new environments. It entails place-making not only as investing meaning in a particular portion of abstract space but also as becoming emotionally attached to it. At the same time, it may contribute to believers' distanciation to certain urban places and ways of life that are experienced as alienating and partly threatening. In this sense, religious place-making – with its potential for conflict and friction – gains particular relevance in the context of the city, with its specific conditions and experiences of change, diversity, and mobility. Taken together, these dynamics make the space of the city an affectively charged site of ongoing political contestation and moral ambivalence (Orsi 1999), which both includes and excludes its inhabitants, often in unforeseen ways. Given such unpredictability, religion emerges as a key domain of everyday life through which city dwellers contest, negotiate, reimagine, and

transform the urban in often highly affective ways (Dilger et al., forthcoming). As Vásquez and Knott argue:

> religion provides the resources through which people craft moral – and affectively charged – maps that not only reflect and buttress the logic of spatial regimes, but may also offer tools to challenge them, to introduce heterogeneity by building alternative utopias.
>
> (2014, p. 327)

Religious place-making refers to multi-layered spatialities of belonging involving overlapping processes of "mapping, building, and inhabiting" (Tweed 2006, p. 82). But being and dwelling in places does not preclude interconnectedness or participation in a network of places that often reach far beyond a geographically confined territory or a clearly bounded social domain (Massey 2005). In fact, a religious sense of spatiality is essentially about multifarious crossings. As Thomas Tweed notes,

> religions enable and constrain *terrestrial* crossings, as devotees traverse natural terrain and social space beyond the home …; *corporeal* crossings, as the religious fix their attention on the limits of embodied existence; and *cosmic* crossings, as the pious imagine and cross the ultimate horizon of human life.
>
> (Tweed 2006, p. 123, our emphases)

The unbrokenness of space that such crossings imply speak to O'Neill's idea of affective space, where affect "serves as a medium through which spatial divisions and interconnections become legible" (O'Neill 2013, p. 1103). Thus, making room for affect in an analysis of spatiality renders the local *translocal* and helps complicate the separateness of religious and non-religious spheres of urban life.

   The ethnographic accounts from our fieldwork offer insights into overlapping dimensions of religious place-making in the context of Berlin. However, first we outline the wider urban religious ecology within which these Sufi and neo-Pentecostal sites are situated.

Sufi orders and (African) neo-Pentecostal churches in the secular context of Berlin

"As early as the 1880s," social geographer Stephan Lanz notes, "Berlin was regarded as the world's most a-religious city" (Lanz 2013, p. 20). With an estimated 60 percent of its inhabitants claiming no religion, popular media often described it in terms such as "godless" or the "atheist capital of Europe" (Keenan 2016). Nevertheless, a significant number of religious groups and centers have flourished in the city (Grübel and Rademacher 2003). According to one estimate in 2003, more than 400 religious

communities were active, including 161 Christian churches, 60 Islamic organizations, and 20 "neo-pagan" and "occultist" groups (Katholische Nachrichten 2003[2]). That a majority of these places continue to be located in the areas of former West Berlin is evidence that the city's past continues to be reflected in their present geographic distribution. For example, as illustrated in Figure 5.1, the existing Sufi centers and African-initiated neo-Pentecostal churches in Berlin are clustered around the most socially disadvantaged districts of Wedding, Kreuzberg, Tempelhof, and Neukölln. These are former working-class areas with long histories of immigration. Even today these districts have the highest share of "non-German citizens" (e.g., Neukölln has 22 percent, Ohliger and Raiser 2005, p. 50[3]) and comprise comparably large segments of people who are unemployed or work in the low-income sector.

At the same time, processes of gentrification are particularly pronounced in specific parts of these districts and contribute to increasing social and economic disparities – and occasional friction, especially with regard to religious buildings. A 2006 report commissioned by the Berlin Senate on integration and migration observed that the desire for visible mosque spaces often leads to conflict and that its size, location, and appearance is sometimes compromised to avoid social discord. Despite this, it stated that the number of mosque associations rose by 34 percent between 1991 and 2003 (Häußermann 2006, p. 86). It is increasingly observable that what were once discrete spaces of worship, relegated to backyards are now confident structures with rising minarets, providing new contours to Berlin's cityscape.

If to belong is also to build, that is to say to construct visible signs of one's place in a new society, such new-found urban assertiveness is not equally given to different religious groups in the city. For example, a quick survey of the facades of the listed Sufi places in Berlin (Figure 5.1) shows a complete lack of visual authority, that is, the importance that buildings draw from their visibility in a given urban spatial order (Wolper 2003, p. 3).

Similarly relevant is the observation that across German cities, an increasing number of churches are being sold or rededicated to other purposes (Burchardt and Becci 2013, p. 7). That said, in the case of Berlin, the materialities of the buildings housing these religious groups offer a glance of what Burchardt and Becci (2013, p. 12) have called a "hidden religious topography". In the case of Sufi groups, whose presence in Germany can be dated back to the early 20th century, places of worship in Berlin have largely remained temporary sites, tucked away in backyards. Many of the neo-Pentecostal groups, active in Berlin since the 1990s, also struggle with sustaining a visible presence in the cityscape. Such groups gather in former industrial warehouses or meet in private apartments; only a few have managed to establish agreements with German Protestant "mainline" churches to hold services in their buildings. This urban non-visibility may stem from a deliberate decision on the part of the communities' leadership, but it equally points to the politics and
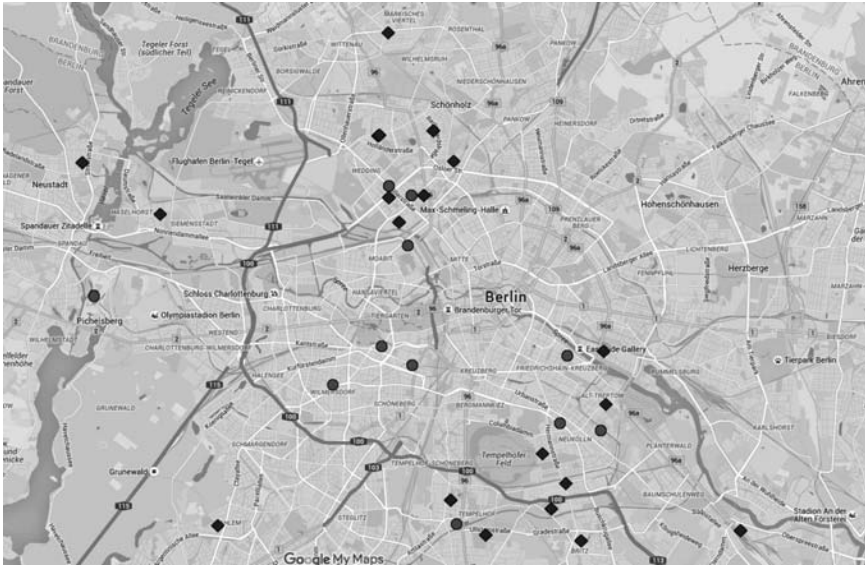
Figure 5.1 Spatial distribution of Sufi centers (circles) and neo-Pentecostal churches (diamonds) in Berlin (2016).

Sources: © 2017 Google and Marie-Aline Römer.

constraints of religious place-making in regard to both inter- and intra-denominational claims for material and symbolic appropriations of contested urban spaces (Dilger 2014). As the following two ethnographic accounts illustrate, such claims constitute an important part of the affective dynamics of religious place-making across both sites.

Rooms of remembrance: The Kadiri Sufi circle (Omar)

"However small, you have to have a place!"
> Message to the Berlin circle from the grand shaykh
> of the Kadiris (Istanbul, 2016)

There was hardly room to maneuver. Some 30 men struggled for a place on the carpet. Taking up every bit of space, accommodating as many persons as they could, the men sat overlapping one another in half-hearted arcs, what ideally should have been an unbroken circle of prayer. These young men, mostly in their twenties, faced an elderly *hoca* (spiritual guide), who sat on a sofa in this emptied-out living room in Neukölln, a migrant-rich district of Berlin.

The *sohbet* of the Kadiri Sufis – a didactic talk that the *hoca* regularly delivers to his followers in Turkish – had just concluded. There was

renewed commotion in the room. Listeners re-adjusted their postures in preparation for *zikr*, the weekly ritual of remembrance that had brought them together in the first place.[4] The room where they had gathered today was everything but memorable: the floral upholstered sofa outdid the few decorative items on the shelves; and a picture of the Prophet's mosque added little to its otherwise insipid walls; the cream-colored curtains were undrawn, yet some white lace screened the room from outside view.

Soon the cycle of Arabic recitations would begin and the dull interior would come to life with reverberations both sonic and corporeal. As the *hoca* sang devotional verses in Turkish, men would relish the praises of the Kadiri saint of Baghdad; weep out of longing to visit Medina. Lights off, for the next 45 minutes, they would lyrically chant the names of Allah, moving their torsos ever so slightly; their heads would oscillate up and down; and body would brush against body. But less rhythmically than expected, more inhibited than usual. For, if only there was room, they would have risen at one point, locked their arms with one another, and continued the recitations in more rigorous ways, as they had done regularly. In spite of it all, the charged atmosphere so characteristic of *zikr* gatherings was not compromised. If anything, the incommodious and confined arrangement had contributed to a unique intensity that one could have felt viscerally in the room that day.

This gathering of the Sufis was a weekly affair. Yet this was not where they had met the preceding week; neither would they assemble here again the following week. Since August 2016, when the Kadiri Sufis had had to let go of their mosque of 15 years in Neukölln, the weekly assembly of its followers had to be rethought. Rendered placeless in a sense, remarkably, the circle had managed to continue their meetings without interruption, assembling at times in other mosques of the neighborhood or, as was now the case, in the homes of its followers. This was but an *Übergangslösung* (temporary solution), as interlocutors described it, and even though six months on there was little progress with regard to finding a place of their own, followers were convinced that a new mosque was on the horizon. These were not simply impressions gathered from conversations during fieldwork but a theme explicitly brought up in *sohbet* meetings in the weeks that followed.[5] "We, [at] the center of Europe, have no *dergah* [Sufi communal place]," the *hoca* remarked in one of the *sohbet*s, "this [Berlin] is the center. Can the center ever be left without a *dergah*? It cannot!" His followers were equally aware that together they formed the most prominent Kadiri community outside of Istanbul.

Hence, when in July 2016 the news of the mosque's closure first broke, one gathered a wistful sense from many of the regular attendees of *zikr*. The mosque had served as a point of convergence and guaranteed a sense of continuity for the Sufi circle. Its loss inevitably brought with it real risks of discontinuity, disintegration, or worse still, obscurity. To remain visibly present in the city was to remain relevant to its urban spatial order and in

this sense was an important goal for a translocal religious group. On its last day, after performing *zikr*, the young followers helped wrap up the final items, and were photographed with the *hoca*, before finally scraping the prayer carpets off the concrete floor (Figure 5.2).

If there was measured despair in the room, there was also resolve. The stakes were higher because theirs was not simply a mosque. It was also a *tekke*, a concept of place that historically refers to Sufi community lodges that are at once places of learning, exchange, spiritual transmission, and religious congregation (Wolper 2003).[6]

The *Kadiri tekke* of Berlin, although it served largely as a mosque, included a women's prayer space and offered a Koranic school for children and a community-run kitchen. For many it was where they had gathered week after week, a place nestled in their neighborhood, embedded in their daily lives. Most congregants lived and worked in walking distance from the *tekke*; many could take short breaks from work and congregate for prayers during the day. Some would additionally gather on Saturdays for the weekly *zikr*, a spiritual exercise supplementary to the five obligatory prayers. And on Fridays, the *hoca* would lead the congregation as an *imam* and deliver the sermon to a mosque full of people, a wider community of congregants, not all of whom were attendees of the Sufi circle. Understandably, the *hoca* drew a great deal of affection and reverence on the streets. With the *tekke*-mosque now gone, his work of over 20 years in this Turkish migrant community was thrown off balance.

Figure 5.2 Followers assist in dismantling the interior of the *tekke*-mosque in Neukölln (Berlin, 2016).

Source: © 2016 Omar Kasmani.

"They have destroyed the nest of the homeless birds," the *hoca* said to his followers in one of his more affected statements during *sohbet.* The mosque's contract could not be renewed because the entire property was being sold and redeveloped by its new owners – not too surprising given the wave of gentrification in this part of Berlin. By mid-September 2016, the mood was changing as an active organizer of the group spoke of the difficulties:

> We had found two or three places; most do not give us a place because we want to establish a mosque. Not only Germans, also Turks and Arabs; they also don't give, you know!

After three months of sharing an Albanian mosque, things were not working out. The group met at the *hoca*'s house for the first time in November. "It is obvious … we are all in great distress," he remarked, "in our hearts, we are destitute, we are poor, we are sad". He went on to speak of the European enmity towards religion; the growing trend of mosques shutting down in France and Germany; and how the current situation might not have arisen in the first place had the group been steadfast. That day he delivered an important message to his followers from the grand shaykh in Istanbul:

> However small, you have to have a place. It should be like you've just arrived in Berlin; you have just been appointed. In this way, you will start working with determination and desire. There is a place like this [referring to the home]; until you find a *dergah* … spread in your own houses!

To be without place was unimaginable; statements like these made plain to his listeners that the continuity of the group rested on the continuity of its performance of place in the city, be it one or many. Following these instructions, by year-end the group had performed *zikr* in eight new places. In a sense, a cartography of rooms of remembrance was slowly emerging, constellating around the old *tekke* in this northern quarter of Neukölln, where the group had its roots. Out of sight and tucked away in homes, congregations like *zikr* were key to surviving as a translocal religious group, not least because collective acts and rituals of remembrance fostered a sense of belonging in the absence of a familiar terrain (cf. Ahmed 1999). Especially within diasporic contexts, they ensured material, cognitive, and affective continuities across religious centers. And so much more in the case of Sufis, where contemporary adherents actively sought lines of spiritual belonging to deceased saints and mystical masters (Willemse 2012), redefining thus the extent of the local and the scope of the urban.

Inasmuch as performances of *zikr* constitute the very process through which Sufi religious places in the city are temporally sacralized (ibid.), *zikr*

is also the means through which a moral life in the city is imagined and navigated. While we waited for the *hoca* on a rainy evening in November 2016, a 21-year-old follower described Berlin as a place where it pours all day, a sinful rain. The significance of *zikr* he argued rested in its unique ability to purge oneself of such urban-moral contamination. He described everyday acts as potentially polluting, as if the city was an active field, replete with desire and deceit, brimming with lies and lust. With such evocative metaphors, the young man was closely paraphrasing the sermon from two weeks previously, when the *hoca* had said:

> The dirt of everyday life … imagine, it's like rain of mud from the sky, mud is everywhere. You go out in the street and there's mud, sin. You look at the walls, sin. You look at the shops, sin. You go back home, watch TV, sin. Go to school, sin. Go to the cinema, sin. Sin, my dear, just sin. What is sin? Just mud. It rains on you. Mud. Don't you have to wash it off yourself? … We live in such a condition where every day we have mud raining upon us.… Our *zikr* cleans ourselves. Thanks to *zikr* [we] will be spotless; and when we stand up after *zikr*, we stand up immaculate.
>
> *Sohbet*, 12 November 2016

The embodied experience of *zikr* was in continuity with the transmission of ideas in *sohbet* gatherings, as much as private rooms of remembrance were in conversation with modalities and moralities of the urban. If "beyond the transformation of the person" Sufism was indeed "a movement in space that Islamizes the universe and transforms it into the space of Allah" (Werbner 1996, p. 322), the role of the body in a ritual like *zikr* cannot be read independent of its concerns with a moral geography (Selim 2015). Similarly, the immigration of blessed persons, cultural objects, and relics implicate past and present geographies of belonging and "bridge cognitive – spatial as well as temporal – distance" by providing "ways of vicariously bringing the sacred history of older Muslim regions into the Islamizing spaces of new homelands" (Green 2012, pp. 120–121). Multifarious as these are, the embodied and spatial labors of belonging, as the Kadiris of Berlin were now faced with, were unfinished and perpetually at risk. Belonging demanded a precarious steering of the present with an anchor in the past as well as an eye on the future. Perhaps such navigation is what the *hoca* alluded to when he comforted those gathered in his home on that November evening: "When Allah closes one thing, he opens another door … it is truly a passage. With the permission of God, *insha'allah*, we will cross it together."

Longing for salvation: the Deeper Christian Life Ministry (Dominik)

> "The Lord will help us win this city!"
>
> Pastor Edouard (29 January 2017)

Thousands of believers rose from their chairs, raised their arms, and directed their palms towards heaven. Their faces convulsed, as if in pain, they craved for divine transformation. Echoes reverberated in the gigantic prayer hall in Lagos. For each prophecy Pastor Kumuyi proclaimed into his microphone, he harvested a fervently voiced "Amen!" from among the masses. "You'll never be the same!" he enthusiastically prognosticated, pacing back and forth on a moderately decorated stage.

> There's a touch of the hand of the Lord coming upon you right now! … Victory and triumph, success and power, authority and anointing! Everything you touch will turn into blessing in Jesus' name! … You will speak a new language. When you lay your hands on the sick, they shall recover! … And the power in you shall never fail…! From today, you are another man, from today, you are another woman
>
> Pastor Kumuyi, Sunday service, September 4, 2016

This scene was projected on a screen in Berlin where approximately 80 believers had gathered in the worship hall of the Deeper Life congregation at a Sunday service in early September 2016 (Figure 5.3).

Their reactions were no less passionate than those of their fellow church members in Lagos. At the peak of the "miracle and revival program," the intensity and loudness of their movements and utterings increased synchronically to that of their counterparts on the screen. As if a bridge of affect conjoined the continents, the audiences in Berlin and Lagos appeared to merge into a single body of ecstatically praying worshippers. Crossing time and space, such a mediatized routine of connecting believers can be viewed as a transnational enactment of belonging, both effective and affective. In a sense, it enabled followers in Berlin to physically experience the unity of their globally dispersed church. It also ensured that they received an equal share of blessings, as their counterparts in Lagos were enjoying an immediate proximity to their revered spiritual leader.[7]

There is a profound bodily dimension to the spatial practices of Deeper Life members that becomes particularly salient in such highly affective, mediatized prayer sessions. Much more than a matter of meditative introversion, praying at this church is a highly expressive bodily activity. The worshippers seem to have an engrained sense of how their bodies should be positioned in relation to one another and in correspondence with the sequence of the service. In certain sections of the service individuals might physically turn away from the collective, pray with their faces to the wall,

Figure 5.3 Worshipping members of Deeper Life in Lagos are projected on a screen during the Sunday service of their fellow congregants in Berlin (Berlin, 2016).

Source: © 2016 Dominik Mattes.

or pace back and forth, while other phases demanded a higher degree of conformity and synchronicity between those present. In their implicit knowledge and cultivated embodiment of such spatial norms, congregants displayed a "well-fitted habitus" (Hage 1997, p. 102), which, one can argue, fosters their sense of belonging to the church community.

Belonging spatially also involves finding one's place in the religious urban ecology of Berlin, a city in which few of its members were born, and where many have lived for at least a few years. As with the Kadiri Sufis, sustaining a site of worship was by no means an easy process. Fortunately, the congregation eventually managed to reach an agreement with a German Lutheran pastor, who allowed them to hold their weekly gatherings in his church. Yet, Pastor Edouard's otherwise good memories of these years in Berlin-Kreuzberg were tainted by the circumstance that they had to share the church with a group of Muslims.[8] To Pastor Edouard, it was incomprehensible how a Christian pastor could open his church doors to Muslims, especially in times when Christianity was so dramatically losing traction within the "Western" world. Although he appreciated living in Germany, a country that upholds the freedom of religion, he insisted "that freedom should not go too far" (interview, January 29, 2017) and expressed his great surprise at the fact that they had been chased out of the church building while the Muslim group continued to meet there. In any case, once their contract with this particular church came to an end, the group was compelled to embark again on the search for a new place of worship.

Pastor Edouard vividly recollected difficult negotiations with house owners and property management agencies, for, in his view, they associated the practice of African-initiated churches with a constantly recurring, noise-related annoyance. After months of searching and an intermittent short-term arrangement in a privately owned former church building in Berlin-Gesundbrunnen, the congregation finally found its current place of worship in 2012 with the help of a real estate agency specialized in properties apt for religious use. For decades, the building in the district of Reinickendorf had served as the parish hall of a German mainline Protestant church. It was then sold to Hope Berlin (*Hoffnung Berlin*), a subdivision of a German evangelical free church, which, in turn, agreed to rent out a prayer room and a large meeting hall to Deeper Life. Pastor Edouard emphasized that his congregants tried their best to curtail the high levels of sound during their gatherings and to maintain "friendly relations" with other inhabitants of the building, most of whom were members of Hope Berlin. Deeper Life members also invited their hosts to participate in their services and once a year attended an informal get together organized by the latter. Beyond these activities, Deeper Life has not forged any deeper connections with the church's immediate neighborhood, not least because most of its members live in other parts of the city.[9]

Notwithstanding the limited connections to its immediate socio-geographic environment, the church is invested in place-making in the

sense of "spatial appropriation, regeneration, and re-enchantment of the urban landscape" (Garbin 2013, p. 677). Apart from individual members' evangelizing activities in the form of distributing religious pamphlets on the streets, such place-making is predominantly realized at a spiritual level. Berlin featured regularly in the pastor's sermons and prayers, in which he bemoaned the inhabitants' dire lack of spirituality. He routinely warned his audience that Berlin offered all too many occasions for Christians to be tempted by "the works of the flesh" in a place "where pornography is everywhere". Time and again the congregants were reminded that individual and corporate prayers were the most powerful measure to protect their spiritual progress from these satanic traits of urban space. A spiritual transformation of the city through evangelizing and insistent praying was not only directed to church members' own spiritual benefit, it was equally to preserve city dwellers from eternal agony. Pastor Edouard insisted that this was an essential moral obligation for the church members (Knibbe 2009).

> We are responsible for the city! … Why must we go and preach? Because there are souls that can be saved.… Because … souls will be damned, condemned, sent to hell, to the lake of fire, forever.… Except you pray for them … we will overcome every hindrance of Satan and we will evangelize this city in Jesus' name! This is a battle-field! … We will battle in prayer, we will battle in fasting, and the Lord will help us win the city!
>
> Pastor Edouard, Sunday service, November 6, 2016

The ultimate desire, as the church members had prayed for on several occasions, was that Berlin would eventually become their Jerusalem, a sacralized "city of refuge" (Joshua 20: 1–9), where every repenting sinner would find salvation in Christ. On the one hand, such prayers illustrate an interrelation between religious performances of the body and conditions of urban transformation. On the other hand, they are a form of "transcendent place-making" insofar as the believers "hone in on the transcendent that is outside" (Hovland 2016, p. 17), while yearning for it to imbue their here and now. Assuming such a heterotopic perspective (ibid.), congregants graft religiously meaningful geographic imaginaries onto their concrete spatio-temporal surroundings, conflating biblical and earthly space.

At the same time, prayers at Deeper Life often relate to concrete political events and processes that have a direct impact on their lives in Berlin. On the day of the elections of Berlin's state parliament in the fall of 2016, for instance, Pastor Edouard persistently appealed to his congregation to "wake up". Guiding their prayers that God-fearing people come to power, he reminded them "we can do direct change on the works of darkness in this city and do great things for the benefit of this city – if we can pray"

(corporate prayer, September 18, 2016). In the view of the Deeper Life members, a God-fearing and righteous political leadership was an essential precondition for peace and security to prevail in their city of residence. This concern became particularly salient in the aftermath of terrorist attacks in Brussels and Paris, and at the Berlin Christmas market in December 2016, all events which Pastor Edouard addressed in his sermons and prayers.

Not just that, day-to-day life as an African migrant in Berlin was equally challenging for some church members. Another prayer meeting, large parts of which revolved around achieving a stable and safe living environment in both Germany and church members' countries of origin, thus included not only pleas to be protected from terrorism and other extreme outbursts of violence, but also a passage concerning people's everyday encounters with xenophobic hostility on the streets of the city. As much as church members are invested in the moral geography of the city, such moments illustrate how the social and political conditions of urban living routinely intermingle with the sphere of the religious, stirring up affectively charged discourses and practices of hope and (be)longing.

Conclusion: comparative perspectives of affective religious place-making

Our ethnographic accounts illustrate how religious place-making in a socially, materially, and morally contested urban space such as Berlin is a long-drawn out and effortful process. Claiming and sustaining place in a shared urban context is bound to yield unlikely encounters and possible tensions between and beyond religious groups. This supports the view that cities are highly dynamic centers of religious innovation and affective engagement (Burchardt and Becci 2013; Dilger et al. forthcoming).

An inter-religiously comparative analytical framework means that we can trace affective continuities across different religious communities, despite their distinct historical trajectories in the city. Turning to affect in such an analysis of the urban affords an expansive view of the dynamics of place-making across various sites. For, inasmuch as affect arises from the specific, its visceral and atmospheric registers mean that it transcends the demographic singularities of particular groups, overcomes boundedness of place, and complicates the separation of religious and non-religious spheres. That said, a focus on affect also restores to the project of religious place-making its bodily import. Accounting for embodied experience in religious practice (Klassen 2009) enhances an appreciation of how believers in collective acts of prayer move through, while being moved by, rhythmic iterations of the body; are receptive to intercorporeal cues as much as they generate shared fields of emotion; and partake of, as well as contribute to, sensorially arousing environments. Such affectivity is tied to the ways in which followers of the two religious groups relate to their

material and spatial environments. It is against this backdrop that we articulate a common ground of analysis by foregrounding the translocal, transtemporal, and moral dimensions of affective religious place-making, three critical themes that have emerged in our ethnographic material.

The cases of the Deeper Life church and the Kadiri Sufi circle in Berlin reaffirm the observation that migrant-centered religious congregations secure new "spaces of alterity" at their target destinations, "often at the 'margin' of urban experience" and contribute to the "renewed enchantment" of their host societies' urban landscapes (Garbin 2013, p. 692). A significant part of such investment in the two groups' immediate environment is achieved through practices that transcend particular locations and involve a network of social relations and material flows that make these religious groups distinctly translocal.

The transnational character of Sufi networks, with their longstanding presence in Germany, is undisputable (Schlessmann 2003). But when, amid their struggles in the city, the Kadiri Sufis of Berlin seek guidance from the grand shaykh in Istanbul; when despite being embedded in a particular neighborhood, followers view themselves at the heart of a European congregation; or when in tucked away rooms, men lyrically long for Medina and Baghdad, they articulate the precise ways in which Sufi performances in the city are translocative. This means that they reference multiple places and empower followers to symbolically move between them (Tweed 1997; 2006). By virtue of orientation, Muslim daily prayer and buildings like mosques – and also homes where emotive rituals like *zikr* are performed – are brought into a distance-crossing relationship with Mecca and various other holy sites.

The Deeper Life congregants, on the other hand, form part of transnational networks that have more recently gained global salience through their investment in cities like Berlin. Their pastors and church members circulate within these networks as do books, tracts, worship music, and audio and video recorded sermons of their spiritual leader Pastor Kumuyi. Through such regular material and mediatized connections between Deeper Life congregations across the world, members find place in their local church and gain a sense of belonging to a global community of worshippers.

As these examples show, local religious performances and spaces of congregation routinely reference specific geographical and spiritual centers beyond their immediate physical and metaphysical confines, thus highlighting the fact that each of our field sites – though particular in regard to the distinct influences and constituents found there – are also extraneous. Such translocality implies the recognition that these places are in conversation with a wide range of places, discourses, people, and material and immaterial references far beyond particular geographical sites within the contemporary city of Berlin (Massey 2005).

As much as religious performances are translocative they are also transtemporal (Tweed 2006). Followers of these religious groups cannot be

said to be concerned only with the here and now of the city, though this is a particularly prominent focus of Pentecostal teaching, which emphasizes the transformative potential of the present moment. In fact, their lives are as much shaped by the long historical trajectories they situate themselves in as they are molded by their convictions to shape their futures.

A particular orientation towards the future constitutes an essential component of religious practice and discourse at the Deeper Life church. During several services and prayers, worshippers were reminded of their sinful pasts and the dire need for repentance. This means that the present for believers is always geared towards the promise of a fast-approaching future. No wonder, members are continually urged to alter their lifestyles so as to realign with the church doctrine, to commit their lives entirely to Jesus so as to ensure their entry into God's kingdom, especially when the Day of Judgment, as the church believes, is ever imminent.

In contrast, ritual and prayer among Kadiri Sufis revealed how the present was affected by an ever-tappable mystical past. In reciting chains of spiritual transmission, for instance, and in recalling mystical masters in weekly rituals of remembrance, Sufis embody the idea that historical saints were active forces capable of influencing the world of the living from beyond their graves. In migratory contexts in particular, where mystical histories are not given but must be newly evoked, affective performances such as *zikr* (remembrance), along with the circulation of material objects and blessed persons, serve to project and secure a sacralized future amid present geographies of belonging.

A final comparative dimension of how urban place-making is realized at Deeper Life and the Kadiri Sufi circle concerns the groups' efforts to have a lasting effect on Berlin's moral geography. Prayers and sermons at Deeper Life often reflect a globally circulating and highly mediatized discourse of the "moral evil" of Western countries and the need for a spiritual transformation of secular societies (Adogame 2004; Dilger 2007). With morally charged aims for the urban, church members' engagement with the city manifest in their evangelizing activities in public spaces. More importantly, however, it shows in congregants' relentless efforts to effect a sustainable moral transformation of the city through their highly affective and bodily engaging prayers. Church members' insistent spiritual involvement in "the battle to win the city" is aimed at revitalizing their mundane surroundings. Their repeated reference to Berlin as "our Jerusalem" suggests that there is also a genuinely eschatological dimension to these practices of religious place-making. Such a response to the city relates to a long tradition of Christian anti-urban theologizing (Orsi 1999) that renders the city "as the site of moral depravity, lascivious allure, and the terrain of necessary Christian intervention" (Vásquez and Knott 2014, p. 334).

The Christian inheritance of this discourse notwithstanding, moral concerns of the city were equally pronounced in Sufi followers' relationship with Berlin. Much more than an aim to win the city, the Kadiri Sufis are

concerned with combatting its moral currents through the semantically powerful medium of the body. Collective, embodied, guided by saints, and charged with the power to purge, affect-rich performances of *zikr* remain necessary to maintain an incorruptible standing in a city described by the *hoca* as drenched in sinful rain. This had become particularly urgent in a time of placelessness. With pop-up rooms of remembrance surfacing across the neighborhood, the Sufi circle had not only safeguarded its continuity in the city, but uninterrupted performances of *zikr* also meant that its members were able to seek the protection of mystical masters in the face of the city's moral depravity.

Place-making, as we have illustrated, occurs in specific ways, especially in the context of emerging religious communities who must strive to ground themselves in new environments where sacred references, liturgic repertoires, and charismatic figures of authority are not historically situated and, in this sense, are not immediately accessible to believers. The explicitly translocal character of place-making among such groups illustrates that members' investments in reshaping their local and immediate settings is part of widely extending processes of affective (re-)belonging. Inasmuch as translocative religious performances are infused with a sense of longing, congregants' material, spatial, and embodied engagements in the city are also the means through which local affective attachments are formed and experienced, giving rise to new, often only temporally secure, spatialities of belonging.

Notes

1 The material presented in this chapter is part of the research project entitled "Embodied Emotions and Affective Belonging in the Context of Migration: Sufi Centers and (New) Pentecostal Churches in Berlin," which forms part of the collaborative research center *Affective Societies* at Freie Universität Berlin and is funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) (see Chapter 1). Omar Kasmani and Dominik Mattes have conducted fieldwork in the context of a diasporic Sufi group and a neo-Pentecostal church respectively. They work closely in collaboration with Hansjörg Dilger, the principal investigator of the research project, in the identification of overarching conceptual themes that emerge from the two sites.
2 According to kath.net (Katholische Nachrichten), these figures were presented as results of a two-year study on religious life in Berlin by its editors Grübel and Rademacher (2003).
3 Ohliger and Raiser (2005) use the category of "*Nicht-Deutsche*" (non-Germans) with the intent to work with national citizenship as a clearer marker of social demarcation than "ethnicity" and "origin". They prefer this notion over "*Ausländer*" (foreigner/alien), which they deem to be analytically imprecise (ibid., p. 6). Non-Germans, in their usage, may include people with German ancestry who were expelled from Eastern European countries after World War II, labor migrants from the Mediterranean area, asylum seekers who have fled from wars (e.g., the Balkan War), and more recent immigrants from Eastern Europe (ibid., p. 50).

4 The ritual of *zikr* (also *dhikr*) refers to the Sufi sonic performance of remembrance of Allah and the holy saints. Sufi adherents are required to recite these rhythmic formulae regularly in daily and weekly cycles. *Zikr* can either be undertaken silently, by oneself, or performed aloud under the guidance of a spiritual master in an assembly of Sufi followers. For more on *zikr*, see Werbner (1996) and Willemse (2012).

5 Every week the *hoca* addresses the Sufi circle for about 40 minutes. This is called *sohbet* (literally, to be in one's company) and it precedes the performance of *zikr*. In his talk, he usually illustrates key Sufi concepts with an emphasis on their moral, corporeal, and aesthetic dimensions.

6 The Turkish word *tekke* (also *dergah*) refers to a dervish lodge, or a building specifically designated as a gathering place of a Sufi brotherhood (*khanqah* in Persian, z*awiya* in Arabic).

7 Berlin's Deeper Life congregation routinely establishes such intense sensuous connections to its mother church in Lagos with the help of audio-visual media. Such transnational connections between its various congregations form part of Deeper Life's global topography. These include material ties in the form of circulating books, tracts, worship music, and audio and video recorded sermons of Pastor Kumuyi.

8 In 1995 the current Regional Overseer of Deeper Life in Berlin, Pastor Edouard, a citizen of the Republic of Benin, arrived in Bonn and founded a Bible study group with other West Africans living in the city. When he registered the group as a non-profit association, it became the first officially acknowledged branch of Deeper Life in Germany. He moved to Berlin in 1999, where he eventually became the leader of a group of African Deeper Life followers who had already been congregating for some time before his arrival.

9 As Pastor Edouard emphasized in a personal conversation, however, Deeper Life Berlin was a member of two Pentecostal umbrella associations, the *Bund Freikirchlicher Pfingstgemeinden* (www.bfp.de [23 November 2017]) and the *African Pentecostal Pastors Association* (www.racibb.org/index.php/de/gemeinden-de/57-g-001-african-pentecostal-pastors-association [7 December 2017]), through which the church remained in contact with other Pentecostals living and practicing in Berlin.

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6 "Midān Moments"

Conceptualizing space, affect and political participation on occupied squares

Bilgin Ayata and Cilja Harders

Introduction

Only six years ago, the world was holding its breath about the events unfolding in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrein, Syria and Yemen when mass protests against long-time dictators spread through the region. Peoples' cry for "Bread, Freedom, Social Justice, Dignity" seemed to resonate globally. While today the memory of those revolutionary situations is overshadowed by the wars in Syria and Yemen and other violent developments, the mass protests of 2010 onward have shaken not only the region but have inspired protest movements all over the world.[1] Together with the protests in Tunisia, the occupation of Tahrir Square in Cairo for 18 days, which resulted in the toppling of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak, remains a powerful symbol and an example of the possibility for change under highly restrictive and authoritarian conditions. While protests on the square are nothing new in the history of political mobilization, after the uprisings they have gained a new momentum from North Africa to the Middle East, to North and South America, in Europe and beyond. The most striking features reported from Tahrir Square were the intense emotional and affective dynamics of the protests, which we will analyse in detail in the following in our effort to conceptualize the link between space, affect and political participation.

Even though the vocabulary of the protests highlighted the affective and emotional dynamics of the protests – such as tearing down the "Wall of Fear" or calling for a "Day of Rage" – the academic engagement with this angle of the protests has been limited. A few accounts of the Egyptian Uprising of 2011 engage briefly with emotions (Keraitim and Mehrez 2012; Sabea 2014; Schielke 2014) and the possible effects of these events on political subjectivities (Bamyeh 2013; Bayat 2013; Hanafi 2012; Sholkamy 2012), but there is not much systematic research available on the affective dynamics of mass protests on Tahrir Square. While scholarship on social movements has been looking intensively at the 2011 protests in the region, only a few authors have engaged with affect and emotions (Benski and Langman 2013; Pearlman 2013) or with the relevance of

space to the uprisings (Allegra *et al.* 2013; Ismail 2013). In many accounts, space figures in these accounts merely as "context", while emotions are dealt with as a resource for the protesters, mirroring the general approach to emotions within social movement studies.

The intense affective and emotional dynamics of the protests are also reflected in many writings about them. While the first accounts of 2011 tended to be overly enthusiastic and full of far-reaching claims, simply glossing over the many ruptures, dissonances and violent ongoing struggles, current debate is overwhelmingly gloomy and pessimistic. Both narratives fail to account for the complexity and ambivalence of such large mass protests, often because of a narrow focus on achievements at a macro-political level (Achcar 2016; Ayata 2017; Bayat 2013; Harders and Wahba 2017). What is missing is a conceptualization that allows for an empirically grounded analysis of these transformative events and their affective, spatial and temporal registers. To grasp these intricate dynamics, this chapter introduces the concept of the "Midān Moment" as a heuristic device, which links the spatial and temporal dimensions of affect and emotion with political participation.[2]

We begin with a historically situated reading of Tahrir Square as a material and affective space. We then present our concept of the "Midān Moment" as an analytical lens, building on the notions of affective spaces and affective arrangements. We conceptualize the emotional and affective dynamics on the square as Midān Moments that emerge from the bodily co-presence and political practices during the occupation. Focusing on the case of the 18 days of protest on Tahrir Square in Cairo, Egypt, we trace how the confluence of the materiality of the square, the moments of intensity, the feelings of joy, fear and liberation repeatedly created an affective arrangement that enabled outright antagonistic actors to protest together. Midān Moments are times of rupture in which previously consolidated emotions, such as fear, become destabilized, thus potentiating new ways of being and relating to each other. Sustained occupation of public spaces and continuous protest entail the potential for new political practices geared towards overcoming – at least momentarily – social, economic, religious or ethnic cleavages. These moments are imbued with a sense of possibility and of ambivalence as they may already contain – and make vivid – the limits of these possibilities. The dissonances and unpredictable dynamics of such transformation processes became increasingly tangible in the chain of mass protests between March 2011 and August 2013 that followed the clearing of Tahrir Square by the security forces.

Immediately after Mubarak was toppled, different social and political forces struggled vigorously for power. The bare numbers hardly capture the intensive waves of politicization and demobilization, liberation and repression, ideological rifts and social upheaval, which have shaped the lives of more than 88 million Egyptians since 2011. After the protests, Egypt experienced 1.5 years of direct military rule, two parliamentary

elections (in 2011 and 2015), two presidential elections (in 2012 and 2014), while two new constitutions were promulgated. The state of emergency was lifted briefly – and came back into force, as in the many decades since 1967. When the military intervened in 2013 and toppled President Mohamed Morsi, two squares in Cairo that were occupied by Morsi supporters for 45 days were attacked in the single most bloody incidence of state violence against civilians in Egypt's modern history, leaving between 630 (according to official estimates) and more than 1,000 protesters dead (Grimm and Harders 2017). Since then, a wave of repression has hit the country, erasing step by step most spaces for critical public debate and for oppositional collective action. Six years after the occupation of Tahrir, the political system in Egypt is even more authoritarian and violent than in 2011. These developments, however, do not undermine the historical and political importance of the occupation of Tahrir Square in Egypt for 18 days, not only as a milestone in Egypt's and the wider region's history, but also as an important turning point for knowledge production (Dabashi 2012).

Space, affect and Midān Moments: reading Tahrir Square

In order to grasp the link between affect and space, a closer look at the political history of Tahrir Square leading up to the occupation in 2011 is a useful entry point. As we will show, from its early days, both the politics of naming and the material urban fabric of the square have been intimately linked to power struggles and domination, turning it into an affective archive of political contestation.

The name *Midān at-Taḥrīr* in Arabic or, in its English translation, Liberation Square, refers to the central square of Egypt's capital, Cairo.[3] Modern downtown Cairo was designed next to two medieval neighbourhoods on the eastern bank of the Nile – the, so-called, Islamic Cairo and *Boulaq* – in a process of urban transformation which started in the 1850s (Abu-Lughod 1971). It became the focal point of the newly created city quarter named after the then-ruling Khedive Ismail, which hosted "princesses and noblemen" as it had the most advanced infrastructure of that time (Farag 1999). Next to the square, on the bank of the Nile, were the Qasr Al-Nil Barracks, which served as the Ministry of War under Khedive Said (1854–1863). When the British took over colonial control of Egypt in 1882, they also took over the barracks, which subsequently "became a hated symbol of occupation" (Farag 1999, p. 3).[4] They were turned out after the bloody anti-colonial protests of 1946, a moment of mass mobilization on the square. After the "Free Officers" overthrew the Egyptian monarchy, and declared final independence from the British, the square was renamed Midān Tahrir – Liberation Square – in 1952.

Tahrir Square has been time and again a site of major political contestation throughout the rule of presidents Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak.

In 1972, on 24 January, around 20,000 university students marched towards Tahrir Square and staged a sit-in for a day and a night, supported by local residents. In the morning the sit-in was dispersed by force (Abdallah 1985). In the bread riots of 1977 Tahrir Square again became a main locus of protest and violent clashes. In 1986 the Central Security Forces rioted, which made the public square inaccessible for days (Singerman 1996). Up until the new millennium, Tahrir Square became increasingly off-limits for any articulation of mass opposition. In the decade leading up to the 25 January 2011 revolution there was increasing public mobilization on the square, starting with demonstrations in solidarity with the Palestinian Intifada in 2000. In 2003 people protested in large numbers against the Iraq war, followed by the *Kifaya* (Enough) Movement of 2005. But until January 2011, opposition forces were unable to take over Tahrir Square for any length of time (Soudias 2014). Thus, the occupation of the square for 18 days was indeed a fundamental rupture in the political and spatial routines of the authoritarian regime. It turned the square into a different, out of the ordinary, affective space with new layers of relational affect (as we will discuss further), while previous layers, such as the memory of colonial domination, authoritarian displays of power and violent defeats, remain inscribed and haunt the materiality of the square.

Affective relationality and Midān Moments

Our concept of Midān Moments is informed by a relational and situated understanding of affect and emotion (von Scheve 2017; Slaby *et al.* 2017). Our use of the term "affect" refers to relational dynamics unfolding in interaction; processes of "affecting and being affected" that not only ground and inform emotions, but also exceed discrete emotional states in moments of transgression and intensity. We refer to "emotions" as "consolidated patterns of affective relatedness viewed from the perspective of persons or collectives" (Slaby *et al.* 2017, p. 3). In this sense, Midān Moments are periods out of ordinary time, on a delineated space, which is characterized by intense affective relationality through the bodily co-presence of protesters and their practice on this space. These are moments of rupture that destabilize previous emotional and political constellations, a "time out of time" as Hanan Sabea aptly coined it (2013; 2014, p. 47), which allow for new encounters and practices of political participation and collective belonging. The sustained practices of protest and occupation on the public square are embedded in a complex web of "affective arrangements" (Slaby *et al.* 2017) that are marked by capacity and potentiality, which enable people – at least momentarily – to bypass or overcome deeply ingrained gendered, political, economic, religious or ethnic cleavages. Yet, while Midān Moments hold the possibility for political transformation, they are also marked by the ambiguity and limitations that affective politics can entail.

Our choice of the Arabic word *midān* – which literally means square – echoes these conceptual reflections. A *midān* is a well-defined place, a locus of everyday practices that in turn create and structure the urban fabric of the place.[5] The *midān* is embedded in a city as a multi-scalar site, which is – in a Lefebvrian sense – a socially produced place, and thus as much a product of power structures as a site of resistance (Brenner *et al.* 2012; Lefebvre 1991). Etymologically, the word *midān* in Arabic also hints at an intellectual or political "battlefield", thus lending weight to the notion of the square as a place of power struggle and contestation.

To stress the directness and instantaneousness of relational affect, we use the term "moments" as a temporal register, rather than situations, events, hours or days. A Midān Moment consists of many different encounters in a distinct temporality, it combines two temporal registers: the immediacy of, for instance, an affective atmosphere, which imposes itself in a matter of seconds and can lead to an immediate rupture of the well-known; and the emergence of new ways of feeling. In this sense, a Midān Moment is a "transformative event", as Schwedler (2016), among others, argued. Transformative events "come to be interpreted as *significantly disrupting, altering, or violating the taken-for-granted assumptions governing routine political and social relations*" (McAdam and Sewell 2001, p. 110, italics in original). At the same time, moments can be repeated, memorized and lived again, due to the affective attachments they carry.[6]

We will now flesh out the concept of Midān Moments in more detail, first with a focus on the midān as an affective space before and during the occupation, based on a thick description of Tahrir Square. Then, with a focus on the phase of the occupation with its heightened affective intensities, the unfolding affective arrangements, the resonances and dissonances while politics was being practised on the midān.

The spatial arrangement of Tahrir Square

Tahrir Square covers a space of more than 5.4 hectares. Seen from above, it resembles a slightly irregular rectangle surrounded by 19th-century apartment buildings on its eastern side, the Egyptian museum on the north, a five-star hotel overlooking the Nile on the west and a multi-story administration building on the south. A huge roundabout is located slightly south of the centre of the midān, which hosted parts of the tent city throughout the days of the occupation. Spatial arrangements, Reckwitz holds, "suggest and engender, via their sensual qualities, specific forms of affectivity relating to them, between intimidation and coziness, between conviviality and the sublime" (Reckwitz 2012, p. 254), thus turning them into "affective spaces". The spatial arrangements of the rectangular square are multi-layered and can instil rather different affectivities.

One example is the multi-storey Mogamma building – a central administration building on the southern fringe of the midān that epitomizes for

many Egyptians the disempowering regime of an intricate, dysfunctional and hostile bureaucracy. In the shadow of the towering Mogamma stands a mosque, which served as an important field hospital during the occupation of the square in 2011. Adjacent to the Mogamma lies Qasr el-Aini Street, a central entry point to the square from the south. Some 500 metres down this street stands the towering building of the Ministry of Interior – a site of many violent clashes throughout the occupation in 2011 and in the following months. Not far from the ministry, are other ministerial buildings and the parliament building, speaking to Tahrir Square's political centrality.

To the western side of the square is the seat of the Arab League, built in 1964, which taps into the memory of postcolonial Pan-Arabism and the legacy of Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt's first president after independence. Just next to it was the Nile Hilton hotel, located on the bank of the Nile, which was Egypt's first operational international hotel after national independence. It changed name and owner after the revolution and links the square on a global scale to the political economy of mass tourism, while through its design it creates affective references to the 1960s and the days of Nasser (Farag 1999). Earlier, this space was covered by the imperial barracks used by the colonial powers and just next to this, the headquarters of the, then ruling, National Democratic Party (NDP). The building was constructed in the 1950s and served as headquarters for the Arab Socialist Union, the ruling party of president Nasser. A huge multi-storey building overlooked the square, speaking to the centrality of the party apparatus in the authoritarian system. It was set on fire in the night of 28 January, when Tahrir was taken over by the protesters. Many political activists still remember this sight with deep satisfaction and pride. The ruined building constituted a disputed symbol of the revolution, as some wanted it to be turned into a museum documenting the crimes of authoritarian rule, but in 2017 it was torn down by the government.

Adjacent, on the northern part of the square, stands the huge red building of the Egyptian Museum, which is home to artefacts from around 3000 years of ancient Egyptian history, thus linking it to the affective archive of national pride – and to the practices of global touristic flows through a city and its ancient monuments. In light of this, it is understandable that throughout the 18 days, tales of alleged pillaging of the museum were used by the state media to delegitimize the protest. At the same time, protesters made a point of protecting the museum from theft. The museum building was built by a French architect in 1893 and many of the ancient sculptures are now located in European capitals, usurped by colonial occupiers and scientists. Thus, this site also taps into the affective register of colonialism, dispossession and ongoing global injustice. In a third layer, the cellars of the museum were, at times, turned into detention and torture centres by the security forces, changing the affective register of the place into domestic forms of violence and oppression.

In 2011 the space in front of the Arab League, the Hilton, the NDP building and the Museum was covered by a large construction site for an underground parking lot and thus was not accessible to the protesting crowds. This contemporary and mundane place – with its stones, barbed wire, tubes, cement, plastic and the annoying sounds of hammering and digging machines – has been under construction for years. During the occupation some of the materials from the construction site would serve as barricades, tools, and parts of makeshift clinics or kitchens in order to defend the square from violent police raids and, at the same time, as materials to rebuild it in a new way.

The spatial arrangements of affective spaces include not only built spaces, internal objects, external environments, but also the presence and arrangement of human bodies (Reckwitz 2012). The number of bodies, their closeness, sounds, smells and movements feed into the affective space (ibid. 2012, p. 254). Thus, affective spaces are constantly reshaped due to the movements of bodies in the built environment. Tahrir Square in this sense is the crowded and ever-busy centre of the Greater Cairo agglomeration with its more than 18 million inhabitants (UN Habitat 2016), drowned in the soundscape of hundreds of honking buses, cars, and roaring trucks moving slowly through the regular traffic jams of the square. The square also serves as a major nodal point for traffic crossing the Nile from east to west, and going from south to north, with two bridges intersecting at the square, bus stops and a huge metro station – called Sadat. These sounds and smells more often than not instil affective dissonance as the square turns into an increasingly unpleasant symbol of a polluted megacity (Sims 2012).

During the 18 days of occupation, the metro station was closed and the fact that Tahrir Square was inaccessible by car, blocked many other parts of the city. This tangibly changed the affective space of the square. The soundscape turned from traffic noises to the sounds of gunshots, cries and shouting, helicopters roaming the air at the beginning of the protests, including the sometimes eerie and altogether unimaginable silences brought about by the rupture of a main traffic node. This reinforced a sense of rupture and emergency, palpable in the fact that one could no longer navigate the city as before and that it no longer sounded or smelled familiar.

Affective arrangements and political participation on the midān

The "pull" of the midān: affective arrangements and the intensities of the square

Tahrir Square, as an affective space, is constituted by a multi-layered urban and (trans)national history, and by multi-dimensional, temporal-spatial

arrangements with very different sensual qualities, ranging from an imposing authoritarian architecture, to the memory of violent clashes, to the mundane tasks of everyday practices. For a more refined and microscopic look at the square during the occupation, we turn to the concept of affective arrangements to explore in-depth the multi-scalar relationships unfolding with the political practices on the midān (see also Chapter 8, Mühlhoff and Slaby).[7] Slaby et al. understand affective arrangements as

> heterogeneous ensembles of diverse materials forming a local layout that operates as a dynamic formation, comprising persons, things, artefacts, spaces, discourses, behaviours, and expressions in a characteristic mode of composition and dynamic relatedness.
>
> (Slaby *et al.* 2017, p. 2)

The concept also highlights that affective arrangements are rarely linear and predictable "but rather specific, varied, and subject to frequent change". This resonates with our case study in that the brief spatial-political history of Tahrir presented in the previous section illustrates the ensembles between people and things, behaviours and the multi-layered history of a space. Furthermore, individual memories of experiences on the square vary widely, while at the same time affective dispositions mediated by gender, class, religion and ethnicity, to mention major possible fault lines, disturb any homogenizing narrative. Another important aspect of an affective arrangement is that it allows for differentiation of degrees of intensities, which is highly relevant for our research. During our fieldwork, the varying intensities were frequently referred to and one of the aspects that were vividly remembered. For instance, one of our interlocutors, a young Christian-Coptic man from a lower-middle-class background, addressed the change of intensity that was felt at the very instance of entering the square, and told us:

> When I went to Tahrir I was surprised and astonished. There was a huge number of people. I really felt that the air there is different. I felt scared, happy and worried at the same time.

Coptic-orthodox Christians constitute a significant religious minority in Egypt. Even though public discourse stresses the national unity of the two creeds, Muslim and Christian communities often occupy separated social spaces, and political representation of Copts has been mostly symbolic since independence. Time and again, the Coptic community was confronted with sectarian violence, with a substantial rise in the number of such incidents since the uprisings (Tadros 2013). Thus, being able to be in touch, to communicate intensively, to discuss and interact intimately with either Muslims or Christians on the square was a new experience for some participants. Interviewees often referred to an almost irresistible

physical pull, which the occupied square developed at certain moments, as an interlocutor from a provincial town remembers. He is a youth activist and a main organizer of protests in his town on 25 and 28 January, he spoke of the urge he and his friends felt, while covering the news from outside the capital:

> Part of me felt that I had to go to Tahrir, I didn't want to miss out! Something historical was happening and the day Mubarak left I was so happy because everyone was happy. We couldn't believe it actually happened.

He and many other activists, and more casual visitors, made huge efforts to reach Cairo and be present physically on the midān, which in these narratives came to stand for "the revolution". This corroborates what Slaby *et al.* state about how affective arrangements "often exert a 'pull', a kind of active allure, potentially drawing individuals into their ambit by offering them occasions for immersion within a sphere of resonance and intensity" (Slaby *et al.* 2017, p. 3). In the 18 days, often the whole city centre was humming with excitement, and the sheer number of people amassed made boundary drawing a difficult task, but still, entering the square meant passing a threshold into a different zone of intensity, with thousands of people filling the cast space of the square, the closeness of the bodies, the smell of tear gas, the sounds of helicopters and shots in the air, especially in the first days. Affective intensities could change in a second, from a relaxed and euphoric sense of victory, to the tense atmosphere of waiting for an attack, to insecurity and anxiety while watching out for friends or relatives who might have been hurt. Intense feelings were intimately linked to the dynamic affective arrangements on the square, for instance when it morphed from a battlefield to a carnival-like festival and back. In this vein, Karitin and Mehrez suggest reading Tahrir as a *mulid*, a traditional Egyptian commemorative festival on the occasion of the birth of important religious figures in popular Islam and argue further that

> the mulid (birth) of Tahrir (liberation) therefore became a translation of the profound social, political, and cultural transformations the country was undergoing. But it was simultaneously clear that for this "birth" to be sustained, for the sit-ins to continue en masse, for the revolutionary demands to be met, and for millions to be mobilized daily, Tahrir would have to be a mulid, an ongoing platform for celebration, commemoration, protest, solidarity, and festivity.
>
> (Keraitim and Mehrez 2012, p. 36)

These mixed feelings of spiritual elevation and protest were also recounted by this leftist youth activist from an upper-class background, who likened Tahrir Square to Mecca:

> Even years after, I always had a special relationship with Tahrir Square. When I used to pass by, I used to feel the same way I felt when I first went to Mecca. This is a holy place and there's something in the air.

The spatial links through which these affective attachments work is tangible; thousands of bodies in close relation, unified by a purpose, slowly circling the Kaaba in a state of spiritual elevation indeed invites this analogy. Even the bird's-eye pictures of the occupation taken from one of the balconies of the surrounding multi-storey buildings speaks to these similarities. Tahrir, it seems, became a public space inhabited by 'believers' from different creeds, ideologies and dispositions, all protesting together to bring down a dictator.

The square as a battlefield and as a utopic space

In our reading of the occupation, there are at least two important overlapping affective arrangements structuring the affective and emotional dynamics on the square: one is related to the midān as battlefield; and the other is geared towards the political practices creating and sustaining Tahrir as a utopian space, the "independent republic of Tahrir" as it was called in 2011. Judith Butler – among others – has highlighted the relevance of the latter when she asserted that "revolution happened because everyone refused to go home, cleaving to the pavement, acting in concert" (Butler 2011, p. 20). The collective practices on the square (re)structure the manifold affective layers on Midān Tahrir and thus intervene in established affective arrangements and create new ones, as we now illustrate in more detail by tracing the transpersonal dynamics of such arrangements in reference to the resonant or dissonant affects they relate to. The midān, we suggest, was both a utopian place and a socio-political battlefield in which class, gender, religious and political difference at times were less relevant, or open for renegotiation. At the same time, these differences were still there, reappearing sometimes in visible and sometimes in more subtle ways, sometimes openly violent, sometimes less so, thus drawing important limits to the desires for beginning anew in a utopic moment.

Even though the peacefulness of the mass protests was often alluded to, especially in western media, the events on the square, particularly in the first days, were extremely violent on the part of the security services. Overall, in the 18 days, according to official figures, all over Egypt more than 840 people lost their lives and 6,400 were injured by live ammunition, snipers, trucks running over people and beatings. Most protesters died in the first days; the death toll between 25 and 28 January alone amounts to 551 victims mostly killed by gunshots. The ongoing violence and a massive counter-media campaign by state authorities instilled many citizens with fear. Scared by the spectres of chaos, many people stayed at home. But others were moved to join after they heard about or saw footage of state

violence against protesters. "When I saw the violence and the injustice, I just had to go and stand side by side with those who were suffering. I could not stand the injustice", recounts an elderly man from a poor neighbourhood of Cairo, who had never engaged in politics or protests before (and did not after). Leaving one's safe home to join an open-ended fight with heavily armed security forces required courage, which this participant gathered through tapping into strong feelings of anger in the light of injustice and exploitation. The immediate danger was clear for most participants and it added to the intensity of feeling. Fear, anger, desperation and rage fed into a "thick" affective arrangement, constituted by the overall sense of chaos and danger, the smell of tear gas, the sounds of gunshots, helicopters, police trucks roaming, the shouting of protesters and police and the cries of the wounded. Meanwhile, people acted in concert, picking up stones, building barricades from whatever materials they could grab, throwing stones, carrying the injured, all moving in a rhythm. It is this intensity and thickness that enabled unexpected and unprecedented constellations, as this seasoned leftist participant in his late forties remembers:

> I could not believe that I am fighting next to a member of the Muslim Brotherhood. I am a leftist and I don't like them. They are reactionary and I could not really understand how we as leftists could work with them. But then, on the square, suddenly all the youth was there.… The young brothers and the ultras were the best fighters. They were really willing to die and they knew how to fight.… This touched my heart. We were all ready to die for the same cause. A Muslim brother was willing to die for my revolution and I was willing to die for him.

This quote speaks, on the one hand, for the overcoming of antagonistic differences, on the other hand, and retrospectively, the moment is already imbued with ambivalence. When praising the sacrifice for his political opponent to die for "my revolution", the activists himself is only ready to die for "him", not for his revolution. This subtle difference points to the fragility and vulnerability of affective arrangements on the square, which soon after the protests turned into a volatile polarization and, later, open hatred.

Once the square was conquered, the task became to make the space one's own. This is when the midān morphed from a battlefield into a place for new modes of becoming, while still being embattled. Thus, barricades and checkpoints were built to secure the square from police attacks or violent incursions of followers of Mubarak, as did happen, for instance, in the infamous "battle of the camel" on 3 February. Meanwhile, participants developed new political practices and experimented with new ways of relating to each other. The midān as a material space was re-appropriated by the protesters by way of various spatial practices of cleaning, sweeping, constructing field hospitals, building a tent city, or marking walls with

graffiti (Keraitim and Mehrez 2012; Sabea 2014). The square needed to be cleansed, literally, from its spatially mediated authoritarian past in order to turn into a space of becoming. There was a constant flow of food, medicines, blankets, pots, pans, drinks, clothing and so on entering the square, while people engaged in public political discussions, and groups reading the morning newspapers. Singing, dancing and joking stood next to the constant ingenious and humorous invention of new slogans and tactics.

"Cranky" affective arrangement on the midān

On the one hand, shouting in concert, asking for "bread, freedom, dignity and social justice" was experienced as moments of deep resonance between men and women, old and young, Christians and Muslims, secular and religious, leftists and conservatives, rich and poor Egyptians. On the other hand, our interviews point to moments of dissonance, embedded in multiple layers of conflicting emotions and differing affective arrangements. Unlike what social movement research usually suggests, participants often do not recount that one specific mobilizing emotion dominated. For instance, while the festive atmosphere of the square was experienced as exhilarating by some, others found it disturbing. Activists busy with a strategic side to the Midān Moment, getting the occupation organized in terms of food, medication, communication and security, were at times unhappy and concerned about the festive atmosphere, as this young man recounts:

> Of course not all the people who came to Tahrir came because of a political conviction. They also came to have a look "at the revolution", they were like tourists. Some brought their kids, and came to take pictures. They did not want to miss the historical moment. They just wanted to enjoy.

Those captivated by the festive mood seemed completely unaware of the ongoing violent struggles and the fundamental insecurity of the political situation. This 19-year-old, first-time visitor to Tahrir Square, who later became a feminist and queer activist, remembers with a smile:

> It was so nice, it was the nicest thing I ever saw. I was very young and I could not imagine all the beautiful and exciting things I saw on the Square. Like a big and never-ending party. And so many other people felt just like I did.

These two narratives speak to the midān as an interweaving complex of different affective arrangements, which might be dissonant and resonant at the same time due to the different possibilities of affective attunement according to individual experience. In moments of intense resonance,

while shouting with thousands of other people "*Irhal* (get out)", religious, ethnic, class and gender divides might disappear, in other moments they become very tangible and volatile.

This is also illustrated by the gender dynamics of the square after it was re-appropriated by the protesters. On the one hand, female and male bodies acted together to attune the square to the new political realities and the utopian possibilities of becoming. At the same time the daily practices of the midān were informed by traditional gender roles, such as, food being brought by mothers of participants. As much as this is embedded in a conventional gendered division of labour, very often, for these elderly ladies of the middle class, it was their way of relating to a revolutionary situation and to a utopian space. Even though camping in the square was not an option, feeding revolutionaries was a meaningful way to be part of the affective space of Tahrir Square. Female activists that we interviewed underscored the different gender dynamics on the square and thus stressed the moments of affective resonance, but there were also moments of intense dissonance, something an interlocutor called a "male atmosphere". An illustration of this can be found in some of our interviews with men, which narrate tales of heroism embedded in the quite conventional idea that the square and the women had to be protected by men. A young female activist remembers how a Midān Moment was both a moment of the highest intensity and elevation and a political disappointment:

> I can't believe that this really happened. I had constant struggles with my mum and dad. They were so afraid and did not want me to go. But I did. I just did it. But then, at one point, my male comrades, my political allies, my friends told me to stay at home because things would go violent. That they could not protect me. And that the need to protect me would keep them from the real fight. And I obeyed. I stayed at home. It still hurts my heart.

She feels deeply disempowered by the conservative attitude of her male companions and still struggles with the fact that she stayed away from the square so as to not create "a burden". Other women, confronted with the same attitude, strongly resisted such a strategy and claimed a space in the violent struggle. Still others were quite comfortable with this type of traditional male protection. Another instance of estrangement is vividly recounted by this woman from a lower-middle-class background, when somebody asked her for water:

> You know, the guy did not say "please", he said: "I need water, give it to me" and then he took it and just drank from it, his mouth touching the bottle. I was taken aback. As if we were relatives or else close to each other. He told me: "This is Tahrir, here we share everything." It took me a while to accept it.

The woman, who had her first intensive political experiences on the square, expresses her discomfort of a man who did not adhere to a societal hierarchy resulting from class difference. She expected that the poorer man asking for water would use polite language, indicating that he was aware of class difference. In addition, his practice of just drinking from the bottle without keeping it away from his mouth was considered impolite and unhygienic. He was acting as if he and our interlocutor were very close, hence disregarding a class and gender boundary. This caused irritation, a discomfort but also a reflection process. These moments of deep dissatisfaction were embedded in the overall sense of enthusiastic affective resonance, which also included cracks, estrangement and misfits. Slaby *et al.* (2017) speak of a certain "crankiness" of affective arrangements to highlight that they rarely come without ruptures and dysfunctionalities. The examples above illustrate the cracks of affective arrangements in the utopic moments. They illustrate the ambiguities and the affective dissonances that were co-present with moments of intense resonance and attunement.

Conclusion

For a long time it was commonly assumed that Arab authoritarian regimes were stable and too repressive to allow for reform, let alone revolution. Yet, it was not only the ingrained ideas of people's political agency in the region that were challenged by the uprisings in 2011; just when social movement scholars were focusing on virtual protest networks and deterritorialized forms of mobilization, the mass protests forcefully brought the public square back into the debate. The occupation of Tahrir Square in Egypt for 18 days was a critical turning point. The power of the protesters, their resilience, creativity, humour and self-organization were televised and commented on for days all around the world. When Egypt's long-time dictator was toppled, the occupation of Tahrir Square became a symbol for political mobilization and that another world was possible – even under impossible conditions.

During the 18 days of occupation Tahrir Square was embedded in multi-layered affective arrangements, which differed according to the intensity and mix of affective resonance and dissonance entailed. We fleshed out two important arrangements in more detail – the square as a battlefield and the square as a utopian space – while paying close attention to the ambivalences, ambiguities and crankiness of these arrangements. Political practices on the square were imbued by these ambivalences, while protesters at the same time constantly struggled to overcome class, gender, political or religious divides. While doing this, they changed the materiality of the square in order to inscribe new ways of being into the place itself. By including the ambivalences, limitations and crankiness into the concept of the Midān Moment, we offer a nuanced lens to grasp the link between

affect, space and political participation – a perspective that goes well beyond romanticized notions of a "Tahrir Spirit". The concept of the Midān Moment allows for an analysis of political transformation after mass protests that can account for the non-linear, multidirectional and at times contradictory developments in the aftermath of such struggles.

Reading Tahrir Square through an affective lens complicates both the narrative of a utopian square and the narrative of a "failed revolution". Going beyond a simple assessment of failure or success, a focus on the affective dynamics of extraordinary times of collective protests reveals as much about a society's past tensions as its future ones. While on the square together, the protesters were at times able to bypass the deep social and political rifts that characterized Egyptian society and oppositional politics, yet, after the 18 days, these cracks immediately intensified. Political pluralization came with intense polarization, which was fuelled by ongoing political and sectarian violence enabled and engendered by the forces of the counter-revolution. The overwhelming moment of victory, when Mubarak was toppled on 11 February 2011 is now overshadowed by the years of ever-growing polarization and narrowing spaces for political activism.

This is mirrored in the governmental redevelopment of Tahrir Square. Nothing is left of the spatial changes that materialized in those 18 days. Where the tent city stood in January 2011, a huge pedestal now rises up in the air with an enormous Egyptian flag, instead of, for instance, a memorial to the victims of the uprising or similar commemorative monument. Meanwhile, the government is busy constructing a "new administrative capital" some 45 kilometres east of Cairo, on the way to Suez. Once finished, according to official plans, all ministries will be relocated to this new city and its surrounding middle-class housing units. The symbols of political power will be removed from Tahrir Square and relocated outside the heart of the city. The busy lower-class neighbourhood close to the square, whose inhabitants played such a crucial role in supporting the protests in 2011, is on the brink of being demolished because of an urban development scheme called "Cairo 2050", which was already conceived under Mubarak. Currently, the inhabitants are partly relocated to new housing on the fringes of the city, far from the former centre of collective action. Others decided to stay, and are engaged in an open-ended struggle with a powerful and violent regime. Their efforts show that the Midān Moment and its transformative potential have not evaporated in thin air, even under the most difficult circumstances.

Acknowledgement

Notes

1 The politics of naming the events is highly contested, politically and academically. In Egypt, the mass protest from 25 January to 11 February 2011 is mostly called a revolution by activists and media alike. In light of today's return to authoritarianism, this might sound cynical. From a political science perspective, the mass mobilization did indeed create a "revolutionary situation", which was followed by many other mass protests in 2011, 2012 and 2013 but it did not lead to "revolutionary outcomes" on the regime level, to use a differentiation proposed by McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (1996, p. 65). In this chapter, we use the following terms interchangeably: uprising, which seems more appropriate in light of the outcomes; mass protests, which is a descriptive term relating to the practices of the people; and revolutionary situation or 25 January Revolution.

2 This chapter is based on fieldwork conducted in the framework of the research project "Political Participation, Emotion and Affect in the Context of Socio-Political Transformations" at the collaborative research centre *Affective Societies* (SFB 1171). Most of the fieldwork in Egypt and Turkey was conducted by research team members Dina Wahba and Derya Özkaya. In Egypt more than 30 in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with different participants in the occupation of Tahrir Square from different NGOs, parties, independent activists and neighbourhood committees. This includes both activists who are still active today and activists who have since dropped out, mostly after the summer of 2013. For the safety of our interlocutors, in the narrative we withhold names and any information that could compromise their anonymity. We are deeply grateful to our interview partners in Egypt who generously shared their time and ideas.

3 We use established English spellings of Arabic names rather than this academic transliteration of Arabic letters, for the sake of accessibility.

4 Officially at that time, the monarchy of Egypt was still part of the Ottoman Empire, but de facto, the British Consul General ruled. British military forces took over in 1882 after a nationalist insurrection against the foreign powers took place, the Orabi-Revolution. Even before then, European powers directly interfered in ruling Egypt due to the debt the Kehdive amassed with European banks. Egypt officially became a protectorate in 1920 and gained independence after the 23 July Revolution in 1952, when a group of military officers deposed the monarch and declared a republic and their independence from the UK. British military forces left the country in 1954.

5 Place, critical geographer Neil Brenner suggests, is characterized by "geographical proximity, local embedding of social relations as well as patterns of horizontal spatial differentiation" (Brenner 2008, p. 60). Place is specific. Space, as a more general term, is "continually constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed through a historically specific, multi-scalar dialectic of de- and re-territorialization" (Brenner 1999, p. 43). Scale is understood as the vertical differentiation of social relations, for example along the supra-national, national, regional, urban and/or local, including the hierarchies of power deriving from it (Brenner, 1999). For a more in-depth discussion of the role of local spaces and practices in the Arab world see Hoffmann *et al.* (2013).

6 The more long-term temporal register encompasses the possibly deep and long-lasting impact of these experiences, in the sense of changing (political) subjectivities and new practices (Reckwitz 2012, p. 54). In a similar vein, Sholkamy (2012), Bayat (2013), Hanafi (2012), Bamyeh (2013) and Sabea (2014) reflected on the importance of the events of 2011 as possibly feeding into new political subjectivities.

7 Their notion of an arrangement is inspired by Deleuze's and Guattari's concept of *agencement*, which also informs some varieties of assemblage theory. See Buchanan (2015) for an elucidation of these conceptual connections.

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7   Muslim domesticities

Home invasions and affective identification

Gilbert Caluya

Introduction

In contrast to previous research on migration, homes and affects, which stresses the emotional processes of migrant home making and home building (see Cain, Meares and Read 2014; Datta 2008; Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2009), this chapter examines Muslim domicide as a shared affective experience of home invasion, loss and destruction among a transnational Muslim counterpublic.[1] In such instances the home functions as a site for the intimate expression of state violence, particularly in counter-terrorist and counterinsurgency efforts. Specifically, this chapter traces the recurring image of domicide shared among Muslim social media networks, internet forums and websites of community, charity and non-government organisations as part of a wider understanding of the suffering of the global *ummah* (community of believers).

Home is more than a physical building, it is more than a house. As cultural geography reminds us, home "is a place that offers security, familiarity and nurture", (Tuan 2004, p. 164). As a shelter the home offers physical security, while familiarity offers psychological security, both of which are essential for creating a nurturing space. The home is thus "invested with meanings, emotions, experiences and relationships" (Blunt and Varley 2004). Since home is central to our lives it is likely "that the forcible destruction of it by powerful authorities will result in suffering on the part of the home dweller" (Porteous and Smith 2001, p. 4). Violence against the home – and the familial relations and kinship networks enmeshed within, around and through the home – is often keenly felt as a deeply intimate violation.

Porteous and Smith define *domicide* as "the deliberate destruction of the home against the will of the home dweller" (ibid., p. 3). "Extreme domicide", which occurs in large-scale events, such as war and conflict, colonialism, genocide and resettlement, includes ethnic cleansing as happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Tuathail and Dahlman 2006), or the forced displacement of Palestinians from their homes (Webster 2016). When violence is enacted against minorities' homes this is often an attack on the

community as well as the individual. The destruction of minorities' homes is a potent form of symbolic violence because it destroys that which provides families and individuals with a sense of security, it undermines the primary site for the sexual and social reproduction of the family and community. The violence is symbolic insofar as the crime targets the minority through the individual, such that other members of the same minority community may feel vicariously violated (see discussion of "symbolic crimes" in Mason 2003, p. 85).

The online representation and repetition of Muslim domicide works in a similar way. From counter-terrorism home raids in Western countries, to counter-insurgency home raids in Iraq and Afghanistan, to the dispossession of Palestinians and the mass migration of refugees, the traumatic loss of home is a recurring theme within Muslim online political discourses. Throughout the now extended War on Terror in the Middle East and the various domestic counter-terrorism efforts in Western countries, the public is invited to participate in the war via movies, games, documentaries, news articles and government reports, which purport to represent the experience of war. These cultural artefacts depict images of Muslim homes in the Middle East and in the West being invaded, raided and/or destroyed on a regular basis. While the dominant public culture is invited to identify with the soldiers or police or counter-terrorism officers in these cultural representations, the repetition of these images of Muslim domicide for Muslims can often feed into a different transnational circulation of affective identification that helps forge a counterpublic.

This chapter focuses on how the images and stories of Muslim home destruction and home invasion across the Internet and in everyday life, serve as scenes of affective identification among Muslims that simultaneously generates a Muslim counterpublic. The first section outlines the research method and introduces some key terms, such as Muslim counterpublic, affective resonance and affective scene of identification. The second section details stories of Muslim domesticity and home raids in the War on Terror shared among Australian Muslim community members and groups. The third section turns to home raids within the West as part of domestic counter-terrorism strategies. The conclusion tries to draw together these separate media events and stories into a shared affective experience around Muslim home invasions.

A Muslim counterpublic: domicide as an affective scene of identification

This chapter is based on research conducted as part of a large Australian Research Council funded project on the ways intimacy is used to manage Muslim access to citizenship. For the project I completed a media analysis of approximately 12,000 news articles (both online and in print) and spent over 3,000 logged hours in conducting digital ethnographies of online

forums, websites, blogs, Facebook, YouTube and comments sections of online news. I began collecting news items by searching for "Muslim/ Islam" and "intimacy"-associated words (such as "women", "gender", "sex/ sexuality") in major newspapers in Australia, the UK and the USA through the Factiva search engine. A brief thematic analysis revealed secondary words associated with intimacy, such as "home" and "private", which added to the collected articles. This provided an overview of Western representations of Muslims and Islam in relation to intimacy in the media. In the second stage of the media analysis, the digital ethnography allowed me to see what media was being circulated among both Muslim groups and anti-Islam/Muslim political groups, which I also collected. While both Muslim groups and anti-Islam political groups circulated stories about terrorism and Muslims from the mainstream media, they also consumed significant amounts of alternative media, independent media, and blog pieces across the entire political spectrum. I used a thematic analysis to draw out themes and tropes in the material, which is how I found the trope of "domicide" running throughout this media landscape. Although I was invited into some closed forums, I treated those as private conversations and do not quote from them anywhere in my research, although they did help me to better interpret material I came across from different perspectives.[2]

Although I began by focusing on the Australian Muslim community, because of the nature of the Internet and the media focus of the research this eventually expanded to encompass the USA and the UK. The digital ethnography began by tracing online media reporting of significant media events involving Australian Muslims and reading the comments sections to get a "feel" for public debate/discussion on these issues. I checked thousands of commenters' Facebook pages, which led me to various forums, blogs, alternative media sites and political groups' websites. In this process, through dozens of these confirmations, I noticed a pattern of domicide (loss of home/displacement, homelessness/statelessness, home destruction, home invasion) that preoccupied their public posts, even though many were not consciously, or at least explicitly, aware of these connections themselves. Images of Muslim homes destroyed or being raided littered news reporting, and as a result they dominated social media and online forums. From Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, Palestine and Syria there were numerous images of homes destroyed by bombs, missiles and drone strikes, being raided by military, security and police forces and families being split apart, or homes being demolished by security or military forces for various reasons, such as building code regulations or vague "security concerns". Even when the home invasion/destruction was not the primary focus of the discussion, these images were often in the background or were used to set the scene of an article. "Muslim domicide" in this chapter primarily refers to this visual and textual trope circulated through online mediascapes, although I am aware it has real, material correlates in the world.

I use "domicide" in an expansive sense to refer to forms of physical, social and psychological home unmaking. I am not suggesting *all* Muslims experience this shared or vicarious sense of home loss/destruction. Yet the circulation of such images produces a shared "affective scene of identi-fication" (Berlant 2008, p. viii) within which, and through which, some Muslims can begin to articulate a counterpublic. The trope of Muslim domicide was prevalent among Muslims I can only describe as "politi-cised", by which I mean that they are attentive to politics and critical of power, although they might differ on many political issues, such that they occupy a wide range on the political spectrum. I don't want to say "polit-ical" because some view themselves as "apolitical" (i.e. do not subscribe to a particular party or ideology) but simply care about injustice. Some are committed to the establishment of a caliphate, while others are committed to liberal democracy. Some are homophobic and others pro-LGBTIQ rights, some are misogynists while others are self-identifying feminists, or believe in women's rights but specifically oppose feminism as a Western incursion. Some appreciate diversity of interpretation within their faith, while others believe there is only one interpretation. Other than their core faith you will not find any ideology or deliberative reasoning that unifies these fragmented communities, and yet they are each able to connect to this affective scene of identification created by these stories and images of Muslim domicide. Nor is this counterpublic unified even in their hatred of a clear outgroup. Since Muslim domicide may also be committed by other Muslims there are many different theories floating around about which Muslims are conspiring with the West and who is a traitor among Muslims. Part of what drew me to this thematic was precisely the fact that it was widespread across the political spectrum and yet collectively functioned as a Muslim counterpublic.

What I am calling a Muslim counterpublic has some similarities to Nancy Fraser's "subaltern counterpublics" (1990), which she creates from combining Gayatri Spivak's notion of "subalterns" (1988) with Rita Felski's notion of "counterpublics" (1989). A subaltern counterpublic is a discur-sive space that travels alongside the public sphere, but which is inhabited by subordinated minorities. These subaltern counterpublics create and circulate counter discourses that articulate "oppositional identities, inter-ests and needs" (Fraser 1990, p. 67). They have two functions: as "spaces of withdrawal and regroupment"; and as "training grounds for agitational activities" (ibid., p. 68). However, while closed forums may be spaces of withdrawal, much of these debates are publicly conducted in online news comments sections or discussed in mosques or yelled out at rallies. The Muslim counterpublic in the West then works alongside and *through* the dominant culture's public sphere, but might entail practices of disidentifi-cation, disturbance and disengagement.

Another related concept is Charles Hirschkind's "Islamic counterpub-lics", which has more connection to the topic at hand. Similar to Fraser,

Charles Hirschkind (2001; 2006) conceptualises the "Islamic counterpublic" as a deliberative space generated through the circulation of specific texts, such as Islamic sermon tapes in Egypt. However, unlike Western democratic public spheres, which aim to secure individual freedom, this Islamic counterpublic aims to cultivate harmony through a divine model of moral conduct. Central to this is the cultivation of "affective dispositions that underlie ethical conduct and reasoning" (Hirschkind 2006, p. 98). In other words, the counterpublic is not simply a space of discursive deliberation but is also a space of affective entrainment, where moral dispositions and sensibilities are cultivated through discussion and debate. It is not only a space for cultivating oppositional interests and needs but also proper and moral feelings, sentiments and sympathies. The Muslim affective counterpublic I analyse in this chapter similarly involves affective entrainment, but is less focused on explicating divine models of moral conduct and is more concerned with politics and justice (which are nevertheless still guided by their divine models).

We should be careful in romanticising counterpublics as opposed to publics. As Michael Warner (2002) argues, counterpublics are less opposed to publics then they are a special kind of public. A public is a social space generated by the circulation and "concatenation of texts through time" (ibid., p. 62) that both address and interpellate. The movement of these texts is marked by the "punctual rhythm of circulation" (ibid., p. 68) that creates a sense that ongoing discussion occurs in the public sphere. Counterpublics have similar postulates while also being an ideological space of belonging for those that are powerless in dominant culture. Nevertheless, a counterpublic is still aware on some level of its subordinate status, but unlike a bounded community there is a sense that it is addressing a stranger, albeit strangers who are addressed by these texts and related through their textual consumption (ibid., pp. 81–86). Another way to think about counterpublics is through Lauren Berlant's notion of "intimate publics", which she describes as a "porous, affective scene of identification among strangers that promise a certain experience of belonging" (Berlant 2008, p. viii). This notion of intimate publics highlights the affective dimensions of the counterpublic. From this perspective, a counterpublic is constituted by an affective scene of identification among its members that promises a sense of belonging.

In this chapter, I hope to show that the affective scene of identification in the Muslim counterpublic I trace, is established by creating an affective resonance between different experiences of home invasion in the Muslim *ummah*. Affective resonance allows us to conceive how seemingly disparate events, stories, texts, experiences and memories are brought into affective proximity. As Anna Gibbs puts it, affective resonance

> brings things that are thematically or otherwise unrelated into a relation organised solely by affect, and in doing so gives rise to what I

would describe as a kind of complex circuitry between things in which the effects of events concatenate to produce the everyday as a terrain of trauma.

(2013, p. 129)

This is particularly so for traumatic events. The affective epidemics that circulate around traumatic events generate mediatised forms of subjectivity, which amplify affect through positive feedback loops between images, texts and bodies (ibid.). In other words, these traumatic events (i.e. the invasion and destruction of Muslim homes), are transmitted to transnational publics as mediatised forms of trauma, sadness, fear and anger via the Internet, where they are consumed and shared in viral networks. These practices of sharing form a thread within a digitally shared communal archive of images, stories and events that resonate affectively with each other. In this way, disparate instances of Muslim home loss and destruction are brought into affective proximity, such that they can collectively emerge as a shared affective experience. This shared feeling, for those affected by it, serves as a scene of identification for politicised Muslims.

In some cases, these images and stories about Muslim domicide become important sites of affective identification because they resonate with their own sense of suffering. This affective priming is what Tomkins referred to as "ideo-affective postures", that is, the ensemble of feelings and ideas about feelings, which we gather through familial and cultural socialisation (ibid., p. 258). I suggest that it also stems from formative social experiences, such as discrimination, prejudice, injustice and violence. This explains why affective contagion is not the simple process that media panic theory would have us believe. People must be primed to feel certain affects and emotions; they have predisposed ideo-affective postures (one may call them "dispositions" or even "attitudes") that enable them to more readily feel certain emotions or identify with certain stories. In the context of Muslim domicide that suffering comes in many forms. It may be that they are refugees exiled from their homes because of war or occupation, or it may be because their home suffers from the loss of a family member who has been unfairly incarcerated, or it could simply be that they feel unwelcome in their own country and this makes them feel "not at home" in the nation. Whatever the reason, Muslim domicide becomes a metaphor for these separate experiences of loss, trauma, injustice or unbelonging.

This diversity is also reflected in the various groups, organisations and political collectives that are central to the circulation and dissemination of these texts. International political groups, like Hizb ut-Tahrir, which have branches in the UK and Australia, run several Facebook pages that are often geared to national communities but can be read outside these spaces. Members of Hizb ut-Tahrir are heavily involved in community activism and thus work with a number of other political groups. In Australia, for example, Government Intervention in the Muslim

Community (GIMC) is basically a Hizb ut-Tahrir organisation, but it is primarily focused on injustices by the Australian government on the Muslim community. GIMC is influenced in turn by groups like CAGE and Documenting Oppression Against Muslims (DOAM) in the UK that focus on both the war in the Middle East and injustices against Muslims in the West. CAGE is an NGO that helps victims of the War on Terror across the globe, which includes assisting Muslims living in the UK who have been affected by counter-terrorism. DOAM, on the other hand, is a multi-platform news media organisation that highlights injustices against Muslims across the globe. Then there are anti-war groups, which may or may not involve Muslims and might be general or may be country-specific (e.g. Stop War in Yemen, Yemen Real News). There are also many Muslim support groups run by non-Muslims that are more vaguely political insofar as they focus on dialogue as a panacea for intercultural tensions. In this chapter, due to space constraints, I have only focused on material shared on Facebook within Australian Muslim community groups or among individual members of the Australian Muslim community, paying close attention to GIMC. I have only cited posts that are set to "public".

Domestic imaginings: invading the Middle East

In 2009, during the opening of a new school in Afghanistan, humanitarian campaigner Greg Mortenson describes a domestic image to award-winning journalist Thomas Friedman, as a fantasy of a future emancipated Afghan home life:

> When a girl learns how to read and write, one of the first things she does is teach her own mother. The girls will bring home meat and veggies, wrapped in newspapers, and the mother will ask the girl to read the newspaper to her, and the mothers will learn about politics and about women who are exploited.
>
> (Friedman 2009)

In Mortenson's romanticised imagining of intimate Muslim feminine relations, the Afghan mother does not learn about politics from the series of Gulf Wars or the War on Terror or its contemporary aftermath in the struggle with ISIS. She does not learn of suffering from the current invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan. She does not learn about exploitation through the continuing inequality of wealth distribution in the global financescape. Instead, in Mortenson's fantasy the Muslim mother can only learn through the mediation of her daughter's secular education. Her exploitation and suffering are evacuated from her body, displaced from her own experience of oppression, only to be made transparent by the filter of Western media read back to her illiterate mind by her newly Western-educated daughter.

What is missing from this picture of liberating women's education is the war itself: the artillery, the soldiers, the bullets, the dead bodies, the curfews and the military occupation. What is missing are dead or maimed siblings, cousins, parents, lovers and children. What is missing are homes destroyed by bomb blasts and the insecurity generated by regular raids by military squadrons into their home: the line-ups at gunpoint, screaming women, bloody noses, fathers' hooded and handcuffed behind their backs and driven away to unknown locations. In short, Mortenson's paternalistic fantasy of Muslim homely life obscures the violent interruption of war and economics into the space he so desires to create for his imagined emancipated Muslim women and girls.

In contrast to this romanticised picture of domestic liberation is the actual widespread use of counter-insurgency home raids on Muslim civilian homes in the War on Terror. Such raids occurred regularly, between midnight and 5 a.m. to try to catch potential terrorists, but more likely civilians, off guard, while they are asleep. After an area is successfully cordoned off, soldiers in Kevlar helmets and flak vests, with grenade launchers mounted on their weapons, kick down the door. Sergeant John Bruhns, who estimates he took part in almost 1,000 home raids in Baghdad and Abu Ghraib as part of the First Battalion, Third Brigade, First Armored Division, from March 2003, describes the process in detail:

> You leave one rifle team outside while one rifle team goes inside.… You go up the stairs. You grab the man of the house. You rip him out of bed in front of his wife. You put him up against the wall. You have junior-level troops, PFCs [privates first class], specialists will run into the other rooms and grab the family, and you'll group them all together. Then you go into a room and you tear the room to shreds and you make sure there's no weapons or anything that they can use to attack us. You get the interpreter and you get the man of the home, and you have him at gunpoint, and you'll ask the interpreter to ask him: "Do you have any weapons? Do you have any anti-US propaganda, anything at all-anythinganything in here that would lead us to believe that you are somehow involved in insurgent activity or anti-coalition forces activity?"
>
> (Hedges and Al-Arian 2007)

Obviously, they answer "no" because even if they were insurgents then they would not admit to it, while non-insurgents would be telling the truth. Consequently, their answer does not ultimately matter. Sergeant Bruhns continues:

> So what you'll do is you'll take his sofa cushions and you'll dump them. If he has a couch, you'll turn the couch upside down. You'll go into the fridge, if he has a fridge, and you'll throw everything on the

floor, and you'll take his drawers and you'll dump them.… You'll open up his closet and you'll throw all the clothes on the floor and basically leave his house looking like a hurricane just hit it. And if you find something, then you'll detain him. If not, you'll say, "Sorry to disturb you. Have a nice evening." So you've just humiliated this man in front of his entire family and terrorized his entire family and you've destroyed his home. And then you go right next door and you do the same thing in a hundred homes.

(Ibid.)

Similar recountings were offered by another eight veterans who served in locations as diverse as Kirkuk, Samarra, Baghdad, Mosul and Tikrit. They paint a picture of the widespread use of home raids as a strategy of domination and intimidation during the invasion of Iraq. Military officials estimate that 60,000 Iraqis were arrested and detained during the occupation, while their families were left to fend for themselves during the war while also trying to negotiate the complex prison system for their men's release (ibid.).

The travesty is that the majority of these raids were conducted on innocent families. The veterans interviewed estimated that in only 10 per cent of the raids did they find "evidence" to detain them, although in their estimation many of these were not actually threats (ibid.). Sergeant Westphal claims that among the 1,000 raids he conducted in only four did he come across real insurgents. As journalist Michael Hirsch reported, these raids were so widely known to be ineffective that the soldiers used to joke about it:

The American soldiers themselves were aware of how inane many of their night raids were. Back in January 2004, the unit I was with jokingly called their raids "Jerry Springers".[3] Why? Because the intelligence was often based on unreliable sources who had agendas of their own. "Lots of times it turns out to be some guy who wants us to arrest another guy who's interested in the same girl", one soldier told me.

(Hirsch 2006)

Under Obama, these night raids would become a key strategy in Afghanistan. In May 2009 Special Operations Forces conducted 20 raids per month and by November that year almost 90 per month (Scahill 2013, p. 331).

A 2008 report by the Physicians for Human Rights on the use of torture by the USA during the War on Terror provides evidence of what happened to the innocent men caught up in these raids. The report details the stories of seven men who were willing to recount their experiences and undergo medical and psychological testing to verify their allegations. Some of their arrests included severe physical assault of family members and destruction or looting of their homes. To recount just one example

from the report, Kamal, an Iraqi imam, was arrested at approximately 2 a.m. on 21 September 2003, after American soldiers detonated bombs to enter the house. He alleges that the soldiers hit his family members, and that he was handcuffed and had his head covered in a bag while being beaten in front of his family before being driven off in a Humvee. During his torture and interrogation in the notorious Abu Ghraib, sometimes involving sexual humiliation and sexual assault, Kamal was shown pictures of his destroyed home and told: "This is your home – we destroyed it." He was made to believe that his family were also imprisoned and being raped and tortured. In his words: "They were telling me, making me hear voices of children and women, and told me they were my children and [wife]" (Physicians for Human Rights 2008, p. 18). The effects of this torture had lasting implications for his domestic life. Upon his release from Abu Ghraib prison in June 2004, he returned to his home to resume his business but soon became concerned that his wife and children were "afraid of him". He moved in with his sibling and only visited his family once a week because he was convinced they were uncomfortable during the visits. His depression has resulted in a loss of ambition, a loss of interest in his business, while continuing to believe that his family is afraid to be with him (ibid., p. 19).

We can see that these harrowing accounts of home raids contrast with the way they are glorified in Western screen culture. Videotaped home raids have found their way on to YouTube and various US "patriotic", pro-military websites. Images of night raids in night vision green, with hand-cuffed Muslim men hooded and kneeling or sitting near American soldiers, are now stock photographs with major agencies like Getty Images, ensuring their circulation as representatives of the War on Terror. More gruesome photos were circulated as so-called "war porn", that is, as gruesome images of the war distributed for viewing entertainment. Possibly to counter these more gruesome images, sanitised camera footage from war zones were released by the Department of Defense's Joint Combat Camera Center and streamed on various websites for public consumption to promote a cleaner and more effective image of night raids.

Some of these find their way to Muslim online communities, who share these stories and images with a different purpose in mind. In 2012, the anger generated by night raids on private residences propelled a deal between the USA and Afghanistan limiting the night raids to those approved by Afghan authorities (Walsh 2012). Yet their continued afterlife through the online economy of sharing ensures the longevity of their affective impact. These images are not simply spectacularised as forms of "distant suffering" within the *ummah*, but are deeply felt, viscerally embodied experiences of the *ummah*'s suffering, which have their affective correlates in the Muslim diaspora's experience of homeland security programmes. Many Muslim groups share these stories and images of home

raids on Muslim homes as examples of global Muslim oppression. These night raids in the extended War on Terror are metonymically linked to the paramilitary style police home raids in Australia I address in the next section.

Domestic counter-terrorism: Muslim home raids in the West

The increasing use of SWAT teams (Special Weapons and Tactics) and other paramilitary units that train with the military entrenches the use of military-grade weapons and tactics in civilian settings. One of these tactics is the military-style home raid. Rather than catching Muslims in the act of a crime or after a crime has been committed, in the context of counter-terrorism, Western countries have relied on waves of surveillance targeting Muslim family and kinship networks, as well as mosques and political organisations. These policing and security tactics result in pre-emptive counter-terrorist home raids, in which many innocent Muslim families and family members are caught up and traumatised.

In Australia, Hizb ut-Tahrir's front organisation, GIMC, uses its website to keep track of these raids.[4] As of April 2016, they estimate there have been 188 reported terror raids since 2001, resulting in 73 charges, which are not always terror related. In total, less than 15 per cent of these have led to successful convictions. The UK has similar problems. In results released in 2016 by the government, of 260 arrests made in counter-terrorism home raids, 63 per cent were not even charged. Only 10 per cent were convicted of terrorism-related charges, while another 0.8 per cent were convicted of non-terrorism-related charges. However, 17.3 per cent await prosecution (Home Office 2016).

News media regularly film such raids, showing shots of police preparing or briefing, shots of the raid itself and the villains being led out. These home raids are standard media fodder, providing a smorgasbord of images of Muslims being arrested and dragged away from their families, which are shared among both Muslim and anti-Muslim networks, although for different reasons. Importantly, police forces are increasingly complicit in providing such images as part of their marketing and advertising. In Australia, during one large counter-terrorism home raid operation, the Australian Federal Police actually tweeted the raid live, as it was happening, with photos, so the public could "participate" in the raid like a horrific "live action" drama come to life. This drew condemnation from the Australian Muslim community.

Politicised Muslims regularly share horror stories of home raids in which they are physically assaulted and their belongings are purposefully and needlessly destroyed in a sadistic show of power. In one such example on 20 September 2014, the GIMC Facebook group shared an account from a Muslim man who had been subjected to a pre-dawn home raid:

> He says that when the AFP and NSW police came knocking on the door he walked out hands raised in the air trying to explain to them who was home. He was yelled at and told to get on his knees. He got on his knees and was then dragged through the hallway of his unit by his legs which cause him to scrape his face and elbows. He was stomped on three times by an officer which broke his nose. The brother is now undergoing surgery for his nose.

Numerous stories of fathers, brothers and sons, sometimes the sole breadwinner, being locked up indefinitely on false charges, are circulated in transnational magazines, on blogs and online forums, at community events, public forums and political rallies. For example, Hizb ut-Tahrir organised a public speakout forum in Sydney and Melbourne, Australia, in 2015 called "Innocent until Proven Muslim". The event was covered by news media (see Thomas 2015; Marshall 2015), and brought together lawyers, leaders, community activists and those affected by counterterrorism programmes. A number of Muslims presented testimonies of their husbands and sons being arrested, nephews being falsely accused in national daily newspapers. Some spoke about prisoner mistreatment and abuse and others detailed unjustified home raids. These stories were videotaped and then published on the GIMC Facebook Page and website, which was shared within the Muslim community across Facebook, while other organisations, such as DOAM, shared or retweeted the videos. Meanwhile, conservative media and commentators who attended the event published a number of written and broadcast stories, reports, opinion pieces and videos about the event, which were also shared within the Muslim community. The title of the event, "Innocent Until Proven Muslim", has become a recognisable phrase used in Facebook posts and Twitter posts highlighting news media bias or perceived police and security injustice across the world.

While some of these posts are ephemeral and disappear after one story, others are transformed into long-term campaigns. Take the story of Muslim Australian, Mustapha El Ossman, who was detained on 4 September 2015 and sent to immigration detention because he was deemed a "security risk". He has not been charged with any offences but due to an adverse finding in a secret security assessment he was deemed a "security risk". However, he is not allowed to know the details of why he is considered a security risk and therefore cannot defend himself against the accusation, and since he is not an Australian citizen he is unable to seek a review of his indefinite detention. His wife and children remain free in Australia. In April 2016, GIMC highlighted his case with a video of his wife who, through her tears, explained that she is moving from her house because she has nightmares of Australian intelligence agents breaking in. In March 2017 a Change.org petition titled "Justice for Mustapha El Ossman and his family" was created and shared.[5] Stories such as these

depict a bleak setting in which Muslim homes are being raided and families torn apart through unfair legal and security systems.

Due to space constraints I have not included the numerous stories of Muslims being harassed by neighbours and having their homes vandalised, which also adds to this feeling of home loss. Nevertheless, it is quite clear these are emotionally distressing stories and images for the victims and the audience. One moment in particular stands out for me, when one of the hosts of the Innocent Until Proven Muslim conference attempts to read out the testimony of an 11-year-old boy, who is the son of one of the Muslim men in Supermax prison. The host visibly struggles to read out the testimony. So shaken by the tragic loss for the young boy, the host strains to hold back tears as he reads out the letter to the audience, which details the effects on a child of losing a father.

In each shared post, members of the Muslim community express their heartbreak, share condolences for the affected family and pledge their prayers. These stories and images of Muslim home unmaking obviously provoke emotional responses like sadness, pity and anger, sometimes for political purposes. Yet they are also spaces of healing, where shared sentiment creates a sense of solidarity in the *ummah* and a commitment to supporting their fellow Muslims. The affective scene of identification is not just identifying with suffering, but also committing to a solution, whether divine or political, whether emotional or practical.

We should also remember that many members of the Australian Muslim community are already refugees or exiles from Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan. Even among those who are not officially refugees, some have been able to flee their homeland through other migration avenues (e.g. skilled migration programmes) even though they are actually fleeing persecution and suffer the loss of their home. Simultaneously, many still have family and friends living in these war-torn countries who are currently suffering under the extended War on Terror. Seeing or hearing these stories and images of Muslim home invasions shared on Facebook, YouTube, Muslim news sites, Twitter and personal blogs can be deeply re-traumatising, and their voices (expressed through comments) add to this affective economy. These are emotionally charged stories that generate an affective space of shared suffering, reigniting previous losses that haunt the community and emphasising traumas the community is still suffering. Thus, stories and images of home raids in counter-insurgency efforts overseas and home raids in Australia (or the UK or USA for that matter) can begin to feel like repetitions of the same story of violence but with slight variations.

These stories are shared publicly between community organisations and in private networks among Muslim community members where they meet the gamut of emotions: fear, horror, shock, disbelief, sadness, grief, mourning and, of course, anger. Despite this affective range, in many instances these help to generate a counterpublic space that contradicts official stories created by government and mainstream media. These

shared stories of Muslim domicide, shape how Muslims as digital media participants counter the narratives generated by mainstream news media about the counter-terrorism strategy. This was evident in the media surrounding the conference mentioned above. Although the conference detailed injustices against Muslims by security, police or penal institutions, the *Sydney Morning Herald* ran with the headline "Muslim children should not be forced to sing national anthem, says Hizb ut-Tahrir" (Howden 2015), *The Age* used "Forcing people to sing national anthem 'un-Australian'" (Choahan 2015) while the *Daily Telegraph* used "Hizb ut-Tahrir: Radical Muslim Group Advises Suspicion of Intelligence Agency" (Patterson 2015). As explained above, these and other conservative and mainstream media reports, opinion pieces and videos about the conference were also shared among the Muslim Australian community, so they could see clearly the discrepancy between the event and the biased media reporting. These discrepancies exacerbated their persecution in wider society and established these alternative online spaces as, if not entirely authentic, at least more critical than those in mainstream public culture. Since many Muslims have experienced journalists unfairly editing interviews to negatively portray either the interviewee or the Muslim community, many Muslims now refuse to speak to the media. These online spaces become unique because they are often the only places where Muslim victims can speak honestly about their experiences.

Conclusion

Due to space constraints, I was not able to cover home raids in the UK and the USA. This chapter has not traced extreme domicide in Palestine as Israeli settlements colonise more and more land, nor has it dealt with the vandalisation of Muslim homes and mosques across the West, nor has it touched on the use of drone strikes on residential households in Pakistan and Yemen. All these and more are stories and images shared in online Muslim spaces: in Facebook groups, Internet forums, community organisations, NGO websites and on Twitter. I have only focused on a few cases to highlight the kinds of affective resonances that are possible between depictions of home raids in Iraq and Afghanistan and home raids in Australia. But if one imagines that these are floating in a much wider sea of images and stories of Muslim domicide, it is easy to imagine how these affective connections are made possible. As these images continue to bombard Muslims across the Internet, they continue to create affective spaces of identification for Muslim counterpublics.

I would like to conclude by reflecting on the emergence of this paper from a frustration I faced in my research. When Anglophonic authors, both academic and non-academic, write about being moved by the plight of the victims of 9/11 no one thinks twice that this emotional connection is not only possible but is in fact a humane act of long-distance sympathy

and few question why such authors feel that 9/11 is an attack on "Western civilisation" even if they are critical of such a claim. Yet when Muslims show the same emotional capacity for long-distance sympathy it is treated as a traitorous impulse, a nefarious affinity. This perpetuates a racialised double standard. While events in the West are allowed to be "global events", events in the non-West must remain stubbornly local. While white Westerners are allowed to be cosmopolitan in their outlook and politics, non-Westerners and racialised and ethnicised minorities in the West are expected to be myopically stuck in their local, tribal politics. As a consequence, any time racialised and ethnicised minorities draw inspiration from each other, or pay attention to each other's struggles, we are immediately cast as suspicious, illogical or nefarious. It is this discrepancy that underscores Butler's claim that some lives are grievable and some are not (Butler 2004, 2009).

This kind of logic underpins media reports claiming that Muslims "sympathising" with terrorists is an implicit threat to the nation. In 2015 a Survation poll of Muslims was cited in *The Sun* as proof that 20 per cent of British Muslims sympathise with jihadists.[6] However, this was misleading since the wording asked whether they had "sympathy with young Muslims who leave the UK to join fighters in Syria" (see Melley 2015). ICM Unlimited (2015) conducted a survey for Channel 4 and Juniper from 25 April until 7 June 2015 of 1,081 Muslims over the age of 18. Newspapers treated the results as proof that Muslims were disloyal to the UK. When asked whether they can understand why British Muslims are attracted to radicalism, 13 per cent of Muslims answered yes, while a quarter (25 per cent) said they can understand why school girls would be attracted to become jihadi brides. Four per cent of Muslims said they sympathise to some extent with "suicide bombing to fight injustice", 7 per cent said they "tend to support" or "strongly support" ISIS' objective to create an Islamic state, while 3 per cent tend to or strongly support the way ISIS is trying to establish the caliphate. In a recent survey Professor Ruud Koopmans (2015) from the Berlin Social Science Centre found that 54 per cent of Muslims surveyed of Turkish and Moroccan origin in Germany, France, Netherlands, Belgium, Austria and Sweden, believed the West was out to destroy Islam. Koopmans suggests these findings correlate with a 2006 Pew Research Centre study that found that about half the Muslims living in France (46 per cent), Germany (44 per cent), and the United Kingdom (56 per cent) did not believe that the 9/11 attacks were carried out by Arabs. The same Pew Research Centre study found that a sizeable minority of Muslims in France (35 per cent), Spain (25 per cent), UK (24 per cent), Germany (13 per cent), answered that suicide bombings against civilians can rarely be justified (Pew Research Centre 2006, p. 4). In each of these instances the alleged existence of "sympathy for terrorists" is used as proof that Muslims are an implicit threat to Western nation-states. Yet the "sympathy" doesn't necessarily entail agreement with terrorists, it may simply

mean pity or feeling sorry for those who have fallen into terrorism, including sorrow for the circumstances they are in. It can denote an emotional understanding, an affective identification, without recourse to discursive, deliberative or political agreement.

By examining how the circulation of images of Muslim domicide can generate a counterpublic through affective identification, we can make better sense of these kinds of polls. The depiction of Muslim homes being invaded becomes an emotionally charged site for Muslims who keenly feel the injustice for their brothers and sisters across the globe and at home. Take, for example, this Facebook post from an unnamed Muslim woman whose words were posted on the GIMC Facebook page after yet another counter-terror home raid:

> Let's face it. This has nothing to do with individuals being linked to the recent shooting, and everything to do with perpetuating a continuing Islamophobic narrative. The government is putting up a facade, pretending to catch non existent terrorists, so that they can justify their draconian anti-terror laws, their stupid "deradicalisation" programs, incl. those that have been introduced in school which have contributed to marginalising and ostracising Muslim children, and their intervention in countries like Syria and Iraq where civilians are being murdered by them under the guise of "collateral damage" on a day to day basis.
>
> (GIMC Facebook post, 7 October 2015)

Emotive posts like these are common among politicised Muslims in Australia and abroad and are shared in Muslim groups that regularly post images or stories of Muslim homes being bombed, destroyed and raided in the Middle East and Muslim homes being raided in the West. Such posts draw attention to the affinities between the suffering experienced at home and abroad, in the Middle East and in the West. They provide felt proof of shared suffering.

Each time these images and narratives contradict the official narrative or mainstream media representations, they also reinforce the counterpublic dimension of these digital spaces. Yet this is less about national disloyalty than about a cosmopolitan, transnational sense of compassion for the *ummah.* These are symptoms of their capacity to feel for others, the capacity to be emotionally moved by the suffering of other Muslims. Treating Muslim empathy and compassion as traitorous emotions criminalises Muslims for what should be ennobling characteristics. Perhaps rather than maligning these as dangerous or even treasonous feelings, we might do well to understand them first in order to create a space for real political dialogue rather than reactionary censorship and coercion.

Notes

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2 I am grateful for the time spent in those spaces because, in conjunction with Muslim colleagues who have been generous enough to critique me, it has first foregrounded my own lack of knowledge about Muslims and Islam and second, in some cases has been indispensable for understanding political debates in the Muslim community.
3 Jerry Springer is a US television talk show, based on tabloid stories and staged fights between panellists and sometimes between panellists and audience members. It was renowned for its sensationalist, emotionally charged, over the top, fights.
4 Available from: http://gimc.org.au/timeline-of-all-raids-since-2001/ [21 August 2017].
5 Available from: www.change.org/p/minister-for-immigration-justice-for-mustapha-el-ossman-and-his-family [21 August 2017].
6 Available from: http://survation.com/new-polling-of-british-muslims/ [3 June 2017].

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Part III

Affect at work

8 Immersion at work

Affect and power in post-Fordist work cultures

Rainer Mühlhoff and Jan Slaby

Introduction

This chapter explores some of the ways in which relational affect has been turned into a subtle device for governing individuals, often such that it is not easily discernible *how* or even *that* power is exerted over them. It focuses on present-day workplace arrangements in what has been called network corporatism or, more generally, post-Fordism. Yet, its purpose is also an expressly theoretical one, namely that of consolidating a philosophical conception of relational affect in the tradition of Spinoza and Deleuze, with particular emphasis on the nexus of affect and power. Therefore, the chapter starts with a section on conceptual foundations in two stages. First, the gist of a Spinozist understanding of affect in relatively general terms. Then a sketch of the working concept of an "affective arrangement" – a descendant of both the Deleuzian "*agencement machinique*" and the Foucauldian "dispositif of power" – as a bridge between a more abstract conceptual framework and a concrete analytical perspective. Equipped with this concept, the chapter then presents two case studies of "immersive" affective arrangements in contemporary white-collar workplaces, drawing on research literature in workplace ethnography, sociology and cultural studies. The first case concerns teamwork and the seamless blending of networked office work and private life in precarious part-time employment. The second case study deals with what is tellingly called "Life at Google". It concludes with remarks on the prospects of an immanent critique of contemporary formations of affective subjectivation.

Theoretical framework: researching affective relationality

The notion of affect

The first aim of this approach is to develop a category of affect that is suitable for an analysis of power and subjectivation. For this purpose, the notion of affect in the philosophical tradition from Baruch Spinoza to Gilles Deleuze is particularly useful. This chapter remains neutral on the

issue of whether one should endorse this view as a metaphysical perspective. What interests us is its potency as a set of working concepts that can illuminate the complex of affect, power and subjectivity in real-world settings. Referring to Spinoza's main work, *Ethica*,[1] and to the interpretations given by Gilles Deleuze (1988; 1990), one can say that in this perspective, affect is mainly characterized by three points.

(1) *Relational ontology.* First, affect is a dynamic of effectuation in relations, that is, between individuals. Unlike in the mentalistic traditions of philosophy, affect in the Spinoza-Deleuze descent does not refer to inner feeling states. Actually, both parts are wrong in using the expression "inner feeling states," since affects are not states as they are not *static*, but dynamic processes; neither are they inner or internal to an individual as they unfold as relations. These characterizations are deeply rooted in Spinoza's ontological and metaphysical setup of a "substance monism," which cannot be reconstructed here.[2] Yet one of its important takeaways is that affect itself is an ontological principle; for Spinoza, being is being in relations of affection. That is, an individual is nothing more or less than *how it manifests in relations of affecting and being affected.* This ontology puts relations of affecting and being affected first and individuation (which is a process) second; it thus presents a radically relational and dynamic, and in this sense non-individualistic and non-substantial, understanding of individuals and affects.

Another important takeaway of Spinoza's ontological setup is the theorem commonly referred to as ontological "parallelism," in opposition to Cartesian dualism;[3] affects in Spinoza are inseparably both a mental and a bodily dynamic. More precisely, Spinoza states that "the mind and the body are one and the same thing, which is conceived now under the attribute of thought, now under the attribute of extension" (III, prop. 2 schol.).[4] This implies that the "body cannot determine the mind to thinking, and the mind cannot determine the body to motion, to rest, or to anything else". Rather, "motion and rest of the body must [always] arise from another body," that is, within a field of bodily relatedness (III, prop. 2 and dem.). Body and mind – or more technically, *extensio* and *cogitatio* – in Spinoza's terminology are just two attributes under which the "order" and "connection of things" as part of the one substance may be explicated, and "hence the order of actions and passions of our body is, by nature, at one with the order of actions and passions of the mind" (III, prop. 2 schol.). This parallelism theorem – however technical and abstract it might come across if stated this plainly – is an important background axiom to our approach to social micro-dynamics. It gives the reason why the nexus of affective dynamics and concurrent subjectivity must be analyzed in social situations and networks of relations where affect is a register of reciprocity on a bodily *and* a mental level. This is our proposed alternative to framing the phenomenon of affect and concurrent subjectivity as a psychological problem on the interface of outer dynamics versus inner subjectivity for each individual.

(2) *Affecting and being affected.* The second characteristic of Spinoza's notion of affect is that affect is always an interplay of *affecting and being affected.* Hence an affection is not a one-sided or unilateral impact of one individual on another. Rather, active and receptive involvement are inseparable from one another. As a consequence of this, the unfolding of an affective dynamic is never reducible to properties of only one of the involved individuals. The way one individual is affecting and being affected in a certain situation co-depends on all the other participating individuals.[5] In this conceptual framework, the question is less *who* is affecting *whom* and more *how* a dynamic of affecting and being affected evolves in the immanence of a situation, of a given relational setting.

This interpretation is again rooted in the shift from individualistic to relational and processual ontology. In particular, taking affect as an irreducible entanglement of affecting and being affected does not simply boil down to an understanding in which a cascade of "one-directional affections" of individual A on B with subsequent "counter affections" of B on A sums up to reciprocity on an aggregate level. The interplay of affecting and being affected must be taken in a strong sense, even to the point of affecting the implied understanding of causality itself. The prototypically modern idea of causality as transitive (with billiard balls as the standard model) is to be shifted into a thinking of *immanent causality* between things as parts of a higher context of effectuation, of which the physics of coupled oscillators would be the illustrating textbook model.[6] Thus the elementary structure of our notion of affect is not that of an impact-on, that is, of a directed, asymmetric force across the boundaries of pre-constituted individuals transferring momentum from A to B at a discrete point in space and time. Rather, it is the structure of a *joined movement-with*, that is, of a durational coupling of the individuals' own movements in reciprocal modulations and resonances, so that in general it is impossible to say A is affecting B but not B is affecting A.[7] In a Deleuzian terminology, this is to say that affecting and being affected is always forming an open process, a process of *becoming* (cf. Deleuze and Guattari 1987, ch. 10).

(3) *Power.* Most crucially for the purpose of this chapter, the notion of affect in Spinoza is intimately connected with a concept of power. Spinoza attributes to each individual a, so-called, *potentia,* which is a kind of "micro power". This *potentia* is not something that individuals possess besides their other characteristics. *Potentia* might best be translated as the individual's capacity to enter into relations of affecting and being affected – or *affective capacity* in short.[8] Now, Spinoza says that this affective capacity is the individual's ability of *being* in general (in the sense of an entity's ontic constitution), "Posse existere potentia est" ("to be able to exist is to have power," *Ethics* I, prop. 11 dem.); but at the same time, the individual's affective capacity is crucially also a *receptive* capacity as affect is always both active and receptive. *Potentia* is the individual's specific susceptibility to affections

by others as much as it is its power to affect others (through one's acts or one's sheer presence). In combination this makes for the fundamental heteronomy in the constitution of the individual in Spinoza, whose being is both an expression of its own *potentia* and modulated by all the other individuals (and their *potentia*) in its vicinity – which fits well with the present scheme of a relational social ontology. Hence the individual in Spinoza is always a manifestation within a dynamic of unfolding reciprocal affect in a situation, co-dependent on the respective powers (*potentia*) of all the individuals involved.

By the same token, Spinoza's understanding of individuation has both a spatial (or "extensive") and a temporal dimension to it. The "extensive" dimension figures prominently in the Deleuzian reception of Spinoza, as Deleuze stresses that an individual is nothing but a composition of smaller individuals in specific "relations of motion and rest".[9] Deleuze puts this in the terms of reciprocal dynamics of *potentia*:

> An existing mode is defined by a certain capacity for being affected (III, post. 1 and 2). When it encounters another mode, it can happen that this other mode is "good" for it, that is, enters into composition with it, or on the contrary decomposes it and is "bad" for it.… Accordingly, it will be said that its power of acting or force of existing increases or diminishes, since the power of the other mode is added to it, or on the contrary is withdrawn from it, immobilizing and restraining it (IV, prop. 18 dem.).
>
> (Deleuze 1988, pp. 49–50)[10]

This indicates that in a relational ontology of affect, the notion of the individual is itself variable. It shifts according to the prevalent level of individuation for the explication of a social configuration. Such a configuration may sometimes be comprised of humans, of parts of humans, of couples, teams, families, corporations, or states and so on. This is particularly fruitful for the analysis of structural power phenomena in social theory as it enables an understanding of the fundamental heteronomy of the individual on different scales and layers of relatedness but without rendering the individual *passive* or depriving it of an own (ontologically constitutive) power.

There is also a temporal dimension of individuation evident in Spinoza's theory. An individual's specific affective capacity (*potentia*) is also a product of the history of this individual's past relations of affecting and being affected. The temporal structure of individuation is what makes for a relative trans-situative coherence of one and the same individual passing through various situations and contexts of relatedness over time, thereby counterweighing to some extent the transience and variability of individuals. How an individual can affect and be affected is thus a result of its past trajectory of involvement in affective dynamics. This diachronic

structure implies a kind of "memory" for specific patterns of affectivity in past relations. This "memory" – which has nothing to do with mental representations of past events – works by means of inscription of past patterns of affect into the *potentia*, which are thus present *as potentials* in current relations.[11] This suggests an account of how past affective patterns of interaction are not identically repeated, but act as tendencies in present relations. This diachronic structure of the genesis of an individual's *potentia* can be extended to an analysis of social structures, such as gendered or racialized interaction patterns inscribed and perpetuated as patterns of affective interaction, also within institutions or social domains of other kinds (Mühlhoff 2018).

Mapping relational affect: affective arrangements and micro-dispositifs

It is the goal of this chapter to demonstrate how the relational conception of affect can be applied in concrete social contexts to facilitate analyses and critiques of contemporary governmental strategies. To this end, one further theoretical pre-consideration is required. Just as little as affect is – in our theoretical view – a matter of the isolated individual, it is also not a matter solely pertaining to isolated binary relations. Rather, affect as a relational dynamic generally transpires in situations, in micro-social scenes, within smaller or larger contexts and configurations of individuals and their histories, and various other material or non-material elements forming relatively stable domains or milieus. When, in the quotation above, Deleuze speaks of "encounters" between individuals whose specific composition of *potentia* either "increases" or "diminishes" one another, such an encounter does not unfold in empty space. Rather, it will be situated and mediated in a meshwork of past and present relations, in a field of affective capacities of many constellated individuals, in which certain affective dynamics might be rendered more likely and others less so. Such a situatedness also involves what might seem to be "ephemeral" elements, such as moods and up-to-the-minute affective dynamics, on the political or economic embeddedness of the situation, on prevailing atmospheres, on all sorts of materials and equipment, and medial constraints of the encounter (such as in online platforms, on the telephone) and so on.[12]

In short, we propose analyzing relational dynamics of affect with respect to their embedding in a spatial and structural configuration of various elements and their capacities to affect and be affect, together composing a local sphere of affective resonance in which certain affective dynamics between any number of individuals might be amplified, while others might be diminished.[13] We refer to such a relational configuration as an *affective arrangement*.[14]

The term "arrangement" is first of all the English translation of Deleuze's and Guattari's notions of "*agencement*" and "*agencement machinique*," as proposed by Ian Buchanan (1997; 2015). In Deleuze's and

Guattari's work, the concept of *agencement*, or arrangement, does not so much refer to an assembly or organic unity of parts – as would be suggested by the English term assemblage – but to a specifically composed layout of heterogeneous elements that are brought together according to a mode of composition that is not homogenizing (cf. Nail 2017, p. 22). While an assemblage flattens its parts into an organic unity, an *agencement* is a fragmentary whole, a concatenation of components that remain disparate no matter how densely they are entangled. Yet, there is a certain mode of relatedness that holds the elements together. In the cases of interest to us – in affective arrangements – this combining force is a concrete tangle of relations of affecting and being affected. In their dynamic interplay, the elements of an affective arrangement sustain a local sphere of affective intensity and thereby both trigger and structure characteristic agentive routines. Accordingly, both actions and affections are locally instigated and modulated by an affective arrangement.

Combining the Spinozist conceptions of affect and *potentia* with this idea of an affective arrangement yields a theoretical framework where the unfolding of an individual's *potentia* is always embedded in, and co-dependent on, a surrounding milieu of objects and individuals, comprising a heterogeneous field of affective capacities. From the theoretical point of view of Spinozism, this arrangement comprises a relative sphere of *immanence*,[15] at the same time as it highlights the internal heterogeneity of its composition – not by means of an ontic distinction of its objects but by *effective* distinction on the level of mutually increasing or diminishing, affirming or undermining, resonant or dissonant affective capacities.

In referring to an arrangement specifically as an affective one we are emphasizing that already established affective dynamics and interactive patterns are vital to the arrangement. Thresholds of affective intensity demarcate affective arrangements from their surroundings, so that entering into an affective arrangement comes with a notable change in the degree and intensity with which a person affectively "resonates".[16] Mundane examples are parties, clubs, sports or art events, even lively classroom discussions, meetings at work and so on – the tangle of affective relations on the inside of such constellations is intense and "gripping," as opposed to the lower intensity on their outside. We use "immersion" as a term for capturing the intensive involvement or embeddedness of individuals within affective arrangements. More precisely, immersion is a specific mode of affective involvement, which is characterized by a spectrum of subjective experiential qualities ranging from uneasiness, to absorption, up to the complete amalgamation of one's temporary "being" within an intensive meshwork of augmenting or diminishing, positive or negative affective relations (Mühlhoff 2018; Mühlhoff and Schütz 2017).

A second systematic reference point of the concept of "affective arrangement" is Foucault's notion of a *dispositif*. With this notion, Foucault also refers to a heterogeneous ensemble of elements, constituting a whole

– that is, a "system of relations" of these elements.[17] He uses this concept for his analysis of (historically) specific power formations in which social, political and institutional practices, discourses of truth and subjective relations to self and others are instigated as part of a decentralized apparatus of power. Yet Foucault's construal of the dispositif makes little reference to the aspect of situated affective dynamics, the *hic et nunc* of patterns of affecting and being affected that have been established between elements of the dispositif. These patterns are not reducible to the comparatively static aspects of a dispositif on Foucault's list, they form an ephemeral yet constitutive part of the dispositif at hand. This holds all the more if the scope of analysis is less that of a larger historical formation – as evident in many of Foucault's works – and is geared more towards short-term micro- and meso-social constellations, as in the example of workplaces (teamwork, office culture) we are going to discuss in the next sections. An affective arrangement is therefore a kind of "micro-dispositif" in Foucault's sense but with a dynamic register of affective potentials as its key dimension. That is, the register of affective capacities (*potentia*) of all the individuals, together with the already established affective relations between these individuals, are vital to arrangements of this kind.

The theoretical setup outlined in this section not only proposes certain concepts – such as affective arrangement, or an individual's affective capacity – but also a methodological perspective. This perspective is based on the assumption that individuals are modulated *in situ* by means of reciprocal affective dynamics in local micro-social contexts. These modulations are part of larger trans-situative strategic ensembles, reproducing overarching patterns. The question we are thus focusing on is, how do relations of exploitation in labor, and structures of differential social roles (e.g., in gendered interactions, or along power hierarchies in corporations) get actualized and perpetuated on the level of affective microinteractions? We claim that in certain affective arrangements, affective relationality itself emerges as an operative register of a strategic power, in which the thinking, acting and feeling of individuals is subtly shaped, "nudged" and governed. The word "strategic" indicates that this type of power does not operate as *power-over*, but in the immanence of the reciprocal (affective) interplay within the respective arrangement. In the next section we illustrate this point by focusing on the example of affective arrangements implemented by human resource management (HRM) in modern workplace contexts.

Working arrangements: the affects of post-Fordist work cultures

We will now apply our concepts to the discussion of two examples of affective arrangements in contemporary work cultures: first, a typical setting of part-time work in an office operating under the teamwork concept; second

the immersive work- and lifestyle of the contemporary IT and startup sectors. To this end, we draw on recent literature of workplace studies and their critical reflection from sociological, cultural studies and social philosophy perspectives.

Case study 1: teamwork – Claire's example

Claire is a 33-year-old marketing professional, working as a part-time employee for a telecommunications company in Brisbane, Australia. She is one of the volunteers to a series of workplace ethnographic interviews conducted by Melissa Gregg in her 2011 study *Work's Intimacy*. In a fashion typical of most contemporary jobs in the knowledge-work sector, Claire's marketing department is organized in project teams, that is, in small groups of co-workers gathered around a short- or mid-range project goal. Compared to older styles of corporate organization, teamwork is typically described as a non-hierarchical and quasi-social mode of interaction, "in which all colleagues work together, sharing responsibility for the organization" (Gregg 2011, p. 74).

Initially, Claire decided to work part-time (Monday to Wednesday) in order to look after her child the other two days of the week. In her interviews with Gregg, however, she reports that

> Thursday and Friday are my days off, but at the moment …, Thursday morning is a bit of a catch-up morning for me anyway to send out a lot of emails and get a lot of things moving so that I don't have to wait until Monday before I can get momentum happening on things.
>
> (Ibid., p. 49)

Claire describes this unpaid extra work as her free choice. Without it, Gregg reports, "her return to the office on a Monday would be 'really stressful'".

> Yeah, and that's why I do it; it's not because there's pressure from the management team to do it at all, but it's more just for my own sanity.… I will sleep better if I spend an hour or an hour and a half at night just getting on top of that, otherwise I will wake up at 4 a.m. in the morning and I'll be just spinning around my head.
>
> (Ibid., pp. 49–50)

Gregg, who saw Claire twice in the space of 12 months for interviews, reports that in the course of this one year, Claire's home working practices even extended to the evening hours of regular working days and "most of the weekend" (ibid., pp. 49, 77). Claire says that together with her partner, who is a mortgage broker, she would spend "evenings sitting on our couch with our laptops on our laps doing work," explaining that this is a practice

"that just keeps us sane" (ibid., p. 50). Wireless internet and laptop computers enable Claire to follow her work in various locations and situations at home – from sitting on the couch to hanging out in bed or spending some time "out the front playing cars with my two-year-old on the driveway" (ibid.). As Gregg explains, the chance to stay on top of things in all these micro-situations, enabled by new media technologies, is to Claire "a way of being at peace and at ease with the family" (ibid.). Connectivity together with the part-time arrangement is creating specific practices of sharing time with both her partner and her son while staying "on top" of her workload.

This custom set of long-grown familial habits and domestic practices subtly integrating work duties of both partners into an intimate life at home is one aspect of how Claire's work engagement is sustained and stabilized in a specific arrangement of personal and affective relations. The development Gregg reports in the course of one year demonstrates how affective relationality, together with practices and habits, may *arrange themselves* around a certain set of external constraints in a reciprocal process of leveling and balancing. This process of arranging is neither fully passive nor active on the part of Claire or her family. Partly, things just "fall into place," partly things might be initially debated, then deliberately chosen. Apparently, both are true: the ability to do some work from home sustains Claire's family life; and the ability to have some familiar intimacy while working sustains Claire's work commitment. Claire is an example case of how work might blend into leisure in a way which is – as a *form of life* – sustained by a multi-faceted ensemble of practices, media structures and personal relations through which work entangles with the realm of the "private" and thus gains "intimacy".

Yet the family and home sphere is only half of the arrangement of personal and affective relations that characterize Claire's work situation. It turns out that the other half is the workplace and her team of co-workers. Analyzing it as a stylized arrangement of affective relations can reveal why staying connected with work, even from home, is so important to Claire. "The team," as Gregg states, is "paramount" in Claire's description of why she logs in to her emails from home in her free time. "A sense of responsibility to others motivates her 'to keep an eye on what is happening'". (ibid., p. 76) This is an important clue as Claire insists that she is not formally expected nor directly ordered to be online outside her office hours. Yet there is a more subtle and implicit form of coercion at work, resulting from the supplementation of hierarchical work relations (with a top-down assignment of tasks and duties) by social relations in teamwork (whose logic is that of being a reliable team mate, being motivated and motivating others, being resonative).

> If the flexible, decentralized workplace has freed employees from
> the omnipotent surveillance of the boss …, today it is "the team" of

co-workers that bear witness to everyday work efforts. The team is the mythically egalitarian playing field in which all colleagues work together, sharing responsibility for the organization. It is one of several coercive dimensions of office culture exacerbated by new media technologies.

(Ibid., p. 74)

In teamwork, vertical power relations and direct subordination between managers and workers are replaced (or perhaps only masked) by a network of horizontal and personal relations between collaborators (see also Liu 2004). "The perception that other co-workers might be waiting for responses and actions is a recurring reason employees give for logging in to read email outside the office," Gregg reports from her interviews (2011, p. 74). Claire's example gives some hints as to the complexity of affective and psychic dynamics that are involved in such a constellation:

> Claire acknowledged that even though the company was "very good with part-time employment, it's still not the majority of people. And no one else really is going to remember what days you work and what days you don't." Her sensitivity to others' schedules compels her to stay connected: "Even though you've got an 'out of office' on … it still can be a bit hard for people." Staying in touch therefore had the twin benefit of being "appreciated by the team and it makes me feel better."
>
> (Ibid., p. 77)

Claire is particularly glad about her opportunity for a part-time arrangement with the company, saying "it is not a typical situation to be able to do a project-based job and only be there half of the week" which is why she "feel[s] very thankful" and "want[s] to make it work" (ibid., p. 51). This thankfulness blends seamlessly into the attitude of "sensitivity to the others' schedules," suggesting she is even feeling guilty knowing that she is the aberrant one with her exceptional work hours. This mutual entanglement of gratitude, guilt and commitment is fueled even further by her basic need for recognition that is evident in her longing for "being appreciated by the team". Given her exceptional work arrangement, Claire goes on to explain:

> [T]here will be people there that will send something through on a Thursday and they might need it close of business on Friday. So it is good to be able to – if it is urgent and only I can do it – I can actually look at it or I can make sure it is sent on to the right people.
>
> (Ibid., p. 77)

This "conviction that 'only I can do it'," as Melissa Gregg points out, "gets to the heart of teamwork's interpellative power" (ibid.). It is a very specific

form of self-relation and self-narration of Claire's way of being involved, entangled and harnessed into the real-time dynamics of team relations with her specific skills and affective capacities, even when she is at home. It is not even necessary that really only she can do a certain task. The subjective impression that "only I can do it" suffices, in principle, to make for its implicitly coercive effect. Together with the constellation of wanting to be appreciated by the team, wanting to make the part-time arrangement work and sharing responsibility for the overall project, this form of self-relation might be referred to as a form of subjectivity that is produced and exploited in the meshwork of affective dynamics in Claire's teamwork arrangement. Through the constitution of this form of subjectivity, a modality of governing employees emerges in teamwork formations. It is based on involving everyone in a productive arrangement of micro-relations and interpersonal practices based less on their technical skills (their knowledge, their handcrafting skills, etc.), and more on a specific affective engagement. That is, a spectrum of personal affective capacities beyond servility and discipline becomes the driving force of teamwork relations (in the case of Claire: need for recognition, disposition towards feeling guilty, etc.). Yet the effect of this engagement as it unfolds in the immanence of a strategic ensemble of affective micro-powers might also be that of subtle coercion and servility.

The transition from hierarchical forms of corporate organization to a teamwork-based topology is one of the most groundbreaking transformations of capitalist production in the 21st century. In today's, so called, "networked corporations" (Liu 2004), production is no longer organized as a chain of piecemeal tasks, but is everyone's shared responsibility to have the perspective of the whole process in mind.[18] Individual roles and the distribution of specialized tasks within a team are supposed to be self-regulating processes of reciprocal feedback-loop controls (Bröckling 2008). Since the 1990s a full-blown discourse in HRM has emerged, inventing strategies to stimulate and facilitate team collaboration according to this vision.[19] Far from leaving it to self-organization, a trend of training teamwork is evident in techniques such as team building, bonding events and coaching in networking soft-skills. HRM strategies even go as far as the implementation of holistic "company cultures" or "sub-cultural" spheres at workplaces, orchestrated by companies' "change managers" and "Wow!" departments (Gregg 2011, p. 75). The core idea behind these instruments is to make employees engage not only with their work but with one another. That is, everyone is supposed to be immersed in their work as a full person, with their full range of social and affective capacities and their *potentia* – fully committed in short.

In critical analyses of post-Fordist work cultures, be it under the name of a *New Spirit of Capitalism* (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007) or of *The Soul at Work* (Berardi 2009), it is evident that affective relations between co-workers and *within* work environments have become increasingly central

in techniques of contemporary workplace governance. Genealogically, the teamwork paradigm had emerged already in the 1970s and 1980s, due to the influence of post-World War cybernetic and group dynamic research (Bröckling 2008). In this first case study, we were revisiting this basic form of organization in an updated perspective derived from Melissa Gregg's recent work, highlighting how digital communication and new media technology of the 21st century facilitate team collaboration in a new form. By the same token, we are extending the classic understanding of "affective" and "immaterial labor" by pointing out that it is not so much the *product* of this work, but the very *modality* of workers' engagement that is affective in these arrangements.[20] Teamwork strategically stimulates and harnesses the specific affective capacities of co-workers and their social bonds as an energy resource, exploitable to increase commitment, responsibility and extra work hours, mostly without managerial orders. From Claire's example it is clear how this might make work relations not only grow into more intimate relations, but also how it makes work relations entangle with private life spheres, forming a whole arrangement of diverse relations (co-workers, partner, child), practices (doing work from various places and situations), spaces (office, home, bed, driveway, couch), narratives ("only I can do it") and psychological complexes ("sensitivity to others," wanting to be appreciated, thankfulness, guilt) of several people.

Case study 2: "Life at Google"

Our second case study emphasizes the importance of a holistic account of work environments as affective micro-dispositifs. We refer to it as "Life at Google," a term derived from the company's own wording on their website.[21] Google Inc. is a tech company in the New Economy, and it is well known that alongside its pioneering technological achievements, the New Economy has always been a major innovator in HRM. In order to facilitate technological innovations at such a speed, some of the New Economy's most valuable assets are its constant inventions of new forms of organizing, governing and capitalizing the personal potential of their employees. Yet around the turn of the 21st century and after the crash of the dot-com bubble in 2000, it was no longer enough to subjectify employees along the dimensions of availability and commitment, as could be seen in the teamwork dispositif described above (cf. Gill 2007; Ross 2001; Terranova 2010). Instead, *creativity* became the new prime target of the work organization. The dominant HRM ideology of the last two decades, in line with the new hegemony of a "start-up culture," is madly focusing on open spaces stimulating unexpected ideas, putatively cultivating a "power of diversity" (Gardenswartz and Rowe 1994) and even encouraging deviant forces – which are seen as forces of innovation.[22] An obvious obstacle is that creative processes can be planned or enforced even less than interpersonal affective bonds in team constellations. In fact,

they require other, more radical techniques of stimulation and orchestration in specific affective arrangements.

For the engineers at Google, the company has been setting up architectural and interior arrangements best described as "kindergarten-style" work environments with toys, colorful bikes, billiard tables, Star Trek posters, and "a large, terribly fake-looking replica of SpaceShipOne hanging in the middle of the main building and a replica dinosaur skeleton standing outside" at the main campus in Mountain View, California (Swartz 2006). In the mid-2000s, Google became famous for these affective arrangements that turn the workplace into a *life environment* where work is supposed to feel like play and where the often 20- to 25-year-old employees, who have come straight from college, spend as much time as possible (cf. ibid.; Terranova 2010). Loosely connecting to the spirit of the hacker movement and the play instinct of the middle-class "millennial generation," this environment has been advertised in Google's hiring campaigns as an extension of college life. The company was providing a holistic environment, covering practical needs from free food, laundry services, on campus health care and sports sites, up to a corporate bus service to pick up people from home in the morning. For the (wealthy class of) IT engineers, the company has created a space not only for work but for fun, recreation, leisure and the pursuit of one's own projects.

Google's "playful" work environments – which have since been adopted and imitated by the growing hegemony of a start-up culture in IT branches and beyond – are exemplary of a local arrangement designed to immerse employees with their personal and affective potentials, relations and impulses into a productive apparatus of human relations, thus making their energies exploitable for company benefit. While teamwork stimulates and harnesses affective bonds of co-workers around the felt qualities of reciprocal reliability, guilt, appreciation, insecurities and a shared commitment, the affective arrangement of a "life at Google" additionally stimulates a "play instinct," and, by that means, "creativity". In play, three aspects of subjective involvement are combined: (1) being driven by a deeply rooted, affectively grounded fascination for technology; (2) the opportunity for non-competitive, "happy-go-lucky" experimentation and trying beyond market-strategy and economic worries; (3) a specific affective interpersonal dynamic of "positive" and amplifying social interactions and identifications, forming a register of belonging to a subcultural sphere of resonance (see Mühlhoff 2018). "Play instinct" is seen as a personal capital – as an employee's marketable set of affective potentials – which is at the core of the tech industry's innovation culture. It is remarkable to see how, in this formation, employees are not addressed as experts of a specialized knowledge or skill-set, nor as subjects of discipline and obedience. Rather, they are addressed, produced and harnessed as carriers of *affective potentials.* The HRM strategy evident in Google's specific setup is to create a relational arrangement where these potentials can unfold, promising to

employees an environment for what feels like self-expression and self-organization, while implementing subtle control of the directions in which these forces are allowed to unfold and a decentralized structure of their exploitation and valorization (see Deleuze 1992).

However, as critical voices suggest, this is only one side of the coin. "Google keeps employees by treating them like kids" is the title of a viral article by the short-lived programmer, entrepreneur and internet activist Aaron Swartz (1986–2013). He points out that the immersive stimulation of a playful work ethos at Google is not only an ephemeral and situative modulation or intensification of certain behavior traits and affective capacities. Evidence suggests that it is a systematic strategy of "infantilization" of employees as persons, and this implies a long-lasting, subjectivity forming feedback of this immersive involvement on the individuals:

> The dinosaurs and spaceships certainly fit in with the infantilizing theme, as does the hot tub-sized ball pit that Googlers can jump into and throw ball fights. Everyone I know who works there either acts childish (the army of programmers), enthusiastically adolescent (their managers and overseers), or else is deeply cynical (the hot-shot programmers). But as much as they may want to leave Google, the infantilizing tactics have worked: they're afraid they wouldn't be able to survive anywhere else.
>
> (Swartz 2006)

However accurate this description might be in the case of Google, it points to an important dimension of affect-based corporate governance in general. Immersive environments actively produce – each in their own way – individuals with a suitable, mutually stabilizing structure of affective capacities and subjective self-relation. This also connects to what Melissa Gregg refers to as the "coercive dimension" of contemporary office culture (Gregg 2011, p. 74). Although these forms of collaboration are subjectively based on free, autonomous, fun and personal interactions at eye-level, they are *not* free of coercion. The techniques of coercion have just become more subtle and implicit compared with how old-school disciplinary regimes outwardly oppressed individuals.

As we argue in the conclusion, this new mode of coercion is based on a form of *affective subjectivation* – that is, the genesis of subjectivity in affective relations – which is molded in such a way that a subjective experience of fun and self-responsible decisions is seamlessly aligned with what is of benefit to the company. In our examples this constitution of subjectivity consists of two aspects, The first is the creation of interpersonal environments, selectively stimulating, amplifying and orchestrating aspects of the individuals' *potentia* to unfold in a meshwork of affective relations. From teamwork to "Life at Google" this means creating affective arrangements designed to instigate intensive attachments and joyful self-experiences

within these relations. The second aspect is that, over time, the environment as a whole is feeding back on the *potentia* (affective capacity) of the individual, creating an affective lock-in effect. When this lock-in effect sets in, affective capacities, intrinsic motivations and long-grown life-work arrangements can be exploited, from the extension of working hours to what might be called a strategic infantilization of employees. It is now time to ask how these case studies might inform a perspective on power and governmentality in the post-Fordist economy.

Conclusion: affect, power and immersion

There are two major conclusions to be drawn from our analyses, one leading in the direction of critique and empowerment, the other emphasizing theoretical consequences for the field of affect studies and social philosophy. First, our examples showcase the potency of concepts such as "relational affect" and "affective arrangement" to reveal a contemporary form of power relations and a concurrent constitution of subjectivity as affective and discursive self-relations in certain environments. As vignettes they exemplify how knowledge work cultures in the post-Fordist era, most prevalent in the tech, media and advertising industries, are maintained by a form of governance (and governmentality) operating in a register of situated, horizontal and potentially pleasurable affective relations. We refer to this governance principle as *immersion* to highlight that the mechanism of personal and potentially self-amplifying involvement absorbs individuals in a form of dense relatedness and concurrent subjectivity, which thwarts the possibilities for critical distancing and sober reflections from an outside perspective on one's own way of being involved (Mühlhoff 2018; Mühlhoff and Schütz 2017). Immersive governance by means of strategically arranged affective dynamics does not rely on power-over relations, such as explicit managerial orders (which could in principle be opposed or criticized on an equally explicit level). Instead, it relies on the relational modulation of individual behavior by selective stimulation and intensification of the affective potentials and the character traits of each individual – from dispositions to self-sacrifice or feelings of guilt to the entrepreneurial play instinct.

Driven by the hope of facilitating critique and empowerment, our analysis aims to equip the involved and affected individuals with their own conceptual toolkit. Suitable analytic concepts are a prerequisite for making relations of affecting and being affected visible and addressable *as* micro-techniques of governance. From the point of view of employees accustomed to the promises of team play and flexible work relations, such a conclusion is not something that comes to mind immediately. The deployment of affective techniques displaces the aspect of governance into the inexplicit – thus evading easy analytic access – and into the personal, where it is masked behind what is supposed to feel like inherent

motivation or, in case of failure, comes across as personal insufficiency. Any direct articulation of structural failures, let alone acts of disobedience, resistance and empowerment in these arrangements, face the paradox of going against one's professional self-image and threaten one's friendly attachments to colleagues.

Second, with a systematic perspective in mind, our case studies prompt for a theorization of affect as a register of local micro-dispositifs of power. This hints at a connection between theories of affect and theories of subjectivating power that is still largely a blind spot between affect studies, post-structuralist theories of the subject, governmentality studies and post-Marxist critiques. Initially, the "turn to affect" was driven by an anti-post-structuralist euphoria to find in affect a notion that overcame the "deadlock" of (misunderstood) subjectivity (see Massumi 1995; 2002). At the close of the second decade of the 21st century, however, it is increasingly evident that affect is a politically ambivalent notion.[23] In this chapter, we intended to show how affects (even positive affects) can be stimulated as a resource of inherent forces in apparatuses of power and exploitation. Whether affect is an emancipatory and transformative force or a register of exploitation and harnessing is thus not a property of affect per se but depends on how affective dynamics are entangled in local micro-dispositifs. This is why uncovering affective strategies of power is a matter of studying neither single individuals and relations, nor macroscopic dispositifs at a societal and historic scale alone. The relevant scope is that of the meso-scale affective arrangements, of micro-social spheres and their meshworks of situated human relations.

Most notably, the form of governmentality evident in the knowledge work cultures we studied has undermined the classic dichotomies of work versus leisure, production versus consumption and duty versus pleasure. Central achievements of the social welfare states of the Fordist and New Deal economic eras, such as the spatial separation of work from home along with the temporal separation of work time from free time, are abandoned without notable resistance. This is what makes critique so difficult. As a starting point, our analysis suggests that this "voluntary" dissolution of boundaries must be read as a symptom of a transformed mechanism of subject genesis in affective relations, evident in modern forms of corporate governance.[24] Subjects are produced as carriers of specific capacities to affect and be affected in the immanence of an affective arrangement that consists of both affective and discursive elements. Consequently, this calls for a suitable kind of immanent critique, as the modality of power evident in the formations of "The New Spirit of Capitalism" acts *on* people from without, but *through peoples' affects.*

We refer to the form of subject genesis evident in these formations as affective subjectivation. This term demarcates a theoretical perspective from which Spinoza's individual (as constituted in affective relations) appears as the site of a relationally co-dependent and situated self-relation,

which is as much affective as it is discursive. Along these lines, the Spinozist conception of relational affect, together with the perspective facilitated by the concept of affective arrangements, provides a framework that can be combined with a Foucault-style analysis and critique of power formations. The dynamics of *potentia* unfolding in relations of affecting and being affected is the micro-social end point (or zoom level) in apparatuses of relational and productive power. Our approach therefore allows the introduction of a concept of affect to critical social theory. Following this route further, as has been argued in detail elsewhere, brings us to a theory of "immersive power," which is a modality of post-disciplinary power dominant in the micro-dispositifs of post-Fordist work cultures in the 21st century (see Mühlhoff 2018). A lived and embodied critique of this form of governance, however, can only be presaged by theoretical work like this in order to dare an adaptation of Foucault's (1997) notion of critique to these scenarios. If governance hijacks the way individuals are capable of affecting and being affected, empowerment calls for a collective practice based on a shared will "not to be affected like this" anymore.

Notes

1 Spinoza 1677, *Ethica, ordine geometrico demonstrata.*
2 See Spinoza 1677 *Ethics*, parts I–III, cf. also Deleuze 1990.
3 As a matter of fact, historically Spinoza was an explicit opponent of Descartes.
4 References to Spinoza's *Ethics* follow the common citation scheme using the work's internal segmentation in parts (I-V), propositions (prop.), scholia (schol.), proofs (dem.), definitions (def.) and others.
5 For detailed elaborations on this point see Deleuze 1990, pp. 91–95, 217–224; Kwek 2015 and Mühlhoff 2018. In Spinoza's *Ethics*, this interpretation refers to the group of propositions in part III, prop. 49–59 and part IV, prop. 33, which cannot be reconstructed here in more detail.
6 For the debate on immanence and immanent causation in Spinoza cf. *Ethics*, part I, prop. 18; Deleuze 1990 and, for example, Melamed 2013; Saar 2013.
7 For the concept of "affective resonance" see in more detail, Mühlhoff 2015.
8 See *Ethics* III, post.1 and 2; Deleuze 1988, pp. 49–50; Kwek 2015; Mühlhoff 2018.
9 See *Ethics* II axioms and lemmata after prop. 13; Deleuze 1988, pp. 91–92, 123.
10 A (finite) "mode" (*modus*) is Spinoza's term for individual.
11 Technically, a non post-Aristotelian notion of potentiality is needed here, which may be taken from Deleuze 1994. See also Protevi 2013 and Mühlhoff 2015 on this point.
12 See also the related debate in analytical philosophy on "situated affectivity," and on embodied, embedded, enactive and extended mind theories. See, for instance, Griffiths and Scarantino 2009; Mühlhoff 2015 and Slaby 2016 explore some of the resonances between these theoretical perspectives.
13 For the concept of "affective resonance" see Mühlhoff 2015. This is not a metaphorical term but a theoretical concept apt for describing the reciprocal modulation of entities in dynamic relations of affecting and being affected.
14 By introducing the concept of an "affective arrangement," we are recapitulating briefly what we elaborated in detail in Slaby, Mühlhoff and Wüschner 2017.

15 More precisely, of immanent causality in its overall ensemble of internal relations of affecting and being affected.
16 Cf. Seyfert (this volume) for more detailed considerations on the role of affective intensity within socio-technical arrangements. As we do as well, Seyfert takes key hints from Massumi 1995. See also Seyfert 2012, where he proposes the term "affectif" for constellations similar to the ones we call affective arrangements.
17 From Foucault 1980 the French "*dispositif*" was translated as "apparatus," we substitute the now broadly recognized term again. See Anderson 2014, ch. 2, for a recent attempt to turn Foucault's dispositif directly into a concept for theorizing affect and affective relationality.
18 Cf. Liu 2004, pp. 45–46; and for a popular mainstream engagement, Tapscott 2015.
19 See for instance Gardenswartz and Rowe 1994; Boxall et al. 2007. As examples of critical engagements in management studies, cf. Knights and McCabe 2003.
20 Lazzarato 1996; Hardt 1999. For updated and refined discussions of affective and immaterial labor in the context of post-Fordism and digitized capitalism in the 21st century, see Terranova 2004; Dowling, Nunes and Trott 2007.
21 Available from: http://careers.google.com [20 March 2017].
22 Given the well-documented prevalence of white, male, middle-class employees in the tech sector, talk of "diversity" and "deviant forces" has an ideological ring to it in this context. Cf. Terranova 2010; Cooper 2000.
23 Feminist sociologist Clare Hemmings (2005) was among the earliest to point this out in a critical essay on the affective turn.
24 For the notions of subjectivation and subjectivity, cf. Foucault 1982;1984.

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9 Managing community

Coworking, hospitality and the future of work

Melissa Gregg and Thomas Lodato

Introduction

In conventional labor history, workplace and home were separated as productive spheres under the auspices of industrialization. Valuable market-based activity moved to the office and factory, and home-based enterprise diminished in light of a combination of social and economic developments that rearranged gender roles (Pateman 1988). Under Fordism, affective labor provided by women in the home secured the emotional wellbeing of the family, while the "cold intimacies" (Illouz 2007) of the workplace required new professional skills adjusted to a new social milieu (Liu 2004). Gradually, as feminism produced more opportunities for women in the office environment – a movement that began with the empowerment of secretaries and now extends, in theory at least, to the boardroom (e.g., Sandberg 2013) – distinctions between fixed locations for work evolved, with a pervasive sense that work obligations and technological dependencies had become a feature of each location.

One outcome from these broader historical developments is today's comparatively convivial and casual office, a growing experience of blurred boundaries between work and home, and a kind of compulsory sociality that manifests in the guise of teamwork as management protocol (Gregg 2011). These interrelated qualities produce an intimate relationship to work that instills a flexible persona able to withstand the always-on nature of connected workplaces and the open-plan terrain of activity-based enterprise (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007; Wittel 2001). It is unsurprising, perhaps, that in this context a growing number of workers are seeking relief from the emotional demands of the corporate office. "Solopreneurs," independent contractors, and start-ups are assembling in shared office spaces outside of the company form. Coworking spaces not only ease the loneliness of contingent life and minimize the upfront resources of precarious careers, but, as this chapter suggests, they provide an accommodating environment for work lives that exceed clear spatial boundaries through their particular manifestation of hospitality.

The past few years have seen the coming of age for coworking. While not a new phenomenon, by current estimates, as many as 7800 coworking spaces exist across the globe, with an estimated 30 percent increase over the next two years (GCUC Alliance 2016). Coworking spaces are businesses that offer space-as-service through a variety of membership packages. Operators provide furniture, Wi-Fi, printing, outfitted meeting rooms, and a host of other amenities typical of a conventional office space. Although access to desks or rooms can be purchased on a daily or weekly basis, coworking spaces primarily operate on a revenue model of a recurring monthly fee. At most coworking spaces, base memberships provide access to open seating areas on a first-come-first-served basis.[1]

The business model for coworking generates revenue via real estate speculation, although marketing usually highlights that material support is only part of the experience. For example, coworking spaces regularly function as labor market intermediaries, "reducing transactions costs, building networks and managing risk" (Benner 2003, p. 630) for those who participate through paid access. Another constantly touted feature on websites and other publicity materials is *community*, a term that captures the camaraderie, collegiality, and knowledge transfer fostered through various forms of proximity (Boschma 2005), suggesting that the true benefit of paying for shared workspace is this situated and emergent asset. Of all the dynamic interactions within coworking spaces (Capdevila 2013; Merkel 2015), community exceeds a purely functionalist description; its effervescent quality is part of the "serendipity" of coworking (Olma 2016).[2]

Assembling community

To understand what operators mean by community it is important to appreciate the origins of coworking. Brad Neuberg, an early coworking pioneer, explained to *Deskmag* that his first (and possibly the first) coworking space, Spiral Muse, was founded in 2005 for "cross-fertilization or communication" rather than to reduce cost through "shared utilities" (Dullroy 2012). For Neuberg, Spiral Muse was more than a strategy to break the monotony of heads-down work, it was a means of overcoming the isolation many workers feel in traditional offices, home offices, and coffee shops. Waters-Lynch et al. (2016) identify similar overtones in two additional coworking origin stories, both occurring circa 2005. One locates the origins of coworking in New York City, in meet-ups called "jellys," where remote workers co-located in someone's apartment. The other origin story comes out of London, where a group of social entrepreneurs founded a space called The Hub to provide resources and interactions for similarly oriented businesses. The Hub has since been renamed Impact Hub and is one of the largest networks of coworking spaces in the world. In all these instances, coworking emerges from the growing disenchantment of

workers with traditional working options and, as this chapter will show, a desire for what this book calls "affect in relation".

Coworking spaces expanded significantly in the wake of the global financial crisis of 2008/2009. This lends credence to a reading that the style of work emerged in response to the slow plod of austerity – hollowed-out corporations, underemployment, and career insecurity. These features clearly predated the financial downturn (Sennett 2007) yet became further entrenched during this "moment" of rupture (Brenner and Theodore 2002). In the years following, national and regional strategies shifted responsibility to individuals for the failings and actions of institutions by using a heavy rhetoric of entrepreneurialism (Gregg 2015; Ross 2009). In this context, coworking spaces met a growing demand for care and fulfillment as much as for employment. In addition to business utilities, then, this chapter suggests that coworking's key benefit has been to offer *comfort* amenities – free coffee, beer, and snacks; inspirational quotes painted on walls and displayed through neon signage; on-site therapy dogs, massage, and yoga – in addition to aesthetically pleasing lounge areas that allow individuals to feel close to something; something that *might be happening*.

The key to the new spirit of capitalism, as explained by Boltanski and Chiapello (2007), is that flexible workers need to fashion a sense of self comprised of *potential* projects. The currency of employability is to never be bereft of a project, and coworking spaces offer the tools and resources to assemble this projective life. Professional events – such as networking functions, panel discussions, and routine social gatherings – drive activity in the service of project formation. As the business of piecing together a livelihood finds support through social interaction, coworking spaces also offer infrastructures of care and guidance. Access to discounted health insurance, childcare, mentors, professional hardware and software, even venture funding, are all available at different coworking locations.

A central tenet of the sharing economy is the power of pooling resources. In coworking this happens in a particularly interesting way (Richardson 2017). By sharing skills and space, coworking members alleviate the burden of risk arising from non-standard, non-continuing employment. Coworking thus reconfigures and localizes welfare at a time when the state and the corporation no longer offer securities of this kind. The long decline in salaried compensation for middle-class jobs, and the dwindling supply of jobs with benefits in the US in particular, makes coworking a rational response. For the knowledge worker looking to assert independence, coworking is an ecosystem for professional flourishing, buoyed by "network sociality" (Wittel 2001).

So far the chapter has described how coworking produces the conditions many describe as the future of work. But what of the current work lives of those behind the scenes, assembling the tools for others' productivity? Coworking communities are defined by the unique qualities of managers who curate the space and provide a range of connective activities

between members. These hidden figures for network sociality are the dynamic ingredient essential to a facility's ongoing success, and yet little is known of the qualitative experience of managing a coworking space. This lack of data is partly due to the high rates of employee and operator turnover in coworking and the nascent business models of industry leaders. What follows is a detailed look at the role of the community manager, whose duties combine logistical and affective labor with the service work of hospitality. The gendered history of these tasks in both office and home is one reason these roles currently face difficulty in gaining recognition in existing labor law. The informal, community-oriented nature of much small-scale coworking goes against efforts to codify tasks or quantify hours. Conversely, the rapid growth of large-scale coworking operators makes it difficult to engage adequately with research that would shed light on such factors. In 2015 and 2016 interviews and site visits were conducted at a number of US and international coworking spaces in an effort to address this gap.[3] This fieldwork reveals some of the tensions and challenges coworking managers navigate in what are personally precarious roles.

In articulating the qualities of community formation and facilitation, coworking community managers embody the description of affect outlined in the introduction to this book, and refer not only to processes "within" a person, but to social-relational processes unfolding in interaction:

> Affect is *formative* of human subjects as it binds them into shared environmental (e.g. social, material and technological) constellations, which in turn shape modalities of agency, habit and self-understanding.
> (Slaby and Röttger-Rössler, Chapter 1)

Our point of interest in focusing on the community manager's role is to show just how much rides on the personality of this individual to secure the productive environment experienced by others. Community managers smooth the flow of business transactions and aspirations for coworkers through a range of deferential and invisible tasks. Their job is to pay attention to details outside the formal registers of work outputs – considerations of schedule, privacy, facilities operation, cleanliness and hygiene, professional self-presentation, social interactions, and connective work. This mix of manual, technical, and affective labor makes community managers emblematic of a new kind of emotion work that has evolved from the early writing of Arlie Russell Hochschild, among others.

In her pioneering account of air hostesses and bill collectors published in *The Managed Heart* (2012), Hochschild defines emotional labor as any effort

> to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others. … This kind of

labor calls for a coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality.

(Hochschild 2012, p. 7)

In the case of the flight attendant, Hochschild explains that the job's primary purpose is to generate "the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe place". It is this function that we see most often in the work of community managers. To advance this argument, the following section details the fieldwork before discussing changes to the employment landscape that have affected the post-recession millennial worker, who is increasingly caught on either side of the knowledge work/hospitality divide.

A community of creators

The original case that prompted an interest in community managers was the coworking franchise WeWork. When it launched in 2010, WeWork marketed itself as "a community of creators," welcoming self-starting professionals who lacked proximity to facilities and each other. At the time, the coworking movement was already well-established through various European, North American, and British traditions. WeWork's difference was to sell community *en masse*; it transcended the alternative and bohemian elements of coworking in the non-profit and squatter scenes, adding a corporate gloss to what was now a product, space on demand. Such a move made sense to attract the attention of the more conservative finance, insurance, and real estate industries of WeWork's Manhattan home. As befitting the real estate business in New York City, the company commanded large swathes of buildings with the accompanying gumption to fill them. Along with this swift success came growing pains. Two legal disputes in particular served to question whether WeWork was, in fact, an employer that lived up to its own value claims.

One of these cases centered on the cleaners WeWork subcontracted for their northeastern US operations. Employed by Commercial Building Maintenance Corporation (CBM), the 100+ cleaners sought a pay increase, benefits, and paid time off through unionization within CBM (Gelles 2015). Though both WeWork and CBM denied allegations of terminating the contract in response to unionization (Kosoff 2015), the facts remain: the contract was terminated between the companies; WeWork sought to fill the vacant positions by direct hiring; and CBM cleaners were excluded due to a contract stipulation (Ramey 2015). The new positions – titled Community Service Associates and Community Service Leads (Hogan and Goldensohn 2015) – included cleaning tasks and additional responsibilities, and came with pay and benefits befitting a full-time employee. Although WeWork was under no legal obligation – the cleaners were

subcontracted, so WeWork was not their employer – ousted workers pro-tested outside of WeWork's New York headquarters (Gelles 2015). Details emerged that the contractors had been made to wear WeWork T-shirts while on the job (Aronoff 2017), and coworking members (some of whom joined the protests) supported the need for better treatment of the clean-ers they had grown to know as colleagues. The four-month dispute ended in October 2015 (Minson 2015). Rather than being given jobs, the fired cleaners were given priority when applying for the newly opened positions (Ramey 2015). Many of the cleaners were non-English speakers, however, and the job requirements explicitly listed English as a requirement (Hogan and Goldensohn 2015). The asymmetry involved in brokering third-party contracts captured the irony that propelled WeWork's own product offering: in a workplace no longer bound together by an employer, individuals were left without formal levers to address legal and ethical dilemmas.

In a different dispute, a former WeWork employee, Tara Zoumer, claimed to have been fired when she refused to sign a new policy forcing employees to settle labor disputes through arbitration, that is, through one-on-one negotiations that bar "employees from sharing their experi-ences with others who might be in similar positions" (Silver-Greenberg and Corkery, 2016). Prior to her firing, Zoumer had tried to file a class-action lawsuit related to overtime, apparently leading to the policy's devel-opment. Kate Aronoff quotes Zoumer:

> You're not getting a single dollar extra for any of that [extra] time but you're made to be responsible, and punished if you aren't keeping pace.… You're given a goofy title and fed three shots, but you can't pay your rent with that.
>
> (Aronoff 2017)

For Zoumer, the "capitalistic kibbutz" (ibid.) – CEO Adam Neumann's metaphor for WeWork's community – was anything but supportive. Instead, the notion of community was used to pressure employees. Zoumer, for one, felt exploited and alienated by the conditions and the coercive environment that precipitated them. The community values underlying WeWork's branding appeared to displace employer responsib-ility for the material work of facilities management, a fact further con-firmed by a leaked employee handbook urging WeWork employees not to whistleblow (Huet 2016). Zoumer's title at WeWork was community manager, and it is the ambiguity of this position that pertains to this inves-tigation of affective labor.

These two examples show that within the broader environment of WeWork, community is fractious and contested. If community is enjoyed by the creatives who constitute the members of the space, it may not be shared equally by employees of the company or their contractual

dependents. Recourse to community potentially backfires when members, who see their aspirations reflected in value claims, demand justice for others who create ideal conditions. Rather than a description of an established fact, community is a performative entry point to new narratives of how workers think about their chosen workplace, colleagues, and the staff they find therein. The disputes at WeWork cater to a marketable idea of exploitation in the new economy. And yet, the fieldwork suggests a more complex relation between community management, work, and the self. The next section describes some of these experiences in more detail.

What's in a name?

Endowed with the task of building, fostering, and supporting the occupants in a coworking space, community managers embody and action the connective aspirations of coworking. Yet, despite the position being a fixture in most spaces, the title of community manager is anything but standard. One issue is the term *manager*, which can seem indicative of organizational strata and the sober surroundings of a traditional firm. In the corporate environment, for example, managers are responsible for allocating time, tasks, budgets, and head count; in coworking spaces, however, community managers have different responsibilities. They oversee the circumstances of work and personal-professional lives of members – keeping the office ready for work, providing opportunities for up-/re-skilling, offering professional exposure, and organising important diversions. Accordingly, the community manager structures the space to be conducive to shared needs. Their work is to secure a propitious environment for activity, whether through staging interactions among people (e.g., networking events and professional panels) or direct intervention (e.g., providing introductions and serving as intermediary for skill matching). In this second capacity, the community manager orchestrates relationships in both passive and active ways. The curatorial skill of the community manager is to design useful encounters between members that share a cultural "fit".[4]

The term manager bristles in coworking spaces. The cultural disposition of coworking spaces that we have observed exists in a post-Fordist, post-Taylorist, self-managed world of individual entrepreneurs who are making enterprise conditions on their own terms. Coworking spaces are elective organizations; members choose spaces and are acknowledged by others as appropriate users to inhabit them. Individual membership typically involves nothing more than paid access. As such, the community itself must be cultivated "organically" by dedicated staff. The breadth of duties involved in delivering the ambiguous goal – community – exceeds traditional office dictates (codified "roles and responsibilities") and presents a crisis of nomenclature.[5]

Owners/operators/community managers

Similar to a receptionist, community managers often sit at a desk in the greeting area of a space where they manage access, greet guests, accept mail, and route calls. Additionally, community managers refresh coffee pots, perform opening and closing procedures, and provide tours for prospective members. Beyond hospitality tasks, they also perform duties traditionally given to office or facilities managers, including outfitting and updating the interiors of a space, managing cleaning and IT staff, providing introductions between members (as well as resolving conflicts), and managing office-related budgets (such as printing supplies). According to the annual Global Coworking Survey, coworking spaces have a median of one full-time and one part-time employee, and an average of 4.5 full-time and 3.5 part-time employees (GCUC Alliance 2016). These numbers confirm our observations that most coworking spaces are small operations, with minimal staffing, which means that responsibilities often exceed the number of people. In many cases, especially in smaller coworking operations, the owners of the spaces act as community managers, accounting in part for the blurring of lines between business and administrative functions.

More significantly, the hands-on approach of many coworking space owners – many of whom explain their venture in terms of supporting workers rather than benefitting from above market-rate real estate – is similar to the mentality within tech start-ups, where founders are often technologists saddled with the responsibility of running a business. In coworking spaces, the migration of this mentality is a feature of both the practical concerns with slim margins that pervade an emerging industry and the ideological overlap of coworking and start-up workstyles (Waters-Lynch et al. 2016). The Global Coworking Survey also reports that only about one-third of spaces are profitable (GCUC Alliance 2016). Although WeWork has a massive valuation, and other coworking chains are clearly sustaining growth, most interviews reveal that coworking spaces are not market ventures, real estate or otherwise. Instead, coworking space owners, many of whom seem content with breaking even, are genuine in their claims to want to support workers.

Camila, the owner and operator of a space near Los Angeles, California, explained she launched her space to help parents balance their personal and professional lives in ways she was never able to. For years, Camila juggled her time-consuming corporate job and her responsibilities as a mother, a feat that she described as tiring and dissatisfying. Wanting "to connect to moms and dads who want to change" their work options, Camila's space offers on-site childcare alongside the typical amenities of a coworking space. Located in a strip mall, Camila chose the site to be close to Los Angeles and its inner-ring suburbs. On the day of the visit, only one user was present, leaving the remaining 10 to 15 spots unoccupied, and

two childcare staff attending to a single child – a ratio all but unheard of in daycare. Although Camila was keenly aware of the slim margins in both coworking and childcare, she was hopeful, while recognizing that similar ventures had folded quickly.

To bolster her chances Camila had attended an online start-up school prior to opening, which had taught how to grow a business, seek venture funding, and find a market niche. "The idea is to be able to grow, but keep it personable," she commented about the potential opening of a second location. The hopefulness of bootstrapping, pivoting, and speculative growth echoed the ethos of so many start-ups. Yet in this context, this ethos accompanied distinct values, most clearly evident in the "manifesto" scrawled on a whiteboard in the space. Formulated in the second person, the manifesto was handwritten next to announcements for upcoming professional and networking events. It began: "Love what you do always.… Don't sacrifice family time. Grow your circle. Be part of a community." With her past and aspirations motivating her business, Camila performs certainty and positivity in light of a high likelihood of failure.

Owners who act as community managers are predominant in smaller coworking businesses and, like Camila, tend to merge business opportunities with social or personal causes. In his four-year-old space in Denver, Colorado, owner and community manager Theo explained the varied tasks that comprised his job. He had no staff and therefore handled everything from on-boarding new members and giving tours, to managing the finances and strategic planning. Yet, despite being "the guy who cleans the toilets" – his epithet for handling the many unseen, tedious, and unpleasant tasks that keep coworking spaces running smoothly – he was happy to come to work. Before opening his space, Theo had done community building in two previous roles – first as a youth minister, and then as an event organizer. In this second capacity, Theo had hosted networking and fundraising dinners to support local arts organizations and connect artists with social causes and nonprofits. He saw his present endeavor as an extension of this previous work. By offering a permanent space Theo helped artists, designers, and entrepreneurs "remove the blinders," and connected their work with people, causes, and work that served some greater purpose. Coworking allowed him to do this connective work on a daily, rather than an episodic, basis. Using the metaphor of a communal meal, he explained that, as community manager, he "sets a good table with options, and invites good caring people [to eat]". Although Theo handled many background tasks, he ultimately thought of himself as a curator. He shaped the experience of the space by deciding who had access, and therefore who and what comprised the community. The many tasks, like cleaning toilets, served a greater end of providing a platform for others to "enrich our city". For Theo, his space prefigured a world where people unite their interests with some greater good.

These owners challenge the idea that coworking spaces are great investments, a narrative that WeWork glamorizes. Instead, their outlook provides a context for findings that claim coworking spaces are often unprofitable (Abe and Uda 2016; GCUC Alliance 2016). As much as coworking spaces provide support for an increasingly contingent, precarious, and sacrificial workforce, coworking spaces themselves, evidenced by their owners, are also contingent, precarious, and sacrificial in many respects. Yet these owners are hardly dupes; instead, they are hopeful, investing their time, energy, and support in communal strategies that can mitigate the growing loneliness, anxiety, and disorientation felt by other workers.

Owners who serve as community managers both embody and reify positive affect as a strategy to offset the many insecurities and difficulties of running a small business. Camila and Theo each mentioned rising real estate prices, increased market competition, and slim margins in their accounts of running a space, but both offered optimism to counter these threats. In doing so, owners reassure occupants by performing stability and promoting values, such as work-life balance and social engagement. These values provide ways for occupants to find commonalities. Even so, owners walk a fine line by capitalizing on conditions to which they are also subject. By trading on the notion that workers are on their own, and therefore must secure their own supports, owners further entrench acceptance that other community organizations have eroded support, which potentially extends austerity in the name of flexibility. Doing so puts both owners and occupants at risk, since the fabric of their community is not values, but the vacuum created by thinned and thinning employee-employer or citizen-city relations.

Learning to manage

Although owners of small spaces often function as community managers, community managers are also hired positions. Emerging literature, podcasts, and online fora serve as how-to guides for community management and offer insights into the position. In their self-published book addressed to prospective and new coworkers, Angel Kwiatkowski and Beth Buczynski, owners of Cohere Coworking (located in Fort Collins, Colorado), begin the section "The Community Manager = Your Secret Weapon" by explaining the ambiguity of the job title:

> Whatever they are called – community manager, community animator, curator, host/hostess, or in the case of Cohere, Madame – these talented individuals are the single most important resource you'll find in a coworking space after the community itself.
>
> (Kwiatkowski and Buczynski 2011b, p. 26)

The list of titles illustrates the different capacities in which community managers must act, revealing subtle distinctions about how the role is

positioned within the wider value claims of coworking. Reference to the community "animator" calls to mind ways staff might actively incite and instigate interactions between individuals. So too, "curator" transforms a functional role into a creative one, crafting the character of the space through occupants and environment. Of all the titles, "host/hostess" most explicitly refers to the service industry, such as frontline personnel at restaurants or on flights. The host or hostess also invokes a domestic air, where the goal is to welcome and attend to guests. In all these cases, whatever the preferred term, the community manager is the primary point of contact.

Alex Hillman, a coworking evangelist and co-owner of Indy Hall in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, prefers a different term, "tummler" – which comes from the Yiddish word "*tumlen*" meaning "to stir, bustle," while in English, tummler refers to "a comic entertainer or social director at a Jewish resort" (Merriam Webster). According to Hillman, tummlers have a different mindset to community managers with respect to staging and encouraging interactions. He explains that "[w]hile a Tummler has the same objective" as a community manager:

> Tummlers take a very particular approach to "warm" the crowd. They cruise the party. They listen, and they observe. They ask questions, and they earn trust. They meet people at the edges of the crowd, connect with them, and then slowly help those people discover their own way into the mix.… And a Tummler actively seeks to stay out of the spotlight.
>
> (Hillman 2014)

For Hillman, a tummler cultivates a many-to-many communication style that decenters the person and role from the coworking community proper, that is, from the interactions and transactions of coworking occupants. Hillman is not alone in adopting this term, though tummler is far from common – based on the site visits and the review of online fora, websites, and industry podcasts.

The lack of consensus about the title of community manager is symptomatic of a broader tension within coworking; coworking spaces regularly seek terms to identify and justify material arrangements that are felt to be important, yet prove hard to quantify. For occupants, this tension is located in a difficulty defining the professional benefit of coworking. For community managers, this tension is located in vague job descriptions. For example, Kwiatkowski and Buczynski explain:

> Sure, community managers are there to facilitate introductions, show you where to hang your coat/stow your lunch/take phone calls, point you toward the best local lunch spots, and tell you about upcoming events. But they're also there to help you find or give work, grow your

business, and become connected to the community at large. Most importantly, the community managers in coworking spaces listen to their members' wants, needs, frustrations, triumphs, and goals. All day. It's their job and they love it as much as you love being independent.

(Kwiatkowski and Buczynski 2011b, p. 26)

As this excerpt articulates, community management implies that the needs, desires, and passions of staff are nothing more than those of the occupants – and what are problems for occupants are exciting, welcomed challenges for community managers. As such, community managers need to embody "service with a smile" to meet the demands of information professionals (Liu 2004). As we found during the field visits, ineffable job descriptions manifested subtle professional anxieties about adequate job performance and long-term employability (i.e. transferable skills). As one community manager explained, they "wear many hats".

Eileen, a community manager in Denver, described her role as "high touch," meaning it is deeply entwined in the emotional state and professional success of occupants. High touch is a concept derived from customer service and client relations, and refers to the professional courtship of "wooing" a client. For Eileen, doing her job well was indicated by occupants feeling taken care of "after a hard day". One way she accomplished this was by laying out chocolates and wine in the shared kitchenette. Eileen's comment about her professional performance is steeped in domestic intimacy. In the spaces we visited, the conflation of office and domestic space was clear in a number of ways, for example: in businesses explicitly run by couples; staff referring to the space as a home; strategies to foster a family-like sociability through group dinners, board game nights, and voluntary skill sharing. Although community managers are both men and women – with a higher prominence of women in the role – the labor of community management deploys skills historically coded as feminine. The self-description of community managers as selfless further substantiates this claim. While the gendering of the role of community management can be attributed to a larger trend in service positions, it highlights that community managers, though central to the operation of the space, engage largely in unnoticed work that is vital yet poorly compensated and recognized through platitudes. When called to the forefront of attention, community managers function in a subservient position, supporting the professional and social lives of occupants.

Although some sources attempt to define the role of community manager, others notably do not. In *Working in the Unoffice* (DeGuzman and Tang 2011) and *I'm Outta Here* (Sundsted, Jones and Bacigalupo 2009), the authors have compiled interviews with and anecdotes from owners, community managers, and coworkers as a guide for prospective coworkers. Though consulted as experts on coworking in *Working in the Unoffice,*

the role of community managers is never explained; in *I'm Outta Here*, community managers are never mentioned. In the most explicit reference, DeGuzman and Tang explain how to pick an appropriate space and avoid a "Goldilocks Dilemma". They advise:

> Watch how members interact with each other. Are they easy-going and comfortable? Observe the crowd, and then later sit down with the community manager to discuss what you're looking for and if the space can meet your needs.
>
> (DeGuzman and Tang 2011, p. 64)

The community manager is rendered subservient to whatever needs a prospective occupant has without defining whether, or how, these needs are met.

In their follow-on guide, *Coworking: Building Community as a Space Catalyst*, Kwiatkowski and Buczynski use the term "space catalyst" for the hybrid owner/community manager role. Space catalysts prepare space "so that no attention needs to be paid to the environment, and instead attention can be paid to each other and the work" (Kwiatkowski and Buczynski 2011a, p. 12). The space catalyst is an entrepreneur and evangelist, who becomes "personally invested in the success of members" and patiently "help[s] people get through barriers, overcome roadblocks, and examine the larger context of what they're doing in the world" (ibid., p. 14). A good space catalyst is magnetic, drawing people "to join your community if they can see and feel that each member is supported, challenged AND has resources available to them that help them with their business" (ibid., original emphasis). In this description, the space catalyst *becomes* the business in two ways. First, by enabling "the work," a space catalyst embodies supportiveness, adopting an affect that conflates personal fulfillment with the success and happiness of occupants. Second, by supporting occupants in their work, a coworking space succeeds as a business.

These guides for, and descriptions of, community managers highlight that a core responsibility is subsidizing the intertwined professional and emotional lives of occupants. With contingency, precarity, and insecurity becoming commonplace for workers, community managers offset the burden of these trying and taxing work conditions through material and immaterial means. Problematically though, community managers are both devoted to this community and positioned outside of it. In subsidizing the labor of others, the work of community managers is defined by invisibility. With tasks expanding under work conditions that perpetually require even more subsidies, this work comes to the surface only in moments of excess or breakdown. In certain ways, community managers are not dissimilar from occupants – exposed, replaceable, and aiming to please. However, and seemingly by design, the professional competency involved in their labor remains hidden.

Ambience management

Community managers' essential function of fostering, supporting, and subsidizing the social and professional spaces of coworking occupants includes introducing members, mediating interactions, and supporting collaborations (Capdevila 2013; Parrino 2013). But community managers influence social interactions through less direct means, as Hillman's tummler highlights. In this vein, one goal of community management is to engineer circumstances in which individuals coalesce, seemingly on their own. Yet, even working in parallel requires "considerable coordination and communication," occupants need "to work at being good neighbors" by being quiet, considerate, and respectful of privacy (Spinuzzi 2012, p. 428). As such, operators seek to create the right environment for professional meetings, focused concentration, and serendipitous interactions, all while remaining invisible.

In one interview, Craig Baute, owner and operator of Creative Density in Denver, Colorado, recounted his strategies for fostering interactions and community building (Russo 2016). Having discovered coworking in 2009 as a remote worker, Baute was struck by how it seemingly fostered "people just coming in and working and getting to know each other in an organic, natural way" (ibid.). But he found that people "getting to know each other" was more synthetic and orchestrated than organic and natural when he opened his own space. Located in a large converted house, the floor space of Creative Density far exceeded the number of initial occupants. Wanting people to get to know each other, Baute closed off spare rooms and placed desks next to one another, despite having enough space to allow occupants to spread out. As occupancy grew, he opened and furnished more rooms, still only offering open seating. As a strategy, Baute encouraged encounters by reducing proximity through the physical environment.

Helen, the "community curator" of a space in Atlanta, Georgia, recalls how "we wanted to build a really chill yet professional environment" when her space opened. Having previously worked for a non-profit, Helen was entirely new to coworking, yet "[o]vernight I had to become an expert in several different fields". Hired just after the build-out, the space had some furniture but not much else, "and I was told to go". Helen tried to create an interior that eschewed the corporate complex in which the space was located. During a tour, she pointed out the interior fixtures she had added – large beanbags for the relaxation room and a grid of colorful paintings – and the desks and tables arranged to support different workstyles and interactions. In one corner of the venue, she assigned adjacent desks to a brewer and tequila distributor in the hopes their shared domain would lead to new synergies. "I want this to be easy for people," she commented. Helen also removed the drop ceiling tiles to expose the once-hidden duct work and cabling, an aesthetic choice similar to the many coworking

spaces in repurposed buildings. But whereas Baute's space flourished with time, Helen's did not, and it closed within six months.

In these two examples, community managers employed a range of techniques to generate an atmosphere for others' productivity. This is a bifurcation, or delegation, of what Humphry (2013) calls "officing"; the various strands of invisible labor carried out by mobile and nomadic workers in preparing and maintaining the conditions for work. Officing includes practicalities such as placing furniture, establishing connectivity and stability in broadband access, along with the ongoing work of self-presentation – performing professionalism and availability online and off. Symptomatic of "the larger process of socio-economic and institutional restructuring that underpins the rise of 'anywhere, anytime' work" (ibid., p. 189), officing in the coworking context is assumed, in large part, by the community manager, who ensures that vital infrastructure functions for workers actually work (see also Erickson and Jarrahi 2016).

Officing is more capacious for the community manager, referring to the practical concerns of place that extend beyond any one individual (Brown and O'Hara 2003). Where mobile and nomadic workers might work in a coffee shop because of its wireless connectivity and noise level, or even as an inspirational milieu (Liegl 2014), community managers are tasked with providing such an ambience on an ongoing basis. Setting the stage for work, community managers arrange props that characterize how people should work and interact. From neon signs greeting occupants, to desk arrangements promoting quiet, to ping-pong tables for happy diversions, community managers anticipate workers' needs and prepare the environment accordingly. The goal is to comfort those dwelling in the space, to remove sources of friction, and to provide a hospitable ambience and infrastructure. Where community managers are the sole guarantors of this atmosphere, success depends on catering to occupants – of finding ways to make them feel cared for and welcomed.

Part-time and incidental managers

In the cases above, the community manager is a recognized position – albeit one that is taxing, ill-defined, and undercompensated. In other settings, the job functions more as a side "gig" for individuals. Owners and operators often function as community managers, as we have seen, and some of these owners are operating a coworking space as a means to offset the cost of rent or to capitalize on desirable real estate. In Atlanta's Grant Park neighborhood, a small software company alleviated rental expenses by offering spare space for coworking. Though listed as a separate business on its sign, available desks were intermingled in clusters where the software team had workstations. When visiting the space, the lack of clear hours and signage was confusing. An employee from the software company explained which of the desks were available, but was unsure of their cost

or who to contact about renting them. Although the coworking space had occupants, the software company had no specific staff to attend to requests. Instead, the responsibility of greeting people and answering requests fell on whoever was around, such as this lone after-hours employee. Whether hired "officially" or not, staff split time between different identities for different companies.

In some instances, the community manager is not a paid position at all. In a town near Atlanta, the community manager, Grant, was an occupant who received free desk space in exchange for managing the space, providing tours, and on-boarding new members. Grant, a graphic designer, helped found the space with a local angel investor interested in fostering local technology start-ups; the investor fronted the money to rent the space, Grant fronted the labor. When asked about the arrangement, Grant explained that he and his business partner were willing to invest money and time in a larger project of keeping local talent from moving elsewhere.

These instances illustrate community managers as liminal employees. Their experience of work involves subtle strategies of hiring, opportunism, and "function creep" (Gregg 2011), which affect the quality of tenure for workers, who are often in junior roles for small companies. It is the gradual accumulation of these temporary, extra-curricular jobs that undermines workers' capacity to characterize, let alone resist, exploitative conditions. New tasks and responsibilities are presented with an implicit take it or leave it. As the labor dispute between WeWork and former employee Zoumer illustrates, community managers must come to an accommodation with increasing work hours. Since coworking actively celebrates the converging of life and work, community managers seemingly must lead by example.

A safe and convivial place

As mentioned, this chapter was prompted by the irony facing WeWork as the iconic workplace of the future with a string of ongoing legal troubles among employees. Precariously employed contingent workers at front and back of the house appeared to show just how inadequate the language for labor had become in the new terrain for enterprise. Rather than attacking the formal properties of a traditional company, WeWork showed many of the same qualities as a capitalist firm in contracting out services and relying on a considered amount of embodied cultural capital. But a broader audit of coworking operators shows that the informal nature of community management pervades the coworking industry. Internationally the role entails a host of duties, some of which are more directly related to the people in the space and others that are more ambient and architectural.[6] The magnetism of the manager becomes part of the product, that is, the community. What community entails are entitlements to a range of

tasks that are costly and time consuming for modern workers to perform alone.

Coworking's officially designated community managers curate access to affective environments that are designed to facilitate career mobility and professional success despite challenging market conditions. The notion of community produced here is one that requires payment, relieves responsibility for reproductive work, and bears little hope of recognizing these contributions adequately. Although filled by owners, volunteers, and staff – each of whom have different stakes and potential risks in their work – the role of community manager depends on a labor identity rendered incoherent to the extent that many of its tasks have been taken for granted in previous eras – especially through the reproductive logic of the Fordist contract. This attempt to document key facets of this relational work is designed to situate the affective labor of community building in the register of recognition and compensation, even if one of the seductions of coworking is that such measures are a hangover from an earlier time (e.g., Tokumitsu 2015).

Returning to Hochschild, the fieldwork suggested that one of the most important contributions the community manager makes is ensuring "a safe and convivial place" for creative and knowledge workers to congregate and thrive, in spite of broader labor market insecurity. They (re)produce this affect in a number of ways: by fostering interpersonal interactions; by modeling flexibility; by preforming occupational enjoyment; and by listening to complaints. To the extent that community managers entwine their own success and aspirations into those of the occupants, they provide short-term comforts and considerations to assuage the fears and anxieties that accompany high-intensity bouts and binges of employment (including their own). In coworking spaces, community managers lessen the worries and concerns of members who might otherwise feel unmoored by the precarious nature of freelance, remote, startup, or contract-to-contract life. In these ways, community managers engage in emotional labor emblematic of the gig economy. Hochschild states that emotional labor requires the creation of a professional affect monitored by supervisors to create a state of mind in others. Within a workforce increasingly devoid of actual managers, community managers embody both employee and supervisor – monitoring the proper workplace affects by modeling it for others.

The research uncovered instances of community managers engaged in various forms of pastoral care: allocating a budget for members to build a games room; adopting a puppy to bring coworkers out of their shells at meet and greets; and purchasing beanbags and pillows so that members could sleep on-site. Along with smoothing away the logistics of knowledge work and providing a soft infrastructure for productivity, community managers exude confidence and reassurance that pesky details will be taken care of. The coworker's professional and social life can be designed and coordinated within one convenient location. By delivering this service the

community manager also gives *herself* an essential role in the new economy – entrusted by others to be the reproductive labor that is core to business success and expansion. In these ways, community managers are central to contemporary affective arrangements by crafting a physical space that cultivates the disposition appropriate for modern work. The community manager does more than set the stage for workplace affects by actively enabling such affects through mediation of various sorts. By this token, the central role of community managers in coworking illustrates how "network sociality" (Wittel 2001) involves features that are constructed rather than emergent; this labor is real and it is performed by some bodies rather than others. In their capacity as affect agents, community managers illustrate that workplace identities are crafted through action and interaction between differently privileged workers (cf. Sharma 2014).

Against hopes that coworking might renovate the roles and responsibilities of the modernist office, the findings suggest that the community manager is a reimagining of the traditional secretary – an iconic emotional laborer – albeit with even more jobs and "side hustles" to juggle. The fractured sense of labor and of self that arises from this condition works against labor claims that might be couched in a stable and unchanging identity. Outside of the organization, and the salaried pact that maintained a gendered division of labor for several decades, community managers show us how precarity is experienced on both sides of the freelance-supporting enterprise. In the on-demand economy, employment is fragmented and porous for most participants as its security can only be forecast on a monthly basis.

If the corporation was the family of welfare capitalism, coworking is the community of precarity, or what might be better termed as entrepreneurial austerity. Coworking spaces provide an environment in which professionals can anticipate, withstand, and perhaps even wait out the volatility of the competitive job market that surrounds them. Following the corporation's history of manipulating affect for ever-greater efficiency and profit, community managers are the local welfare system, mobilizing to help workers reacquaint themselves with the benefits of local connection and mutual aid (De Peuter, Cohen and Saraco 2017). In this way, community managers model "feeling rules" (Hochschild 2012) for knowledge workers as employment and emotion lose their anchoring capacities.

Precisely because of the daily comforts provided by community managers, we also maintain that their role is a powerful one. As Miranda Joseph argues, the notion of community may supplement capitalism, yet "a great deal of agency resides with the producers of community to make our collectivities more disruptive rather than less" (2002, p. 172). Community managers shape the sites in which new articulations of previously individual workers – freelancers, entrepreneurs, remote workers, and employees – convene. As sites of production and reproduction, coworking

spaces present opportunities to "read the social relationships in which our communities are imbricated and assess the implications of our political goals and strategies" to greater effect (ibid.). Community managers, then, are the trustees for sites that allow new affective arrangements to be established, new feeling rules modeled, and new labor relations pre- and re-figured. These experiences lead us to believe that a more just future of work may have less to do with labor hours, the creation of welfare programs, or the opening of resources, and more to do with hospitality; with whom, through what means, and in which environments we associate and affiliate with fellow workers.

Notes

1 More expensive monthly memberships provide workers with dedicated seating and private or semi-private work areas. Coworking spaces as a category tend to offer open seating and common space rather than private offices, but as the industry has matured over the last ten years and garnered increased attention and market share, coworking spaces have converged office layouts typical of business centers and serviced executive suites (Waters-Lynch et al. 2016).

2 Miranda Joseph (2002) suggests community is a strategy against capitalism that nonetheless serves capitalist ends. Her analysis fits well with our sense that coworking is a recognition that the atomized state of remote work, contingent employment, and entrepreneurial austerity has left a psychological void that needs filling.

3 Fieldwork was conducted in several major cities throughout the United States – by Lodato in the metropolitan areas of Los Angeles, Denver, and Atlanta; by Gregg in Portland, New York, London, Berlin, Hong Kong, and The Netherlands – and consisted of tours of coworking spaces, site visits, and unstructured interviews with owners, community managers, and other staff. Notes, photographs, and reflections were compared to develop themes through open comparative coding.

4 The word *cultural* in the term cultural fit refers to a largely amorphous category of whether an individual (in the case of a person hired), company (as in the case of a corporate merger), or office (as in the case of moving to a new location, say, in a new country) "'mesh[es]' well with the organization" as a whole (Kalleberg 2008). Unsurprisingly, the lack of definition around what makes someone, or something, a cultural fit marks the practice as quite problematic. In hiring practices it can lead to institutional bias. Although not the topic of this chapter, fit assessments were widespread within the coworking spaces studied, and ranged from entry interviews (pre-assessment) to trial memberships (ongoing assessment). Curation and fit assessments are some of the ways in which coworking risks reproducing some of the unaccountable judgments of hiring practices in start-ups and the creative industries more broadly. This discussion arose at a coworking workshop held at the "Coworking Dynamics and the City" event at the Cultural and Media Economies Institute, University of Leicester, February 2017.

5 The Global Workspace Association (GWA) annual conference Melissa attended in 2016 brought this issue to the fore. Once an organization of business center and serviced office providers, the GWA was suffering growing pains as coworking operators such as WeWork appeared to be capturing a substantial share of the market. Several companies speaking at the event had changed the job title

of business center or office manager to that of community manager, in an effort to compete with coworking's emphasis on community and aesthetics.

6 The term duty has added significance in the context of non-profit coworking spaces. A community manager in Hong Kong described the unpaid overtime involved with special events as "my duty" – further underscoring the sacrificial labor involved in the role.

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10 Automation and affect

A study of algorithmic trading

Robert Seyfert

Introduction

This chapter applies an analysis of affects to results from fieldwork on companies working in Algorithmic Trading and High-Frequency Trading (HFT), also known as "automated trading".[1] After conducting interviews and ethnographic observations in 25 companies in five countries, it became clear that purely functionalist and technological accounts would not do justice to the complex sociotechnical assemblages that were unfolding. Therefore affect analysis captures the multi-dimensional nature of the human–machine relations observed, and delineates the specificity and singularity of the HFT environment. Affect analysis also makes it clear that in algorithmic finance, in contrast to earlier forms of manual and screen-based trading, processes of automation *multiply* and *intensify* complex multi-frequential bonds – material, electrical, visual, acoustic, cognitive and bodily – between humans and machines. This is somewhat counterintuitive, because it means that automation in fact *intensifies* complex human–machine relations. Moreover, it is the *intensity* of these affective relations that underpins the *coherence* of HFT socio-technical systems. Thus, a difference in degrees of intensity becomes a difference in kind. Consequently, in this chapter automated trading systems, where humans and non-humans are integrated in a multi-frequential bond, are described as a type of socio-technical *symbiosis.*

The following section gives a short introduction to automated trading, it is of a rather general nature and focuses selectively on aspects relevant to the topic of this chapter.[2]

Automation of trading

As the name suggests, algorithmic HFT is very often, but not exclusively, defined as automated trading, where automation refers to data collection, decision making and execution of transactions by computational machines. Further characteristics are low latency transmission and high rates of submitted orders and quotes (CFTC 2012). Another term for

automated trading is systematic trading, where "systematic is defined as a disciplined, methodical, and automated approach" (Narang 2013, p. xiv). Human actors are involved in this process in various ways, from the selection of general trading strategies, market places and trading platforms, the design, maintenance and upgrading of trading software, to the monitoring and supervision of, and intervention in, the live trading process.

It is a type of distributed trading; distributed among various actants, both human and non-human. Non-human elements – such as co-located computer servers, fiber cables, algorithms and so on – together with human experts – including quantitative researchers, analysts and traders – form the socio-technical assemblage of "automated trading systems". All human and nonhuman elements are simultaneously and equally involved in the construction, operation and maintenance of algorithmic trading platforms. Thus, companies that engage in algorithmic trading are "sociotechnical ensembles" (MacKenzie, Beunza, Millo and Pardo-Guerra 2012, p. 280).

Even though cases do exist where computers trade without or only with minimal human surveillance, they are very rare and tend to deal with very simple trading strategies or, as in the single case I observed, slow markets. In general, their low profit margins make them less interesting to traders.[3] By contrast, automated trading systems, such as semi-automatic or semi-discretionary trading, require continuous supervision, permanent participation, and regular interventions by highly trained personnel who are always sat in front of multiple monitors. Those who monitor the trading system need to understand the functioning of the trading algorithm; they have to know for which market environment and market situation it is made; they need to understand when the situation has altered, and consequently to decide whether to adapt it to the new conditions, or whether to disable certain trading strategies, because the market is behaving differently to the model.

Thus, the human trader not only needs to have a logical understanding of the functions of the trading algorithm, but also an understanding of the ways in which it interacts with its environment. In cases where the trader perceives a change in the market situation, and where the system is no longer synchronized with the market, he needs to intervene and readjust the corresponding parameters:

> if there is something really strange in the stock or if there is takeover bid or rumors in the stock you have to be very careful. Your spreads are going to be wider. You are looking around for more information and in [the] last case you can also … we are not quoting [orders] anymore.
>
> (Anonymous HFT trader A)

Such interventions require precise knowledge, not only of the trading strategy, but also of the minutiae of market movements, on the part of

those observing the trading systems. In market situations that are deemed unusual the trader will have to check if the order was indeed correct. He will check the headlines at his monitors (e.g., Bloomberg News) to see if some external event has occurred that might interfere, or be in conflict with, the strategies implemented in trading. In cases of conflict with the algorithm the trader might alter the particular parameters on which this algorithm trades, or in extreme cases he will "land" the algorithm or a particular module of it. If the market situation changes he also has options and limits he can override, for instance, he might be able to change the limits in the amount of orders, if he figures it would be profitable. But he might not be allowed to override certain protection functions, functions that are sometimes even monitored by the exchanges. Changes can range from external shocks of a non-economic nature, such as natural disasters or political uprisings, to unforeseen market events, such as market crashes or unexpected movements during market openings, which in turn might be related to announcements by central banks or to the release of labor data and so on. For instance, on March 6, 2015, the market opening was critical because the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the United States released its jobs data about 62 seconds late. Such a scenario could cause serious problems for an automated trading system because it might start trading under wrong assumptions (Ehrenfreund 2015). Consequently, a trader needs to delay the initiation or change the parameters accordingly. Such frequent interventions show the degree of human interference and involvement that is required.

Obviously, the human requirements at the trading desk are not universal. The number of shifts and working hours, the individual skills of the trader and his knowledge depend on various factors, ranging from the location of the trading firm vis-à-vis the location of the markets they are trading in, to the asset classes, the complexity of their models, the particular trading strategies and the market times. Most firms I have talked to traded in markets in North America and Europe, which means they would operate the trading desk for 13 hours, from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m. GMT. I have observed complex situations that call for an almost military precision in the organization of the personnel. Different fleets of traders work in three consecutive shifts, and even lunch and toilet breaks require replacement traders. This makes ethnographic observations and expert interviews especially challenging. Not only do firms restrict access to the trading desk, interviews also need to be arranged according to the schedule of the trading firm. In one case, an interview with the head of trade coincided with the lunch break. Since he was also responsible for organizing the smooth transition between shifts, the interview led to increasingly irritated traders who saw their lunch break shortened as our talk went on.

This description of the organizational setting of the typical automated trading firm gives us a general impression of the role of humans in

automated processes. Far from being sidelined from actual trading activities, human actors are active elements of the automated system.

Public discourses on algorithmic finance are dominated by the belief that humans are excluded from trading activities, an exclusion that is tightly tied to the exclusion of human emotions and affects. However, results from the fieldwork indicate that, far from sidelining humans and affects, in algorithmic finance the processes of automation paradoxically *intensify* complex human–machine relations. Humans are not simply sidelined (and limited to tasks of surveillance and observation) but they become an essential part of the trading system and are integrated along multiple dimensions/frequencies through affects. I argue that their inclusion cannot simply be explained on a cognitive (attention), emotional (discipline), symbolic or semantic (signs on screens) level. Rather, the explanation needs to draw on an analysis of affective relations that underpin the coherence of socio-technical systems, such as automated trading systems.

Role of humans in automated systems

The fact that processes of automation have led to an intensified integration of humans rather than their exclusion will not come as a surprise to those familiar with the study of automated systems. In a seminal paper on "Man's Role in Control Systems" from 1975, Bibby et al. point to the paradox that all "automated systems still are man/machine systems" (p. 1). In "Ironies of Automation" from 1983, a study that extensively draws on Bibby et al., Lisanne Bainbridge highlights the paradox that the "automation of industrial processes" in fact increases the need for human operators: "the more advanced a control system is, … the more crucial may be the contribution of the human operator" (p. 775). Here, Bainbridge touches on a key point of automation that is also crucial in automated trading, namely the feature of "automatic on-line control where a human operator is expected to take over in abnormal conditions" (ibid.). The operator is responsible for catching errors and dysfunctionalities, and has to spot the functional errors overlooked by the designer. To this extent, the system relies heavily on the operator to identify mistakes or bugs accidentally or unintentionally implemented by the system's designers, or to perform manually those tasks the designers did not manage to automate. This process becomes more challenging the more complex the system becomes.

The more complex a system becomes, the more it depends on human involvement and, consequently, needs to integrate them to a higher degree. In order to intervene, the operator needs to have a very clear understanding of the functions of the system. Note however, that this "clear understanding" is a specific understanding of the functions of the system. Such knowledge about functions is not the same as knowledge about codes and algorithms. Given the division of labor in HFT firms, the

trader in front of the screen might have little knowledge about the algorithm but he needs to know what *behavior* to expect from it. This needs to be joined to knowledge of the market environment. Instead of making certain processes truly independent of human influences and interventions, automation turns out to be an *intensification of human and machine relations.* As we will see, such relations are not strictly functional, conveying information, messages and commands. Rather, such communication relies on *non-informational communication* that involves human actors with all of their bodily senses.

Narratives on emotions in automated trading

In the fieldwork undertaken and in popular discourses on HFT trading, there was a predominant narrative to justify automation: automated trading can exclude or minimize incorrect decisions that stem from irrational and emotional human actions.[4] Such human fault and inconsistency not only leads to a loss of profits, but also potentially to market crises. With automation, trading is "liberated" from the erratic nature of human behavior and efficiency is improved. This argument is based on the assumption that, unlike humans, computers are neither emotional nor act irrationally. This is a very common opinion among algorithmic trading practitioners. For instance, the Kyte Group, a supplier of algorithmic trading systems, advertises its products in the following way: "Algorithmic trading eliminates the emotion that can commonly occur in trading." Rishi Narang, cofounder of the HFT firm TradeWorx, summarizes the same point in his book *Inside the Black Box*: "In essence, decisions driven by emotion, indiscipline, passion, greed, and fear – what many consider the key pratfalls of playing the market – are eliminated from the quant's investment process" (2013, p. xv). One of the German HFT traders interviewed explicitly states that the attempt to overcome irrational and affective human behavior was his intrinsic motivation for developing an automated trading system. His decision to turn to automated trading dates back to the 1990s, when the irrational "euphoria" over what were then new technologies, the development of computer networks and the Internet, and the rise of related products and services, led to a stock market bubble:[5]

> as somebody with a quantitative-based education this euphoria [over new technologies] seemed to be very questionable to me. I simply thought there have got to be other methods, that it should be possible to come to trading decisions more systematically, based on mathematical models.
>   (Anonymous HFT trader B, translated from German by the author)

Such statements express the common belief that to trade successfully, correctly and thus, efficiently, not just feelings of euphoria, but all kinds of

affective phenomena must be suppressed. Thus, the attempts to neutralize affects are directly linked to the idea of the maximization of profits, and to the minimization of stock market panics and other similar crisis phenomena.

In this narrative it is quite clear that the eradication of affects in automated trading requires the exclusion of human agents, since emotions clearly stem from these human agents. It is based on a strong belief that links emotions strictly to humans and sees in machines an absence of affects. It presupposes an ontological difference – an unbridgeable gap – between emotional humans and affect-neutral machines.

In such an approach, we would expect to see the role of humans on screens diminish with fully automated trading. The machine as automata, the algorithmic code as its operating instructions, the trading system left to its own devices, with minimal intervention from human traders. Humans – and their unreliable emotions and affective drives – are "eased off" the system.

These initial descriptions suggest that "affective easing-off" does not happen. Traders, in fact, look at even *more* screens and windows, and the requirement for their presence has intensified in different ways, as the following sections make clear.

Affect analysis: "getting a feel for your system"

In her analysis Bainbridge also gives us an initial, if vague, hint about the relation of humans to their machines: "Manual operators may come into the control room quarter to half an hour before they are due to take over control, so they *can get this feel* for what the process is doing" (Bainbridge 1983, p. 776, italics mine). What is important in this process of "getting a feel" for the system is that it exceeds traditional notions of how humans and machines interact, that is, by cognition and symbolic communication (through keyboards, touch-screens, etc.). Getting a feel is not simply the cognitive and intellectual process of assessing the state of the system, its condition, performance and possible issues. Rather, it is a liminal process that marks the transition from the form of subjectivity with which the person enters the room to the immersion (and dissolution) of the subject within the socio-technical ensemble. Getting a feel is the transgression of the subject that is necessary for immersing oneself within this ensemble. What Bainbridge describes here, perhaps unknowingly, is a process of mutual attunement of humans and their machines, a process that is inherently based on affective relations. In this context, affective relations refer to social relations that are not reducible to symbolic or semantic forms of communication (Massumi 1995, p. 87). They might include all types of sensory transmissions (sound, smell, electric circuitry); they are multifrequential. That also means that affective relations do not solely function as channels for the transmission of information. Getting a feel for

something is a non-informational affective relation. In fact, affects sometimes simply designate the way bodies are attracted to, or repulsed by, each other. Thus, before communication takes place, affective relationships might have to be established.

As mentioned above, applying an affect analysis accounts for such affective processes. For this reason, it is necessary to deploy an abstract conception of affect, one that does not reduce affectivity either to the decontextualized drives or to human emotions, one that emphasizes the relational context of affect.

Over the last decade, several attempts have been made to analyze the affective relations of human and non-human actors, including machines (Despret 2004; Latour 2004; 2005; Seyfert 2012). Recently, an "affect analysis" has been developed to "elucidate the myriad ways in which non-human others participate in the creation and maintenance of human sociability" (Kwek and Seyfert 2018, pp. 35–36). Affect analysis is essentially a neo-Spinozist attempt to conceptualize interactions as *generalized encounters of bodies* and the mutual effects they instill in each other (Deleuze and Guattari 2005). Many of its authors are inspired by the Spinozist questions: who is affecting whom, and how does that change them? What are the types of attraction and repulsion? What relations and interactions are present? (Kwek 2015) It is important to note that, even though they do include passions, emotions and desires, affects are not identical to them (Bohrer 1984). On the most abstract level, affects designate relations between (human and non-human) bodies and the way these heterogeneous elements are held together. An affect theory assumes that "dynamic relations are … ontologically prior to the entities related" (Slaby 2016, p. 4). This also means that the coherence within this assemblage is prior to the coherence of the individual. This does not aim to introduce a structural element within affect theories but it does "[suggest] that fluctuations in affect towards select ideas, objects, or acts remain within a specific spectrum" (von Scheve 2017, p. 17).

In contrast to affects as abstract relations, emotions and feelings are sub-forms of affects. They require a somewhat stable form of the self, a body with a normative classification in which affects have fixed meanings (pain is bad, happiness is good, etc.). Emotions and feelings are extensive affects (Seyfert 2015) or, to use Foucauldian terminology, they are *affects of the self.* In turn, "intensive affects" are moments of transgression that always threaten such fixed meanings, in which pain can become enjoyable, pleasure affixed to melancholy and so on. Intensive affects are transitive insofar as they make it possible to move from one type of subjectivity to another. Thus, intensive affects are de-subjectifying. In other words, such affective forces within an "affect regime" are stronger than the emotional configuration of the individual subject. In fact, affects can counter emotions, in which case the subjectivity of an individual starts to dissolve. Emotions are part of subjectivity; they are the defining characteristics of

subjectivity. In that sense, emotions are normative, receiving their normativity from the classificatory system of the subject. For instance, for common subjectivity pain is something negative, while joy is something positive. However, such clear correlations occasionally blur. Very often, affects are also forces that threaten the integrity of subject. In that context, Massumi argues that children sometimes perceive something frightening as positive, while their parents associate the same fright only with something negative. For Massumi, the positivity lies in the *intensity* of the fright (1995, pp. 87–88). While fright itself might be negatively connoted, the intensity it produces can be attractive and fascinating. A fully integrated subject – a concept used here as a heuristic construct – might perceive intensive fright as a purely negative affect precisely because it threatens the very existence of its subjectivity. However, the disintegration of its subjectivity can be pleasant for the individual. The attraction to such intensity has nothing to do with Freud's death drive. It is not the joy about a disintegrating subjectivity but the joy about the new relations that emerge after this disintegration. While affects can be de-subjectifying, they also always indicate the creation of novel social relations into which the individual enters. In other words, in moments of intensity the social relations to other bodies are more attractive than subjective relations to the body itself. De-subjectification and transgressions are the necessary requirements for being attracted to other bodies.

The entirety of affective relations within a specific assemblage, between humans and non-humans, is what I have called an *affectif* (Seyfert 2012). In socio-technical systems, this affectif not only includes relations among humans but also among humans and non-human actors, such as algorithms, and it also includes a wider variety of relations (e.g., visual, acoustic, bodily, electronic, etc.). Thus, an affect analysis needs to disentangle the affective relations and elements within a given *affective arrangement* (Slaby, Mühlhoff and Wüschner 2017; Mühlhoff and Slaby, Chapter 8).

The following section applies affect analysis to automated trading systems and demonstrates the specificity of such systems by briefly comparing them to previous forms of market technologies and their characteristic affectifs. It argues that there is a historical genealogy, not only of technological forms or systems, but also of the affective relations specific to each technology. The first is related to the invention of the stock market ticker and the dominating affective relation of *attraction* created between human and machine. This is followed by a focus on screen-based manual trading, which is constituted by a *synthetic relationship* between the technological object of the screen and the human trader. Finally, it returns to focus on the field of automated trading, and suggests that the dominating affective relations are *symbiotic* ones. Such a historical genealogy also shows that automation was never a question of excluding humans, but of involving or immersing them in a different way, through different configurations of affect.

1867: the attraction of the stock market ticker

An illustration of how devices and humans integrate on an affective level can be found with the invention of the stock market ticker. Urs Stäheli shows how, as a medium of transmission, it became the center of attraction: "The individual developed a strong attraction to the ticker, to the extent that escaping this medium was no longer possible" (Stäheli 2013, p. 217). The attractiveness to this tool was so high that its functional value took a back seat. It was related to a variety of affective relations, such as its "endless clattering," the "endless strips of tape" and the "staging" of the ticker under a glass case (ibid., pp. 214–217). Traders new to this technology developed an almost pathological fascination with the device. They could not take their eyes off the new technology and became increasingly distracted from their actual tasks, that is, using the incoming information to trade. The individual trader felt an irrational urge, was drawn to the object. They developed a "fever of the ticker" – a phenomenon that described the tendency of people to get lost in the ticker. Thus, this behavior was seen as a pathological phenomenon. It produced "hypnotic effects" that dissolved the boundaries of subject: "The noise of the ticker only came to an end when the ticker suddenly paused. At this point, the market came to a standstill and the subject emerged from the hypnosis induced by the ticker" (ibid., p. 218).

The force or pull of the device, its "attraction," is clearly a moment of intensity. The subject immerses itself, and thus dissolves within human-ticker-affectif. It re-emerges once the ticker stops. What Stäheli's analysis shows us is that this immersion takes place on an affective level and involves processes of de-subjectification and transgression. In feverish activities, we are not quite ourselves anymore simply because we have become immersed within an assemblage previously external to our "self". This process of immersion is a process of de-subjectification that exceeds the level of the subject and of the emotional self.

1969: synthetic situations in electronic trading

The next step in market technologies was the development of screen-based manual trading. As Karin Knorr-Cetina has argued, screen-based traders do not operate with a picture of imagined "people behind" the screens, other human actors for whom the screen merely serves as a medium (as suggested by approaches such as Affective Computing [Picard 2000; 2003]). The slick skin of the screen *is* none other than (the composition of) the market itself (Knorr-Cetina and Bruegger 2000; 2002a). Instead of imagining a market behind the visualizations on the screen, the trader immerses herself in the market on the screen; it is an immersion in a visual surface. Knorr-Cetina conceptualizes this immersion as a *synthetic situation*. In *synthetic situations*, the use of technologies such as screens

increase the depth of information and the responsiveness required of those who use the technology. Synthetic situations show how human actors affect and become affected by their artificial environment. Such situations demand "total immersion": "On the level of individual traders, response presence also entails more than continuous monitoring: it entails a mode of affectivity that we can circumscribe as intensity" (Knorr-Cetina 2009, p. 74). The use of technology such as screens intensifies human involvement:

> Figuratively speaking, traders strap themselves to their seats in the morning; they bring up their screens, to which their eyes will be glued from then on, their gaze captured even when they talk to or shout at each other.
>
> (Ibid., p. 64)

This total immersion and the emergence of a socio-artificial assemblage from the merging of mesmerized traders in front of the screen with the unfolding of events on the screen are "intensive" processes precisely because they involve transgression and de-subjectivication.

However, as we will see below, this total immersion is, in fact, a partial immersion since it is exclusively visual and does not involve sounds, haptic sensations and so on. After these two examples (ticker and screen) from a pre-automated area of trading, I would like to move to the affective relations in automated trading.

1989: symbiotic relations in automated trading

At first glance, to argue for an affective cohesion in automated trading systems might seem counterintuitive, if not downright wrong, mainly for two reasons. If previous ethnographic studies could still point to the role of emotions on the trading floor (Hassoun 2005; Ho 2009), or to the obsessive emotional engagement with the market on the screen (Knorr-Cetina and Bruegger 2002b; Zaloom 2006a), then the turn to automated trading seems to have eradicated not only human interactions on the floor but also their mutual emotional entrainment. Second, the main motive for including artificial agents in trading, the reason to automate trading, was precisely to eradicate (human) emotions and affects in trading.

However, ethnographic observations in various algorithmic trading firms show a different picture. The ethnographer is confronted with a disconnect between certain narratives and practices. While these discourses commonly assume the exclusion of humans, what we are seeing in practice is that, even in cases of fully automated trading systems, human actors are very rarely excluded and the limits of automation are often acknowledged.

These limits of automation were in fact confirmed in some of the interviews and, as Bibby et al. (1975) and Bainbridge (1983) have noted, cost and complexity were important considerations. For instance, traders often point out that the closer a process approximates full automation, the more it becomes exponentially complex and expensive and thus perhaps defies the purpose behind automation itself:

> models are especially very useful and handy for let's say the 95 percent standard stuff. And for the rest that you cannot model or that is very difficult to model … are [you] going to spend 80 percent of your time to develop the last one percent?
>
> (Anonymous HFT trader A)

Another aspect that was frequently mentioned in the interviews refers to the fact that the operator has to intervene when things happen that were not included in the design.

> At a certain level I think you need to automatize as much as possible.… The problem with having everything automatized is that you're going miss out on the 'black swan'. And that is the one that is going to kill you, if you are not fast enough to adapt to that.… But at the same time these are also the times that there are a lot of opportunities. So you want to be actually in the market in these kind of times, because the spreads are different, nobody knows what to do, the volatility is all over the place, people don't know, they panic. So there is a lot of exaggerations in the market, that is when you want to get out there.
>
> (Anonymous HFT trader A)

Such interventions do not just refer to the compensation for the unexpected but also to the taking advantage of opportunities.

> Occasionally, he [the trader operating at the trading system] might take advantage of opportunities that arise in the market manually because the system does not absorb as much volume as the market provides.
>
> (Anonymous HFT trader C, translated from German by the author)

Consequently, the linkage between humans and machines is deepened and *intensified*. The involvement of humans is by no means a process of easing but an intensification of *affective attention* and *affective involvement*.

Emotional labor and management

The intensification of *affective attention* and *affective involvement* has also been understood as emotional management both by practitioners and in

scholarly analyses of HFT (Borch and Lange 2016). Algorithmic trading, especially in the case of HFT, requires "constant human supervision" (Aldridge 2013, p. 130). Supervising and maintaining an algorithmic trading system costs emotional energy and is psychologically draining. It is far from the common representation of a human calmly observing calculations on the screen. As HFT trader Michael Halls-More has put it: "There is no sipping Martinis really" (Overton 2013).

The psychological drainage occurs at various sites. Traders need to trust the trading system, which might also mean watching and accepting losses during longer periods. For instance, the trading strategy can be set to bet on larger profit margins during rare market events, while accumulating small losses in normal times. The bigger profits are meant to easily offset the accumulated loses. In that case, the human actor is mostly looking at a losing strategy:

> Trading is extremely stressful even if it's the machine itself that's doing the trading. In fact … losing trade is twice as psychologically draining as the equivalent winning trade is psychologically reinforcing, which basically means that you're generally going to be operating at a psychological deficit at the end of every work day.
>
> (Roberts 2010)

Psychological drainage is not limited to watching actual trading processes but also to the development of code. Even though a quantitative researcher or financial engineer might not directly watch the trading process, he will still measure and worry about the performance (e.g., in post-trade analyses). He will still be affectively attached to the trading system.

> You are always worried about what you don't know you have included in your model. Anyone who trusts their model implicitly is probably not really thinking from a fully quantitative mindset in that regard because by definition we call it model, it is not reality. So there is gonna be things that it missed, obviously, it is only a proxy. There is always things you don't know you don't know … you are constantly researching your models and you are very aware of their performance all the time, continuously measuring their performance. You understand that there are drawdown periods, you live through them … it's never fun.
>
> (Halls-Moore, in Overton 2013)

In cases of psychological drainage, affective attachment takes the shape of constant worry and anxiety, and these are seen as emotional behaviors that need to be kept under control. Thus Borch and Lange (2016) mainly look at affective relations from the perspective of emotional management, as

(the emotion of) anxiety and the need to control such behavior. The other side of this anxiety is the production of trust and resisting the urge to intervene; the "ideal trading subjectivity that emerges here is concerned with retaining the detachment to markets produced by algorithms" (Ibid., pp. 14–15).

But emotional management is not the only affective phenomena associated with algorithmic trading. In addition to the managed emotion of the HFT subject, there are other types of affective relations within the ecology of an HFT, affective relations that have to do with the attachment to the markets produced by algorithms. In this context, the affective relations refer to the integration of a socio-technical assemblage, which requires de-subjectification from previous contexts. In HFT, the trader needs to leave the narrative of the detached individual and immerse himself into this assemblage. Such detachment is very often not a conscious decision. It also does not exist in the discourse of HFT, the "how to" books and manuals. In fact, such detachment even contradicts the discourse on the emotional management of the trader subject. There is a clear disconnect between the discourse on automated trading and its actual practices. The terms affective attention and affective involvement are used in the following to describe the way human actors immerse themselves with the trading systems.

Intensified relations

The work of Karin Knorr-Cetina and Urs Bruegger on foreign exchange markets in the early 21st century is also a study of a historical transformation of social relations. In what Knorr-Cetina has called post-social relations, face-to-face interactions are increasingly replaced by face-to-screen relations (Knorr-Cetina 2009, p. 64). It is safe to say that the number of face-to-screen interactions – also called "scopic" relations (Knorr-Cetina and Preda 2007, p. 126) – have only increased.

However, and this is a central argument of this chapter, other forms of face-to-*non*-face interactions, forms beyond the visual, have been added to such scopic relations, which exceed the realm of the visual, while engaging the body through multi-frequential bonds. Consequently, such all-encompassing engagement is different from the *attraction to* the ticker and the *synthesis of* humans and screens. Rather, these multi-frequential bonds define intensive relations between humans and machines. To designate this degree of intensity we need to differentiate the synthetic situation in manual trading from the *symbiotic relations* in automated trading.

There are fundamental transformations in the transition from manual and screen-based to automated trading. On the one hand, the appresentations on the screen, which Knorr-Cetina and Bruegger identified as *the market*, are now based on the operations of algorithms. These operations still appear on screens but they are accessed and visualized through

algorithms in electronic stock market exchanges that use *order matching engines* to algorithmically match buy and sell orders. The algorithmization of the market involves several different *techniques* and takes place across different *sites*. For an individual trader the operation of a matching engine, visualized on his screens, *is* the market. In the firm, the algorithmic construction of the market takes place in the way traders access the markets. Algorithms articulate the bids and offers provided through the data feeds of electronic exchanges that are channeled through algorithms; this algorithmic construction is known as an *order book*. Thus, market access is constructed as an algorithm, in the order book. For a trader, the most crucial aspects are not related to the intentions of other, competing, traders, but to what happens in the order book.

However, this algorithmization of the market is not simply a process of mediation. Even though algorithms mediate between traders, exchanges and other trading algorithms, they are more than that. They are structural *and* agential elements of an algorithmic trading firm. This is why it is a *symbiotic* relation, not merely an instrumental one. Algorithms are more than mediators because they contribute to the agency of the trading system. This becomes particularly obvious in negative cases, when traders lose control over their algorithmic symbionts, as in algorithmic crashes. One of the most famous examples is the demise of Knight Capital, an algorithmic trading firm that assumed severe losses because its technicians accidentally put untested algorithms into operation (SEC 2013). Algorithms and actors are bound to one another, and affective relations constitute their bonds, which become all the more intensive. The fieldwork identified a variety of affective frequency that exceeds the classic symbolic, semantic and cognitive realm. The following focuses on how automated trading adds qualitatively different affective relations (visual and acoustical).

Affective relations on the visual level

The cover of Karin Knorr-Cetina's and Alex Preda's *The Sociology of Financial Markets* (2005) provides a particularly expressive illustration of the transformations involved in the move from manual to automated trading. The volume is illustrated by a manual trader looking at six screens arranged on a single vertical plane. By contrast, automated trading settings very often require far more complex arrangements. In addition to a simple quantitative increase in the number of windows and screens, intensified connectivity is sometimes accomplished architecturally, by curving these monitors around the human body. The architectural configurations of the technical devices in the HFT firms studied were proprietary, and for that reason cannot be discussed in detail. Nonetheless, this prohibition is enough to demonstrate that what may be seen as an apparently marginal and merely "decorative" or aesthetic factor in the arrangement of technical equipment is, in fact, crucial to the basic functioning of HFT. These

screens and their windows contain different sorts of information, ranging from market movements, information about trades, profits and losses, internal emails, dialog computer logs containing information about network connectivity, to news tickers, RSS feeds, Twitter comments, news on Bloomberg and so on. The sheer number of screens and the fact that each screen can contain multiple windows requires a certain *regime of visual attention.* This regime guarantees that the trader's eyes follow a certain movement while going over his various monitors and windows, which creates channels of attention, affective relations, through which human traders are integrated into the system.

Affective relations as acoustic entanglements

In addition to an intensified visual – scopic – connection, many automated traders also operate with acoustic entanglement. In certain companies, there exists a whole array of coded soundscapes.[6] Different historical market eras have different soundscapes. Aside from the ticker, the most important soundscape used to be the trading floor. As the term *open outcry pit trading* vividly describes, acoustic transmission was the central method of communication on the trading floor. However, the acoustic atmosphere was by no means simply the result of an intense transmission of information. Its significance is clear in what happened in the transition from the crowded floor to the lonely screen. The transition from the floor to the screen has been defined by the nostalgia, or perhaps the habits, of former floor traders, who have moved on to electronic trading but who miss the noises from the trading floor. In the early days of electronic trading, traders would try to simulate the acoustic atmosphere of the actual trading pit. Software applications such as MarketSounds, Patsystems or VirtualPit "generated a realistic mix of background noises" including "sounds of people shuffling around, talking and, occasionally, yelling in the background" (Lucchetti 2006). Instead of transmitting actual information, the acoustics help the trader to immersive him- or herself in the market, in order to amplify his/her affective involvement; they might help a former floor trader adjust to the activities of the markets, to create an atmosphere in which they can thrive and be inspired.

Such affective attachment through noise is different from the sophisticated *aural regime* occasionally applied in HFT. The soundscapes and signal noises used by algorithmic trading firms have an instrumental purpose. Applications such as Trading Technologies are not so much about creating the atmosphere of the pit as about adding another layer of depth to market information by helping the trader to establish a more intense relationship with the automated trading system. In addition, they provide a certain amount of information because the level of intensity also contains hints about the movement of prices – the up and down of the acoustic volume corresponds to the development of prices.

These sounds are a general way of keeping the trader informed about what is going on, the trades, profits and losses, and what strategies the computer is pulling. Most automated trading systems consist of hundreds of trading algorithms. They are programmed to use different strategies in various market situations, and the trader is informed about each of these strategies by a combination of an assigned sound and information on the screen. In addition, these sounds contain error warnings. Sounds also help direct the attention of the trader to important events. Thus, the soundscape is connected to visual attention management. While a trader might follow the visual regime described above – consecutively checking a series of windows on screens – these sounds redirect his glance in case something important happens on another screen, something that calls for more immediate attention. Thus, signals might interrupt the visual order of attention, redirecting it if something important happens on a screen that the glance has just passed. These soundscapes are thus cognitive and affective complications on an acoustic level. They provide one frequency of the affective bonds that keep the trader engaged in the market.

In one case, when I entered the trading room, I was hit by a cacophony of completely unrelated noises, such as steam boats, bull horns, car horns and so on. For instance, the sound of a door bell might indicate a small trade whereas a large trade is signaled by the sound of a steam engine, and a bold siren signals a submitted order that was immediately canceled and so on. The assignation of meaning to individual sounds is unique to each trading company, though the sounds are mostly assembled from commonly available software applications. In one case the head of trade said the different sounds included mostly animal voices but his traders complained they felt like they were in a zoo. Therefore, the firm decided to change the composition of tones to a more industrial setting.

Sounds are not merely alerts, they also function as an integrational mechanism on the organizational level to include those who are part of the firm but not directly connected to the screen, for instance superiors, such as the head of trade. They transmit to everybody on the trading desk the general status of the firm's activities, just as previous soundscapes did for the trading floor. In algorithmic trading, sounds might alert colleagues and superiors to different events in the market, while they inform others about the size of an order or the initiation of a particular trading strategy. They give everybody on the trading desk a general idea of the market and the firm's current market activities. In one firm, the head of trade was not directly immersed in the markets *via* screens but was connected to the market activities of the firm mainly through the soundscape of the company's trading systems that he could hear in his office, which was adjacent to the trading desk. The first day of our interview happened to be a slow market day and he pointed this out to me by referring to the low acoustic signals in the background. During a later interview, an algorithm sold

about 1500 lots and signaled this activity through its designated sound. The head of trade, informed through the sound, jumped up and immediately left his office and entered the trading desk to double check the trading activities with the person sitting in front of the screen.

Such soundscapes do not merely intensify the visual connections to the markets through screens. They do not create a synthetic situation, because sounds function as affective connectors for all elements – human and non-human– of an automated trading system.

As the ethnographic description has shown, automated (HFT) trading depends on human–machine relations that exceed the operation of scopic media and the management of emotions. It relies and depends on multi-frequential affective bonds that relate human actors to their algorithmic systems. In this case, this involved visual and aural regimes.[7] Thus, I suggest defining automated trading systems as intensified affect-(re)distributing systems in which humans are integrated through even more, and even more intense, affective frequencies (via the different senses) than in manual trading. In fact, the linkage of humans and non-humans becomes so intense that their relation becomes *symbiotic*. As compared to the synthetic situation of screen-based manual trading, automated trading radically increases what Dorothy H.B. Kwek has called the "affective receptivity" (Kwek 2015) of *both* humans and machines. There is an increase of mutual training and a gymnastics of attention (Weil 2002, p. 120) and affectability (Guyau 1884, p. 10).

Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed automated trading systems, which are usually understood as applying systematic trading techniques that exclude humans from the allocation of information, decision-making and execution of trades. In this notion, trading algorithms are autonomous purification techniques that clear financial markets of irrational and affective elements. I have shown that this is far from being the case. Instead of an exclusion of humans and affects, such systems intensify human and non-human relations. To produce the internal cohesion of an automated trading system, intensive relations between humans and non-humans are necessary. These relations are not restricted to semantic and symbolic communications (of information). They require a complex arrangement of intensive affective relations (affectif) that exceed the management of emotions. While management of emotions depends on the disciplining of the subject, automated trading requires de-subjectifying affects of transgression. Automated trading also includes new affective relations on visual and acoustic levels. In a heuristic comparison with previous affective relations, such as *attraction* (to the ticker) and *syntheses* (with scopic media), the affective relations within automated trading systems are best described as *symbiosis*.

Finally, the findings of this study are by no means limited to finance or automated trading. Rather, they might be a characteristic of algorithmic cultures in general (Amoore and Volha 2015; Roberge and Seyfert 2016).

Notes

1 This chapter is based on papers on varieties of affective relations in socio-technical collectives, and studies of automated trading that were presented at conferences and workshops in Copenhagen, Paderborn, Brno, Konstanz and Berlin between 2014 and 2017. I would like to thank the participants and the editors of this volume for their helpful comments. I would also like to thank Julia Nuß for her help in the transcription of interviews. Finally, I am in debt to those who participated in this study. For a more detailed description of my field-work, see also Seyfert 2016.
2 For more detailed studies, I recommend MacKenzie 2011, 2014, 2015; MacKenzie, Beunza, Millo and Pardo-Guerra 2012; Borch, Hansen and Lange 2015; Arnoldi 2016; Borch and Lange 2016; Lange 2016; Lange, Lenglet and Seyfert 2016; Seyfert 2016.
3 My fieldwork did not start before 2012, so it is possible that more fully auto-mated trading systems were successful prior to 2009, after which the benefits of early innovation seemed to ebb and automated trading practices required more sophisticated and complex systems.
4 The empirical fieldwork took place from 2014 to 2016, during which 25 com-panies were visited and about 50 people talked to in Europe, North America and Asia. Most interviewees were working in algorithmic HFT firms, which usually employ between five to 100 people. These midsize-companies are characterized by a particular culture of proprietary trading, meaning they are trading their own money. Within such firms, employees interviewed were quantitative researchers, financial engineers, traders that operate the trading desk and experts from IT departments. For further details and a more technical analysis of operations in HFT, see also Seyfert 2016.
5 The New Market was a trading segment of the Deutsche Börse from 1997 until 2004 that was created, similarly to NASDAQ, for the trading of so-called new technologies.
6 For an analysis of soundscapes on the trading floor, see Zaloom 2006b.
7 For an affect analysis of corporeal-pharmacopic regimes in algorithmic finance, see Seyfert forthcoming.

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Part IV

Affect and media

11 Affect and mediation

Lisa Blackman

Introduction

This chapter foregrounds and situates debates on affectivity and mediation within the context of digital and social media, literature on "media events" and work on transmediality and hauntology. The shift from media understood as separate entities (television, radio, cinema) to new media environments that are characterized by dispersed, embedded and embodied practices and processes, often operating below or at the margins of consciousness, raises important questions about the role of media in processes of subject constitution. The rise of social media, for example, has challenged media scholars to rethink one of their long-standing units of analysis, the audience. Audiences are now considered prosumers or even produsers (see Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010), creating and contributing to media content and participating in processes that were once considered the province of media producers and institutions. Within these arguments it is often assumed that media audiences of the past were passive and now they are active, woken from what is often characterized as a hypnotic stupor. However, there are contradictions in these arguments, which point towards underexplored paradoxes in how we analyze our being and becoming with, through and even in media. These arguments have also invited reflection on issues of subjectivity and identity – what exactly do users do within and across social media platforms and what relationship do these practices have to their own practices of self-formation? These questions and the tensions that surround them have a long genealogy and open up important questions about how we might analyze and understand media, or processes of mediation, as they might be said to operate affectively.

This chapter explores some of the myths and foundational assumptions about mediation that have entered into, resurfaced and been reworked in relation to social media. Although social media is seen as a distinctly new communication medium, what these debates carry are long-standing tensions, contradictions and problematics that media studies inherited from at least the 19th century, and which are difficult to shake. Despite a

commitment to the *performative* as a key way of framing what we do within and across social media platforms, the performative is often overlaid by the natural or the neurological. This leads to impasses, blind spots and occlusions in how to address the significance of such forms and their implications for studying mediation in relation to embodiment, affect, identity/subjectivity, audiences and the affordances of medium specificity, for example.

Prosumption, performance and governmentality

One assumption associated with the prosumer argument is that software-driven media make possible new experiences of subjectivity. It is assumed that media have undergone profound changes and that these changes in form and practice equate to changes in subjectivity. Where once audiences were passive it is argued that prosumers now experience themselves as active creators and this is reflected in how they experience their own identities. These are obviously empirical questions and ones that rely upon making distinctions: between past and present generations (digital natives versus digital novices); between broadcast media and multicast media;[1] between the old and the new; sometimes between cognition and affect; and between technology and culture. These differentiations, which map changes in media form and practice onto changes in subjectivity, are often overlaid with distinctions between media understood as monologic and media understood as dialogic.

One of the questions that is often posed within the structures and terms of these debates is the extent to which these moves "open up access to the production of selves" (Murthy 2013, p. 30). In other words, to what extent do social media forms enable particular practices of reflexivity concerning the production of selfhood? The assumption that selfhood is produced or constituted, within and across historically specific practices and regimes of truth and knowledge, has a long history within and across philosophy and cultural theory, for example. Michel Foucault specifically used the term subjectification to identify the processes through which subjects are both made and actively make themselves into particular kinds of subject. This focus on practice has also been augmented by a rich tradition of interdisciplinary scholarship exploring subjectivity, a concept used to point towards the differences between "positionings" and how different subjects live the variety and often contradictory ways they are positioned as subjects within practices (see Henriques et al. 1984).[2]

The crucial question here is whether social media practices afford an awareness of these self-constituting and compositional processes, or whether social media is experienced more as a vehicle or expression of a pre-existing self ,often identified as "authentic" or natural. For some, what we witness are the rise of practices of "me-centrism" (Murthy 2013), which position social media as a vehicle for the expression of a pre-existing self.

One of the paradoxes recognized by many theorists is that Twitter, however, is both "individualistic and communal" (ibid., p. 151). There is a tension between tweets that are essentially forms of self-promotion and those that become an "event"; that is, those that gain a reach and traction, and get taken up by broadcast media or that bring people to the street, for example. As Murthy argues, although social media is often considered a revolutionary medium, it should be considered alongside the role different forms of media have played in social change, protest and activism.

For example, we might consider the role that video technology and art installations and practices (such as the Quilt project) played in activist movements, such as ActUp in the USA and Europe during the 1990s. ActUP mediated protests, which took the private anguish of dying individuals (from HIV and Aids) on to the streets, to the broadcast media and into people's homes, and to the Bush administration and the insurance and pharmaceutical companies. Different forms of media, including DIY video technology of the time, were used to mediate collective action against governments and pharmaceutical companies. The alternative media of the time and its circulation within particular networks acts as an interesting precursor to YouTube (and the uploading of documentaries, video-diaries etc.). These media carried feeling, passion, imagination, longing, anguish and hope, as well as being embedded and circulating within social networks, which were performatively linked, creating a new entity, the PwA (or person with Aids). This entity blurred the personal and political in effective ways and was staged via forms of direct action. In this respect there are overlaps or convergences between old and new media, as so-called old media also operated with the potential for affectivity and contagion (particularly in the context of activist politics and practices).

These remarks also take us back to the concerns of crowd psychology and to the important writings of the crowd psychologist Serge Moscovici (1985). He argued that fascism in the late 19th and 20th centuries appealed to a *feeling* body, recognising that appeals to reason and rationality, didactic command and instruction and staged forms of persuasion would often miss the mark and make followers more resistant to change and transformation. As Moscovici (ibid., p. 104) proclaims, "the age of the crowd was the age of the imagination, and he who rules there rules by imagination". Similarly, Stuart Hall (1988), the important black cultural studies theorist, recognized that Thatcherism in the UK in the 1970s and 1980s appealed to particular fantasies, which have become embedded as social truths and social goods. Thus Thatcherism's vision extends well beyond Thatcher and even the Conservative governments of then and now in the UK. Hall supplemented his approach to mediation with psychoanalytic concepts of fantasy and desire to draw attention to the complexity of processes of self and social change. We would be wise therefore to situate the potentially affective dimensions of social media within the context of

these long histories of mediation, fantasy, public imagination and protest. As Murthy (2013, p. 102) suggests: "Even Martin Luther King generally needed more than 140 characters to capture people's hearts!"

The paradoxes that govern discussions of network culture ask how and why do certain contagions spread and intensify across social and digital media. This problem is seen by some to be usefully addressed by turning to theories of suggestion, imitation and automaticity found within experimental social psychology and the cognitive sciences. One book that explicitly draws on such theories and concepts to explore the virality or viral logic of network culture, is by the cultural theorist, Tony Sampson, *Virality: Contagion Theory in the Age of Networks* (2012). He argues that contagion and theories of imitation found within the past and present of experimental social psychology and the neurosciences might provide important heuristics for rethinking communication processes beyond the human, singularly bounded, cognitive subject. This is an attempt to grasp what is termed a "contagious relationality" (ibid., p. 3), which he relates specifically to biopolitical strategies in the present that are taken to work preemptively.

Sampson suggests that preemption tendencies attempt to modulate and exploit emotion and affect, and to "affectively prime social atmospheres, creating the conditions for increasingly connected populations to pass on and imitate the suggestions of others" (ibid., p. 5; also see Massumi 2009). Sampson draws a lineage with the concerns of nineteenth and early twentieth psychologists and sociologists and specifically with the potentially unconscious, instinctual or even affective bases of contagion (also see Blackman and Walkerdine 2001; Reicher 2001; Blackman 2012; Borch 2012). The question for Sampson, as with many others, is exactly what does spread? Clearly not just information as understood within traditional media theory, or cybernetics, as what spreads includes political rumors, fads, fashions, trends, gossip, hype, emotions, feelings, affects, sensations and moods; forms of contagious communication that, as many people have argued, take us back to 19th-century concerns and potentially to those theorists, such as Gabriel Tarde and Gustave Le Bon, whose interests in contagion underpinned their own models of sociality (see Blackman 2012).

Sampson announces the present as an "age of contagion" (2012, p. 1), and brings the past, primarily the French micro-sociologist and criminologist Gabriel Tarde's work described as "Tarde's imitation-suggestion thesis" (ibid., p. 13), into dialogue with contemporary neuromarketing and post-World War II experimental social psychology (specifically the work of Stanley Milgram and his famous obedience experiments). On this basis Tarde is reread as a contemporary media theorist. In different ways all these theories and experimental practices are seen to potentially explain, animate, articulate, dramatize, make visible and allow a purchase on the modulation of processes, which exist, below, beyond and to the side of cognition (see Protevi 2009). These processes are taken to reveal

our fundamental relationality with others, human and non-human. On this basis, Sampson argues for a "revised notion of subjectivity" based on a refiguring of Tarde's "somnambulistic subjectivity" embedded within "technological network relations" (2012, p. 13). Tarde's somnambulism relates to his oft-quoted assumption, that suggestion rather than rationality is the basis of sociality.[3] This assumption discloses Tarde's interest in hypnotic suggestion and contagious forms of communication.

The tensions between "me-centrism" and media understood as operating with the potential for contagion question how we approach and understand choice and agency within and across social media platforms. This is particularly so given the assumption that social media potentially can facilitate "more democratic and reflective consumption" (ibid., p. 18). This takes us back to the strange immaterialities of networked virality; to questions as to what spreads across social media, how and why. These questions are framed, in the current debates, through a myriad of theories, concepts, paradigms and debates, which take us back to some rather deep-seated tensions and anomalies in how we understand processes of mediation, and contagious or affective communication.

The tensions identified, which I have developed in *Immaterial Bodies: Affect, Embodiment, Mediation* (2012), have a long history. They go right back to the inauguration of media studies as a discipline, which assumed that media could operate suggestively but only within the context of certain groups (women, colonial subjects, children, people with different sexualities) whose capacity for suggestion was understood as an evolutionary form of atavism aligned to the primitive and the irrational (see Blackman and Walkerdine 2001). This discourse of the "vulnerable mind" has persisted as a deep-seated assumption, which has been challenged in different ways within and across the field of affect studies (see Blackman 2012 for an overview). This includes an assumption that all subjects are "ordinarily suggestible," shifting the question to the milieux and contexts within which media processes operate suggestively. To realize the potential of these insights I argue that we need new ways of exploring the relations between subjectification, subjectivity and affect that can move beyond generic arguments and consider the specificity of different contexts of reception, production and transmission; what I also call "scenes of entanglement". The ability to do this has been thwarted by some of the assumptions that have been made within the sociological and media and cultural studies literature on identity construction and maintenance.

Within what has come to be known as the "individualization" thesis (often associated with the writings of Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens), it is assumed that shifts in governance (the rise of neoliberalism, for example) have led to shifts in subjectivity. As Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012, p. 75) argue, assumptions are often made that subjects "change absolutely with the change of regime". This assumption of distinct ruptures and breaks between regimes of governance, with concomitant

changes in the forms of subjectivity that people live, is a powerful argument and one that has found its way into the media studies and social media literature. However, this assumption does not pay enough attention to the uneven and differently distributed ways in which regimes of change and transformation register and are lived. The approach I am developing requires an approach to affect or affectivity, which is attentive to setting, milieu and the interrelated historical, social, cultural, technical, symbolic, material and immaterial processes, which shape what becomes available for emotional transformation (see Blackman 2012, 2016).

Transmediality

In current work I call this an *ecological* approach to affect, which also includes an understanding that new or social media can work hauntologically or transmedially (Blackman 2018a).[4] The concept of transmediality is borrowed from the work of the critical race studies scholar Rey Chow (2012). Transmediality is usually associated with strategies of storytelling, which are co-ordinated and orchestrated across multiple media platforms. Transmediality is often framed as a form of multi-platform storytelling that has emerged and is situated within practices of media convergence and the emergence of networked media (Jenkins 2006). One might, on this basis, find reference to transmedia narratives and texts (Lindgren Leavenworth 2011), to transmedia television (Evans 2011), to transmedia technologies, performances and even transmedial worlds. As Evans (ibid.) argues, the association of transmediality with new media platforms obscures the way in which stories and myths, which blur fact and fiction (for example), might be considered transmedial in a way that is anachronistic to the rise of (new) media technologies. She argues that the history of storytelling is transmedial and that there are historical precedents for transmediality and its remediation within and across networked media.

Transmediality is primarily concerned with fictional worlds, with the transmission and circulation of narratives, stories, myths and texts across time, space and different "platforms," which contribute to a particular kind of *experience* (of a historical figure, an event, or a television programme, for example). The etymology of the prefix in transmediality comes from the Latin *trans* and refers to processes that cross, are beyond or through. It introduces a particular kind of temporality into discussions of mediation, which blur distinctions between past and present, space and time. This might lead to an experience of immediacy, where everything appears connected yet experienced as part of a perpetual present. This is a familiar account of media time and one that is associated with the entangled relations of the web, for example.

However, Chow suggests that "shadow media" or social media, which are both atomized, *and* increase capacities for connectivity and interactivity, allow new realities to happen. She equates this to the setting in motion

of different times and temporalities; no longer fugitive, fossilized or anachronistic. The events of capture made possible by such time-shifting and their radical potential should not be judged for truth-value or veracity (i.e. as the capture of reality). Rather Chow ties the event of capture to the concept of *captivation*, inviting the reader to consider their own investment and entanglement within particular events. Chow defines captivation as the capacity to be "lured or held by an unusual person, event or spectacle" (2012, p. 47) and which underlies the extent to which we might be drawn into particular (imaginary) worlds. She prefers the term captivation over interpellation, suggesting that our ability to be drawn beside ourselves involves registers, which might be termed affective and opens us up to theories of attachment, desire, imitation, mimetic violence, embodiment, victimization and forgiveness. Chow's approach to transmediality turns our attention to "scenes of entanglement" and to the potential transmedial relations open up for radical politics.

Although Chow's examples are mainly from earlier media forms (films and literature, for example), her development of transmediality in the concept of social media is useful and I have developed this as part of a digital hauntological method in my forthcoming book, *Haunted Data: Transmedia, Affect, Weird Science and Archives of the Future* (2018a). The book develops an approach to mediation and affectivity that can account for some of the stark contradictions in theorizing identity and subjectivity within social media, which often foreground performance as central to the work the self (individual and collective) does within this context, but at the same time falls back on concepts of authenticity, where performances are judged for truth, veracity, and the extent to which they give voice to personal sentiment and feeling (see Papacharissi 2012). These remarks are developed in the next section in relation to some new concepts that explore supposed ruptures between old and new media to provide some purchase on what might be at stake.

Mediation, remediation, premediation

One of the key concepts developed to analyze so-called new or digital media has been the concept of remediation developed by Bolter and Grusin (2000). These authors define the logic of remediation as composed of two contradictory forces; the erasure of signs of mediation (where the experience of mediation is framed through immediacy), whilst practices of mediation proliferate. This cultural logic resonates with one found in the cultural configurations of knowledge surrounding virtual reality in the 1990s, for example, in which fantasies of leaving the body behind and experiencing "reality free from the distortions of mediation" were central to its utopian promise. Grusin suggests that at the beginning of the 21st century immediacy has transmuted into fantasies of "unconstrained connectivity" associated with social media (Grusin 2010, p. 2).

On the basis of this transmutation, he suggests that the logic of remediation needs to be supplemented with a logic of futurity, described as premediation. Premediation refers to strategies that anticipate what might happen in the future, as well as exploring how the past and therefore possible futures are always in the present. These strategies, Grusin argues, act on, and are disclosed through, the multiple media transactions we make across software-driven media. These are leading, he suggests, to new practices of securitization and new forms of governance.

Grusin (2010) has developed the concept of premediation in relation to new regimes of anticipation and security that have emerged post 9/11 as a response to new terrorism threats. This logic is situated in the context of the US media environment, which continually anticipates possible futures rather than pre-determined outcomes as part of the work that media perform. Grusin cites the 2002 Hollywood film *Minority Report* as a distributed public medium that popularizes such a logic. As readers who have seen the film will know, a branch of the police department, known as Precrime, has enlisted three psychics or precogs and arrests criminals on the basis of forecasting future crimes or what is known as *foreknowledge*. Tom Cruise plays the Precrime Captain John Anderton; the film is directed by Stephen Spielberg and is an adaptation of a short story of the same name by the science fiction writer Philip K Dick. This example is a good illustration of the permeable boundaries and reciprocal relations between science, media, technology and culture in the shaping and realization of new media worlds.

Grusin (ibid.) prefers the term *mediality* rather than new media to explore how processes and practices of mediation work within the context of digital and social media. In some senses Grusin's approach might be described as hauntological, in that he argues there are different futures immanent within the present – what he terms, "multiple futures alive in the present".[5] These consist of "potentialities that impact or affect the present whether or not they ever come about" (ibid., p. 8). These, Grusin suggests, are made more visible with social and digital media, given their potential for proliferating media content and transactions. In relation to news he suggests that "liveness," a logic associated with remediation, exists alongside what he calls the "liveness of futurity". This logic extends and anticipates possible futures, increasing what he terms "the widespread proliferation of premediated futures" (ibid., p. 47), of what might happen next. Premediation cannot be reduced to media content, as it works through the generation of what he terms a low level of anxiety over possible futures. Thus, he argues that premediation strategies work to shape and channel such anxieties in particular ways; this is tied in his work to affectivity or the training of affective responses. The conclusion of this approach is that we should focus on what media or mediation *do* rather than what media mean or represent. Grusin's (2010) work on remediation and premediation is an attempt to explore how media or mediation does

not simply work through symbolic meaning and therefore offers a different way of exploring power; what he equates to a form of bodily affectivity or biopower, or what others have termed biomediation (see Kember and Zylinska 2012).

Grusin's approach to the work media *do* in strategies of governance is located within existing literature on the mediation of live "media events". This literature starts from the position that media are performative and play an active part in constructing how particular events are framed and experienced. The literature on "media events" goes back to the early work of Lang and Lang (1961), who explored how live television mediated the experience of a commemorative event. The mediation of the event was constructed through a variety of techniques and strategies (including specific camera shots, editing techniques and framing devices, such as the voice-over) creating a particular version of events, which was experienced as more "live" by TV audiences. This *liveness* was in contrast to the experience of spectators who had assembled to watch the event in "real time" as part of a crowd. As we have seen, liveness is part of the logic of remediation that, at the same time as it erases the signs of mediation, constructs an experience of immediacy – a sense of being there in time together. There are many versions of this argument, which assume that such a logic of immediacy erases the forms of mediation that are shaping such experiences (see Bolter and Grusin 2000, for example).

Media events

Work on media events has been tied to broadcast technology (television and radio for example) and, as Grusin (2010) recognizes, the "live media event" is now dispersed across a diverse range of platforms, accelerating and speeding up the potential for instantaneity and multiple futures in the present. He suggests that the proliferation of media platforms and transactions distribute and extend how the media event might be understood, opening up the potential for new objects, entities, processes and practices to emerge. Grusin terms this dispersal a form of "distributed mediation" (ibid., p. 90), where the event is distributed across media, technologies, bodies and practices, creating media assemblages rather than static yet live events per se. The generative potential of media events also relates to a rather different logic, rather than liveness per se, Grusin talks about the "liveness of futurity" (ibid., p. 54), the continual premediation or anticipation of possible futures before they actualize. Grusin is interested in what makes an issue become a matter for public concern and what role medial forms of power play in generating matters of concern. Why do certain issues become events that demand attention and become the subject of debate, scandal, controversy, scrutiny, legislation, gossip, rumor and protest, for example? These might include the Abu Ghraib photograph scandal in the USA, the Hacking Scandal in Britain, the Monica Lewinsky

affair, Pussy Riot, the #blacklivesmatter, #distractinglysexy, #metoo and the proliferation of controversies, past and present, which demand our attention, and which connect across space and time. The question of what events become a matter of concern or even relevance is one of the central issues explored in my forthcoming book, which extends this work within the context of two recent controversies in the area of "weird science" that spread across social media and operated with the potential for contagion. (see Blackman 2018). Although the media events literature is important in partially understanding these questions, I argue that the hauntological and transmedial dimensions of Grusin's project can be usefully extended to explore the wider ecologies of affectivity that shape and govern a controversy's contagious potential. I will return to the term "ecologies of affectivity" in the conclusion of the chapter and provide some examples illustrating my argument in the next section, "Media afterlives".

The importance of media events literature to understanding subject formation and subjectification is also found within the work of new media theorists Kember and Zylinska in their book *Life After New Media: Mediation as a Vital Process* (2012). This is a useful starting point for understanding subjectification because it is one area of media analysis that foregrounds the performativity of media, that is, the potential of media to bring about the object(s) of which it speaks. However, they argue that the conclusions of such a performative approach are not adequately realized. Kember and Zylinska's (ibid.) position is that media events are not exceptional and therefore containable by the literature and analysis of media events, but are intensifications of how mediation works. They argue, "media events are not anomalous but rather heightened phenomena," which provide the opportunity "to recognise a process of which 'we' are a part" (ibid., p. 41). In other words, mediation more generally works performatively to shape how an event materializes and takes shape, but it also requires participants to enter the setting to keep it alive – Kember and Zylinska (2012) term them co-producers. In relation to this argument they analyze two "media events": the credit crunch of 2007; and the experiments that attempted to bring about a Big Bang at the Large Hadron Collider (LHC) in 2010.

In relation to the credit crunch, they ask whether a British journalist, Robert Peston, could be said to have caused the credit crunch in Britain (an attribution made of him across a range of media reports). Peston famously announced on BBC News that Northern Rock, a British building society, was in trouble and was going to be bailed out by the Bank of England. This statement, which confirmed days of rumors, sparked a scandal. Peston was accused of creating a run on the bank and generating panic and fear, heightened in his report by his "breathless" delivery. This presented what for many was an exaggerated emphasis, which could barely contain the excitement of preempting what became a career-changing report. The Mail online, for example, referred to him as "The man who crocked Northern Rock – and how the scandal will cost £55 BILLION".

The original BBC News report by Peston won him the Royal Television Society's "scoop of the year 2008" and became a story owned by the BBC as they positioned themselves as "ahead of the game".

Kember and Zylinska approach Peston's report as a "performative statement," where journalists do not act alone (to bring about a crisis) but act in concert with other agencies and actors, such that Peston was framed as a co-producer who contributed to what came about – financial collapse. Here they extend notions of performativity by recognizing that agency is distributed across a range of actors and agencies (human and non-human) and cannot be located therefore within the agency of the self-contained journalist. Thus, the performativity of the event does not relate to its liveness, but to the capacity of the journalist to stage an event (the news report), which becomes an *attractor*.[6] This attractor linked and channeled a range of actors, agencies, entities and objects into one object, the Financial Crash. In that sense, Kember and Zylinska wryly parody the sensationalism of the news headlines, which blamed Peston for bringing about the credit crunch. And as even the various news agencies and institutions recognized, this was not achieved by objective reporting, but in anticipation of what might come, premediating a possible future-yet-to-come. This is also a good example of what Grusin would describe as "making futurity present" (2010, p. 144). The actualization of this possible future was confirmed days later with images of queues of depositors outside Northern Rock, anxious to retrieve their savings.[7]

However, as Kember and Zylinska point out, it becomes difficult within this distributed and dispersed circuit of mediation to determine the exact "media event". I would argue that this is especially given the scandal and controversy surrounding the report, which created the conditions of possibility for the propagation of new objects, entities, actors and agencies to emerge and to shape and reshape the object, which became known as the Northern Rock Financial Crisis.[8] Kember and Zylinska's analysis is still framed within a particular story – the breaking news story by Robert Peston announcing the Northern Rock crisis on the BBC News at Ten on Thursday, September 13, 2007 – and the event is tied to this story and its co-performative effects. The liveliness of this media event relates to all those layered histories, discourses, events, objects, entities, actors and agencies that have the potential to be removed and put back into circulation by this event; what I call the potential for an event to take on an afterlife. I suggest that events are haunted by both the histories and excesses of their own storytelling and that these excesses surface in *haunted data* to be mined, poached and put to work in newly emergent contexts and settings. The method reveals how an event that becomes contagious is multiplicitous and requires analyses that recognize affect and mediation as multiple ontologies.

As well as media events that are lively or take on an afterlife, Kember and Zylinska (2012) introduce the concept of the media "non-event," in

their analysis of the LHC attempting to simulate the Big Bang; the experiment itself did not bring anything about, but was replaced or substituted by animations – repeated images and replayed TV footage – that came to stand in for "a phenomena or process incorporating multiple agencies" (ibid., p. 62). Again, in a wry parody of how such animations close down the liveliness of events, they argue that Brian Cox, the Professor of Physics turned celebrity television presenter, "gives us something to look at" (ibid., p. 66)!

Media afterlives

The concept of a media afterlife becomes more insidious when it is deemed that there is no "outside" to media "that would allow for a comparison between media and life" (Deuze 2012, p. 62). This is an argument made by the media scholar Mark Deuze, who repeats the refrain "media mediate everything" throughout his provocative book, *Media Life.* As he argues, media have become "infinitely intertwined with every single way of being, seeing, moving and acting" (ibid., p. 3). This argument suggests that particular technical forms and the imaginaries they enact have become central to people's experience of many different events and contexts; across politics, celebrity, education, music gigs, work, relationships and so forth. It is clear, for example, that when former American President Obama is photographed whilst on the phone to the Russian president, Putin (during the 2014 Ukrainian crisis), and this photograph circulates in the press and across social media, that Obama is imagining himself as an image that can be put to use in particular rhetorical ways.[9]

When the former British Prime minister, Cameron, imitates this and the image is ridiculed, one can see that effectively performing oneself in and through the media as a form of political strategy or communication requires careful discernment and management, including an attunement to wider contexts of production and reception.[10] The capacity to imagine oneself as a photograph, made possible by camera phones for example, and captured in the "selfie" are testament to such a capacity. However, the ethical question of which contexts are appropriate or acceptable to abstract and then make work within different contexts and circuits of communication is an important matter of concern.[11] In the case of Cameron, his apparent misjudgment of his own image's stylistic and rhetorical potentials, put back into circulation, or re-moved, earlier attempts to position himself as "cool" that were ridiculed in the media. In this sense Cameron, as merely one of the co-producers of his image, was unable to intervene and change those distributed, multi-layered, sometimes submerged and displaced, histories related to previous attempts to persuade and seduce populations of his integrity, standing, charisma and presence. This is a good example of what I call a "scene of entanglement" (following Chow)

that draws attention to its own attempts at remediation and premediation (primarily through satire and impersonation) and was unable to anticipate those virtual potentials that haunted this image in fugitive form. These became part of its media afterlife.[12] These storytelling projects of the self almost always exceed the intentions and volition of individual (social) media users, revealing or disclosing the hauntological potential of individual media transactions.

The performance of "media lives" or "media selves" in this way is often judged through a discourse of authenticity. Even if and when people imagine and narrate their lives as "media-like" (Illouz 2007), such performances are often judged for their "realness" or authenticity. In this sense, performance of selfhood within and across social media platforms is subject to the same forms of differentiation, judgment and reflection, as are derived from an assumed distinction between public and private selves. In relation to reality television, makeover and therapy culture, for example, it has been recognized that the forms of selfhood that are produced for both oneself and others are consensus-based (Blackman and Walkerdine 2001; Weber 2009), and that as with other media-cultures they are "deeply individualized and self-centered value systems" (Deuze 2012, p. 245). The distinction between real and performed lives on in social media debate and popular discourse. One only has to consider how these debates and forms of judgment and authority have proliferated with the rise of fake news and Donald Trump's daily Twitter feed, whose own social media practices are used in a continual attempt to authenticate himself as genuine, immediate and anti-establishment. As Deuze (2012) asks, if social media have become a primary mode of self-expression or even production for many people, should these be judged for truth and veracity or as different modes of being in the world? This assumption relates to the "myth of Us – now" that Nick Couldry (2014) has identified as being central to social media analysis and practice; that is, the assumption that social media allow the articulation of what we do naturally, and is simply the new way that we relate to and connect together.

As I hope to have shown, questions of truth or veracity do not get at the multi-layered and distributed, sometimes inchoate traces, fragments, actors, narratives and agents who can become linked up and re-moved as an event becomes lively or takes on an afterlife. In my writing I have also used the term "mediated perception" (Cho 2008), which is a performative method that is both intervention and representation. It sorts, aligns and makes links across a distributed and scattered array of traces, gaps, silences, submerged narratives and displaced actors in order that one may proliferate visibilities (see Blackman 2015). I argue that this method is more attuned to the dynamic processes, simultaneously affective, symbolic, historical and technical, that circumscribe mediation, and that require analyses of what is present and absent, visible and invisible, past and present, what is intelligible and what is foreclosed. This method

incorporates genealogical approaches to subjectivity and subjectification found in the work of Michel Foucault, which allows a recognition that affect is social, all the way down, right to the bottom. In this respect my approach differs from related approaches, such as Grusin's, which presume affectivity is primarily pre-conscious intensities that remain in excess or prior to codified representation.

Premediation and bodily affectivity

Grusin's approach to premediation is based on particular assumptions about bodily affectivity that are recruited as part of new processes of subjectification and subject formation. His approach assumes that affect precedes cognition and therefore represents a more immediate, visceral and intense response than sense making understood as cognitive interpretation. It is assumed that affective responses or resonances are those that exist below the threshold of conscious awareness and therefore have primacy, even if it might be recognized that affect and cognition are inseparable processes. Grusin also draws on the work of the Deleuzian philosopher, Brian Massumi (2002) to argue that affect is autonomous, that it is phenomenally prior to emotion (understood as cognitive framing or interpretation) and contributes to how media *feel* before judgment prevails.[13] Thus interactivity or our implication in processes of mediation are explored through particular conceptions of bodily affectivity, which reframe Silvan Tomkins' psychobiological approach to affect through the work of Massumi, Deleuze and others.

One example that Grusin gives of mediality understood in this way is the controversy surrounding the photographs of Abu Ghraib, which depicted the torture and abuse of detainees by American soldiers at the prison camp in Afghanistan. The photographs were shown in an American news report, 60 Minutes II on April 28, 2004, and were reported and circulated in the New Yorker magazine, which was posted online on April 30. The photographs caused shock and outrage and were presented in the manner of "selfies". Army soldiers posed (often smiling or re-enacting the position of abuser or torturer) next to the detainees, who were sometimes covered in hoods, or made to pose in degrading and humiliating positions. The detainees showed obvious signs of sexual torture. A selfie is a self-portrait that is taken with a handheld camera, usually a mobile phone or a webcam and which is taken primarily to upload to a social media site. The term "selfie" was named by the Oxford English Dictionary as the word of the year in 2013, identified as one of the biggest web trends with a myriad of social and psychological reasons pro-offered for its popularity. What is agreed on is that this practice is *ordinary* and has become something that many people do as a routine part of their everyday media practice, supported by social media sharing sites such as Instagram, Snapchat, WhatsApp and Facebook.

Grusin suggests that the Abu Ghraib torture photographs were shocking, not because of what they depicted, but because they resonated with the commonality of our everyday media practices. As he argues,

> our everyday media practices of photographing our pets, our vacations, or our loved ones, and then sharing these images with friends, family, or strangers via the same media of file-sharing, email, social networking, mobile phones, and the web, [were] practices which were employed by the soldiers at Abu Ghraib.
>
> (Grusin 2010, p. 65)

He goes on to suggest that the "affective intensity that these photographs evoked as media artifacts preceded the judgment of their political import" (ibid., p. 66). He suggests that what immediately resonated and carried the shock and disgust of various publics was how such an ordinary practice of taking digital photographs and sharing them on the Internet or by email; how the feeling of taking and distributing photographs could be used to distribute sexual torture and abuse. He suggests that this *feeling* was immediately about the ordinary ways in which we are imbricated with technical practices, which we become habituated to (our technological unconscious), and which register in shock, horror and disgust, rather than judgments of their political import and ideology. He suggests that this represents a "direct affect modulation" rather than the materialization of ideology.

Perhaps this example shows how difficult it is to disentangle affect from discourse/ideology and the potential ethical implications of maintaining such a distinction in the light of such a controversy. It is difficult to imagine that people were not shocked by the content, or that the initial feelings of shock or disgust were to do with a something else that preceded ethical judgment. Perhaps this either/or distinction is itself a "false problem" (see Kember and Zylinska 2012). To separate the shocking content of the photographs from their imbrication with particular technological practices (staged in the manner of selfies to be shared with others), also reduces the "event" to the photographs themselves. Perhaps what the photographs equally did, as a performative statement or object, was to point towards and intervene within the setting and practices in which these photographs operated. The photographs arguably had the potential to modify the setting, or at least to provoke, animate, enact and amplify some of the ongoing issues and controversies surrounding the war in Afghanistan. It would be difficult, if not unwise, to potentially reduce this complexity of relations to the technological practice of file sharing and our non-conscious awareness of our imbrication with such practices. This would be at the expense of analyzing how the photographs made continuing controversies regarding America and her allies' involvement in the Afghanistan war accessible and animated to a general public; the status of

Abu Ghraib prison and apparent breaches of the Geneva convention; America's Foreign Policy, and the myriad of other actors, agencies, objects and entities that are performed, traverse and enter into the setting or "scene of entanglement". This points to a more "ecological" approach to affect or affectivity, one that opens up to indeterminacy, potentiality and radical imbrication of the material, immaterial, symbolic, historical and technical processes and practices. As I have argued, if affectivity is considered multiplicitous, layered, distributed and generative (revealing both historicity and the excess of multiple times), then any analysis must start with the assumption that media events or social media transactions are always more-than-one; in this respect perhaps a notion of transaffectivity is more useful as it presumes a movement and co-articulation across registers, scales and temporalities. The kind of analysis I am advocating is one that requires a complex psycho-social-material-affective account of mediation that displaces psychological individualism.

Conclusion

I hope to have shown how generative some of the new concepts that have been developed to explore mediation within the context of new media practices can be in exploring the affectivity of mediation. These approaches start from the position that mediation within the context of digital and social media is distributed, dispersed, embedded and embodied in complex ways; they are assemblages of matter-meaning-affectivity. Rather than analyze media representations as static phenomena, these positions acknowledge that mediation is a layered and multi-faceted process in which what we might call media events are always more-than-one. I have suggested that the concepts of remediation and premediation are useful in drawing attention to the work media *do* but can be usefully supplemented and extended by turning to work on hauntology and transmediality as developed by feminist and critical race scholars (including Gordon, Cho and Chow). These approaches also foreground subjectivity, that is, how we are implicated within processes and practices of mediation, but acknowledge we need new ways of theorizing that move beyond a rational, interpretive subject.

I have argued that the concept of transmediality as developed by Chow (2012) helps us to see how media events are haunted by fugitive and fossilized temporalities that move and are sometimes re-moved or put back into circulation as part of processes of mediation. Chow suggests that this potential "excess" can also become the site of strategies of reflexivity that mine this virtual potential to produce new visibilities. The kinds of practices that can be developed set in motion trails and assemblages of entangled relations that can be mapped, followed, attended to, mined and interfered with to reveal or disclose what often remains submerged, disqualified or hidden.

In one of the examples developed, the strategies of satire and impersonation (of Cameron supposedly on the phone to Obama) show how such intertwining, criss-crossing and dynamic movement can create the conditions for forms of mediated perception that work across the trans-affectivity of media forms and practices. The approach developed is well suited to analyzing mediation within new media environments and is one I am calling an *ecological approach* to affect. It perhaps shows how productive the field of affect studies is as it is brought into dialogue with debates on transmediality and hauntology found within feminism and critical race studies.

Notes

1 Within these arguments broadcast media are associated with the construction of symbolic power and symbolic meaning and multicast media are often considered more "real," authentic or immediate, for example.

2 For readers not familiar with these debates an overview of this scholarship and its importance for understandings of subjectivity can be found within the founding editorial of the journal *Subjectivity*. See Blackman et al. 2008, "Creating Subjectivities," *Subjectivity*, vol. 22(1), pp. 1–27.

3 Sampson's use of the term somnambulism refers to a kind of physiological automatism seen to characterize subjectivity. However, debates in the 19th century oscillated between an understanding that suggestion was lower, inferior and closer to the, so-called, animal and human on the one hand, and that everybody was "ordinarily suggestible" on the other. For an overview of these debates in relation to subjectivity please see Blackman, L 2007, "Reinventing Psychological Matters: the importance of the suggestive realm of Tarde's ontology," *Economy and Society*, vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 574–596.

4 For an overview of hauntology as a method taken up across the arts and humanities please see Blackman, L 2018b, "Haunted Data, Transmedial Storytelling, Affectivity: Attending to Controversies as Matters of Ghostly Concern," Special issue of *Ephemera: Journal of Culture and Politics* (in press).

5 Hauntology is often associated with Jacques Derrida (1994) and particularly his meditation on the fate of Marxism following the, so-called, fall of communism at the end of the 1990s across Europe, which was articulated within a "discourse of the end". The refrain that is central to Derrida's reflections is the feeling of time being out of joint – what he terms a "disjointed now" (ibid., 1994, p. 1). Derrida sets out to explore this ghostly and melancholic feeling and to conjure and summon the spectre of Marxism in the present by engaging with various ghostings: the ghosts within Marx's writing; the way in which fictional writing (Shakespeare's Hamlet, for example) has staged apparitions and called forth, interpreted and interrogated ghostings. Derrida's main site of reflection is the spectral quality of language itself, which he mines to perform the different temporalities that language can evoke. His own writing is akin to a magical incantation, which calls forth the spectral qualities of language to question what it might mean to live and learn to live with ghosts. This question is aligned to a "politics of memory, of inheritance, and of generations" (ibid., xvii) and to those he goes on to suggest are not present, "those who are not yet born or who are already dead" (ibid., p. xvii). They might also exist as an absent-presence. In my own approach to hauntology I have been influenced by the work of the critical race scholar Grace Cho (2008) and of the feminist scholar Avery Gordon (2008).

6 In previous writing on affectivity, I have argued that the concept of an *attractor* is a useful way of exploring the liveliness of statements, texts, objects, practices, events and their capacity to set in motion trails and assemblages of entangled relations that can be mapped, followed, attended to, mined and interfered with to reveal or disclose what often remains submerged, disqualified or hidden.

7 Available from: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e5/Birmingham_Northern_Rock_bank_run_2007.jpg [27 February 2018].

8 This is confirmed by a Google search of, for example, the Robert Peston Northern Rock Financial Crisis.

9 Available from: www.politisite.com/2014/04/14/president-obama-putin-call-ukraine/ [27 February 2018]. Also see a satire of this phone conversation on The Tonight Show published on YouTube on March 14, 2014. Available from: www.youtube.com/watch?v=zmIUm1E4OcI [27 February 2018].

10 Available from: https://storify.com/dailymirror/twitter-mocks-david-cameron-and-barack-obama-s-ukr?utm_source=embed_header (if the reader follows this link they will be led to a storify by the Daily Mirror of some of the mock photographs shared on Twitter with users impersonating Cameron and satirising his performance) [27 February 2018].

11 See the case of a man in the UK who was fined £400 for taking a selfie from the public gallery of a court room during a case, which he then posted to Facebook (Available from: www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2585573/Man-fined-400-taking-selfie-court-case-posting-picture-Facebook.html) [27 February 2018].

12 Available from: www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/apr/03/cameron-headphones-what-is-cool-what-is-not [27 February 2018]

13 See Wetherell (2012) for an interesting critique of this distinction and what she argues is its unfounded basis within neuroscience.

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12 Intensive bondage

Marie-Luise Angerer

Introduction

In her *Cyborg Manifesto* (1991), Donna J. Haraway positioned the human being between animal and machine, declaring that, when the boundaries between natural and artificial organisms became permeable, hybrids started to emerge: half animal and half human, half machine and half human – chimeras, cyborgs. Yet hybrids are neither characters from the future nor prototypes for science fiction movies and computer games; they are, first and foremost, indicators of what is happening here and now. Today, there is no doubt that the commonalities, differences of degree, and relations between humans and other beings outweigh sharp distinctions, making us one species among other "significant others" (Haraway 2003). This also puts the spotlight on the body as a networked entity; no longer understood (as in the nineteenth and, to an extent, the twentieth centuries) as an autopoietic system exchanging nothing but energy with its environment, it comes into view as an information processor: a "biomediated-body" (Clough 2010).

In the early twenty-first century, the relations between bodies and their (external and internal) environments have been rewired by information technologies; body data communicate with environmental data, neuronal signals control the temperatures of bodies and living environments, and the "little sisters" (a term coined by Rosalind Picard for Siri and others in an effort to allay the fear of Big Data) have a growing role in organizing the routines of everyday life (Picard 2010). Engineers are rushing to develop digital assistants, "new others" by our side, non-humans capable of judicious planning and sensitive action that will presumably surpass or supplant humans, even in the one domain where they were (still) distinct from machines; up until the late twentieth century, affect and emotion were regarded as the dimension of human existence that could be neither calculated nor disregarded. The algorithms of affective computing have long begun to intervene to link up man and machine in affective and thus psycho-cybernetic ways.

From women as the first cyborgs …

Toward the end of Stieg Larsson's *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* (2005), Mikael Blomkvist expresses his suspicion that Lisbeth Salander, the girl with the dragon tattoo with whom he has collaborated so successfully, must suffer from something along the lines of Asperger's Syndrome. While seemingly autistic in her dealings with people and her environment, she exhibits great talent for recognizing patterns and structures, an equally great talent for hacking into networks and computers, and greater talent still for tracking things down (Larsson 2011).[1] In her appearance and behavior, however, Lisbeth Salander happens to have much in common with the way young women have been portrayed in recent films and television series: in *True Grit* (Coen brothers 2010), Mattie Ross takes revenge for her father; in *Hanna* (Joe Wright 2011) the main character goes on a killing spree; and in *Winter's Bone* (Debra Granik 2010), Ree Dolly takes care of her siblings, standing in for parents broken by drugs and depression. Unlike in *Thelma and Louise* (Ridley Scott 1991), that was praised as a film about the emancipation of women, and unlike *Baise-moi* (Virginie Despentes 2000), that presents women taking revenge on their rapists, these new young women are concerned not just with liberation but also with caring for others, they are interested less in sexual adventure than in weapons and physical fitness, they appear not as child-women but as muscle-bound cyborg-girls – like the girl with the dragon tattoo. Spot on trend, Lisbeth Salander is androgynous, work-fixated, experienced with sexual abuse and drugs, a computer specialist, a hacker, and a motorcycle rider – not to mention her sculpted body, capable of surmounting any physical challenge. Similar examples include the CIA agent played by Jessica Chastain in *Zero Dark Thirty* (Kathryn Bigelow 2012), who supposedly closely resembles a real CIA agent, and Claire Danes' character Carrie Mathison in the television series *Homeland* (2011), a CIA officer suffering from bipolar disorder. This does not mean that all of the above-mentioned symptoms must appear in a single person, but in most cases there is some indication of psychotic tendencies or a history of teenage abuse or relationship problems.

There are at least two significant peculiarities here. The first is a tendency to associate agents of our highly networked societies with mental, physical, and social qualities that are stereotypically feminine or that are linked with typically feminine qualifications, such as communicative competency. The second is the conspicuous strategy of redefining otherness in terms of "neuro-diversity". As a result of this strategy, medical diagnoses such as Asperger's Syndrome are no longer classified as illnesses but rather as potentially alternative forms of perception and behavior. Moreover, they have also been reclassified as a potentially alternative form of social interaction based less on empathy and more on object references and technological connections.[2]

Ten years after the publication of Haraway's *Cyborg Manifesto*, British cultural theorist Sadie Plant (1995) declared women – in allusion to Haraway's introduction of the cyborg as a tool for thinking the not yet existing way of living – to be the first real cyborgs, arguing that women and cyberspace constitute a peculiar symbiosis. According to Plant, this symbiosis is conspicuous in the fact that our society continues to function through the exchange of women. Women have existed exclusively as a medium, as a transition, as an object of transaction among men; they have been the intermediaries, the "in-betweens" sending their messages, bearing their children, and thus passing on their genetic code. Up to this point, Plant's analysis concurs with German media theorist Friedrich Kittler's definition of women working at typewriters and telephone switchboards: "*Typewriter* is ambiguous. The word meant both typing machine and female typist, … the convergence of a profession, a machine, and a sex speaks the truth" (1999, p. 183). While Kittler describes the triad of man, typewriter, and secretary that was prevalent at the time (late nineteenth century) as a media *dispositif*, Plant is interested in how full-scale digitization implodes machine and gender, abolishing the opposition between a material (feminine) base and an ideal (masculine) superstructure.

Here Plant plays both with the Marxist idea of base and superstructure and with the traditional Western way of thinking that places the feminine on the inferior side of things and equates it with nature, the body, and emotions. Today, she argues, doubt has been cast on this modern subject. New types of connections have led to digital, mental, and material hybridities, bringing an end to the project of mankind, just as French philosopher Michel Foucault predicted in *The Order of Things* (1966).[3] Moreover, Plant adds, this is the end of an era to which women, having never been integrated into man's project to begin with, can happily bid farewell. But it is not just a male-dominated era that is coming to an end. Instead, the human being per se is being called into question. Since the 1990s, critiques of the hegemonic position of the human have increasingly appealed to replace it by a "worlding with significant others," as explored by Haraway in her *Companion Species Manifesto* (2003). In this view, posthuman means not the end of the human, but the end of humankind's unquestioned uniqueness (Braidotti 2013). Humans are not alone in possessing language and consciousness, nor are they the only beings capable of feeling. Instead, especially on the affective level, differences of degree are cited to question the categorical divisions between human and machine. Today, the old question of whether machines can think (that shaped the debate in the early years of cybernetics) is less interesting than the question of what it means when humans feel.

… to today's "pleasing little sisters"

Rosalind Picard – one of the founding figures of affective computing[4] – presents her vision as antithetical to George Orwell's: "Within the family metaphor, the closest image of an affective system is not one of a powerful big brother, but of a pleasing little sister" (1997, p. 124). Like a Trojan Horse, however, this figure of the little sister (re-)imports a long tradition of attributions into the world of technology: women as help-meets, women as invisible assistants, women as naturally more sensitive, women as harmless and undemanding companions, and the image of women as (technical) seductresses.[5] *The Cyberfeminist Manifesto* (VNS Matrix 1991) was published just a few years before Picard's book and one of its authors, Sadie Plant (1995), became known for claiming the digital space as a new realm of activity for women; never having been included in the history of the Western male subject, she argued, women are already acting very adequately as the first cyborgs – rhizomatic, multi-functional, and technically fully instructed. Since then, the little sisters have taken their place not only in everyday reality and in media fictions – be it Siri on the iPhone (Apple 2017) or the operating system Saman-tha in Spike Jonze's film *HER* (2013) (Angerer 2015) – but also in the offline world, women (and men) have discovered the potential of the net, not only in the sense of greater freedom, but above all for the pur-poses of self-marketing. The selfie boom and the phenomenon of self-pornographization have grown with unmatched speed and there is now a wealth of literature on cybersex, cyber-mobbing, and cyber-dating (Angerer 2012; Katzer 2014).

   Whereas in *The Second Self* (1984) and *Life on the Screen* (1997), Sherry Turkle wrote effusively about the unimaginable options offered by the Internet, little of this enthusiasm remains in her book *Alone Together* (2011). On the contrary, she now appeals for people to re-establish genuine contact with one another, to stop just sending texts or emails and to call instead, to hear each other's voices or meet face to face. As a psy-chologist, she describes how the smart objects of the new technologies seduce us, how they promise intimacy without actually touching us. And how these technologies ultimately alter people – it is not the machines that change, but humans who adapt to the machines and their logic: "Does virtual intimacy degrade our experience of the other kind and, indeed, of all encounters, of any kind?" (Turkle 2011, p. 12)

   To return to the virtual girls Siri and Samantha, both are examples of the affect-generating side of this field, as clairvoyantly anticipated by the numerous little and not-so-little sisters of 1990s sci-fi (Piercy 1991; Scott 1994). But whereas Siri stands firmly in the tradition of the subservient female spirit, in Samantha Spike Jonze created a figure that points to what Nigel Thrift has referred to as a "technical unconscious". By this, rather than any desire on the part of technology, he is referring to a technical

dimension that goes beyond humans in the way it operates; technologies that autonomously form networks and exchange information (Thrift 2004). But these new, smart environments appeal to the human power of imagination, to fantasy and illusion. For although the mechanisms on which such technologies are based are transparent, allowing a knowledge of how their technical processes work, there occurs a moment of not-wanting-to-know, as French psychoanalyst Octave Mannoni (1985) has put it, something that forms the basis of cinema: "Je sais bien, mais quand même!" The uncanny sentiment of every film viewer on which Mannoni builds his theory of denial in the act of perception ("I know very well, but all the same!") is articulated again in the perfect performance of Samantha and Theodore. Although Theodore is aware (he knows her to be an operating system) he believes in her unconditionally because, in psycho-analytical terms, she is more than himself. Here we can also refer to French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan's (1987) definition of desire as something that addresses itself not to the other or others, but to the great Other, to the authority that always sees more and knows more than oneself, that always sees through one, without one ever being able to attain this state, this position of knowledge, oneself.

Neurodiversity, autism, and affect

To return to the story of *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* and her obviously autistic tendency, I would go so far as to claim that the ambivalent character of the current interest in affect is especially evident in the attention being focused on autistic people.

First, it is striking that the software industry has been making deliberate use of the specific skills long attributed to autistic people. Clearly, their great ability to concentrate and identify patterns makes them ideal software testers and debuggers (Kharif 2015). The neoliberal economic order has discovered that these skills, previously acknowledged at best as forms of savant syndrome, can be put to lucrative use.

This contrasts with another affect-related project in the software industry that pursues quite different ends. Since the publication of Picard's *Affective Computing* (1997), autistic people have been among the subjects most often mentioned in connection with testing and applications. It is no coincidence that the ways in which computers can help them to differentiate emotional expressions is also a subject dealt with at length in the *Oxford Handbook of Affective Computing* (Messinger et al. 2015; Picard 2014, pp. 11–12). Alongside its therapeutic value, this technical intervention also has an unmistakably normalizing dimension. Autistic people are being expected to learn to identify affects (both their own and those of others) faster and better than neurotypical people consider them to be capable of. In other words, they are to learn to overcome constitutive defects with the help of technical prostheses.

A third affect-related project is being conducted within the humanities. For Canadian philosopher and choreographer Erin Manning, autistic people offer proof that people's connection with reality can be established and shaped in different ways, and must therefore be interpreted in different ways. With reference to autism activist Amanda Baggs, Manning (2009) has stressed that language-based communication is only *one* way of interacting with the world and other people; instead of generating meaning through language, another possibility would be physical responsivity. Using the example of Baggs' video *In My Language* (Baggs 2007), Manning breaks down the spectrum of affect, sensitivity, and object-relations to show how a fundamentally different pattern of affectivity is rendered productive from the autistic perspective.

In discussions of autism, reference is often made to ethological research into the mimetic, empathetic, and imitative behavior of animals and humans, asking how an imitated movement can become a movement of one's own. Whereas language was long considered to be the main factor in imitative learning, today interest focuses on non-conscious, uncontrollable movements of bodies and their affects. Since the 1990s, in connection with the discovery of mirror neurons, this concept from cognitive psychology and neuroscience, known as isopraxis or synchronous isopraxis (Synchronous Isopraxis 2017), has also received significant attention in ethological studies.

In *When Species Meet,* Donna Haraway also mentions isopraxis:

> In recent speaking and writing on companion species, I have tried to live inside the many tones of regard/respect/seeing each other/ looking back at/meeting/optic-haptic encounter. Species and respect are in optic/haptic/affective/cognitive touch: they are at table together; they are messmates, companions…. *Companion species* – coshapings all the way down, in all sorts of temporalities and corpore-alities – is my awkward term for a not-humanism in which species of all sorts are in question.
>
> (Haraway 2008, p. 164)

She describes this reshaping or coshaping of human and animal bodies as a process of constant encounter and mutual affecting. And in her analysis of agility training with her dog she refers, among others, to Jean-Claude Barrey, a French behaviorist who, in his work on the relationship between horse and rider, speaks of "unintentional movements":

> Talented riders behave and move like horses…. Human bodies have been transformed by and into a horse's body. Who influences and who is influenced, in this story, are questions that can no longer receive a clear answer. Both, human and horse, are cause and effect of each other's movements. Both induce and are induced, affect and are affected.
>
> (Ibid., p. 229)

The relationship between human and horse is a prominent recurring theme in ethological studies. Vinciane Despret recounts one such case from the early twentieth century in *The Body We Care For: Figures of Anthropo-zoo-genesis* (2004). Hans the horse was capable of answering questions correctly by tapping his hooves on the ground. The horse was asked

> to solve multiplication and division problems, and to extract square roots. Hans was also requested to spell words and, among other tests, to discriminate between colors or tones and intervals in music. Not only did Hans answer with good will, but he also answered most of the questions correctly.
>
> (Despret 2004, p. 111)

The invited experts can think of no explanation for this phenomenon, and at first the psychologist Oskar Pfungst also had no idea how the horse did it – until it occurred to him that the horse seemed to perceive something to which humans were oblivious: "The horse must be reading cues. These are cues that humans cannot perceive and, moreover, the cues are given to him unintentionally!" (ibid., p. 112) After many experiments, Pfungst finds the answer:

> Hans can read human bodies.… Not only could he read bodies, but he could make human bodies be moved and be affected, and move and affect other beings and perform things without their owners' knowledge. And this could be experimentally studied. Hans could become a living apparatus that enabled the exploration of very complicated links between consciousness, affects and bodies.
>
> (Ibid., pp. 113–114)

This means that the human body sends signals that can be neither perceived nor controlled by consciousness, but that are perceived by others – in this case by a horse. Dancers also train this capacity for seeing and reacting non-consciously. Projects like William Forsythe's *Synchronous Objects* focus on these clues, using special software to record the dancer's tiniest movements and their non-conscious perceptions, thus allowing them to be traced and understood (Angerer 2013; Synchronous Objects 2017).

Autistic people thus perceive different things in different ways to "neuro-unspecific" people. Which is why they are sought out by, among others, the software industry, where their high levels of concentration allow them to detect software errors that "normal" people would overlook in such endlessly long chains of characters. Machines, too, are capable (far more quickly than humans) of checking endless rows of numbers and then acting accordingly. So, while autistic people identify patterns and pay attention to things that other people would overlook or fail to recognize,

machines search through data archives to recognize something. These two types of searching and recognition are brought together in affective computing – affective patterns are algorithmically coded in order to be decoded by both autistic people and machines.

The Tomkins–Ekman paradigm

In the 1960s Silvan Tomkins drew on cybernetic principles to develop an alternative to the drive-based model of the mind proposed by psychoanalysis. He based his approach on a system of affect spectrums (the two terms in each pair mark the strong and weak variants): "surprise-startle" as a neutral affect spectrum; "distress-anguish," "anger-rage," "fear-terror," "shame-humiliation," "dissmell" and "disgust" as negative affects; and "interest-excitement" and "enjoyment-joy" as positive affects. In his system, these affects constitute the primary motivation framework in humans. Shame, meanwhile, is considered the central affect that occurs via the suppression of "interest-excitement" and "enjoyment-joy" and that is closely related to visibility and, in particular, to the expressivity of the human face. "Man is, of all animals, the most voyeuristic," Tomkins stresses, "he is more dependent on his visual sense than most animals, and his visual sense contributes more information than any of his senses" (Tomkins 2008, p. 373). The shame reaction consists above all in averting one's eyes under the gaze of others, and, as Tomkins writes, since the self lives and communicates in the face, and in this case especially in the eyes, in shame it turns against itself, so to speak, experiencing this as a kind of mental ailment (ibid., p. 359). In this model, shame is an existential mode of self-referentiality that points to the vulnerability of the affective organism as a whole.[6]

With this central focus on the face and thus on the visibility of affects, Tomkins laid the foundations for the media-assisted research later conducted by his student Paul Ekman into the identification of facial expressions and their operationalization. Based on his studies of non-verbal behavior in the Fore tribe of Papua New Guinea, Ekman came to the conclusion that at least the basic affects manifest themselves in a universal way via specific facial expressions, meaning that Darwin was right (more so, at any rate, than, say, Margaret Mead). Although existing cultural differences in social "display rules" (Ekman 2007, p. 4) make the emotions being shown harder to identify, they can be discerned by an analysis of "micro-expressions". Since these take place too quickly to be seen by untrained observers, media support (initially video, later computers) became a key epistemic factor. In 1978, with Wallace Friesen, Ekman presented the resulting Facial Action Coding System (FACS), that later became one of the foundations of affective computing.[7]

In the 1990s Tomkins' fundamental research was used in different ways. First, the rediscovery of Tomkins' work by American queer theorist Eve

Kosofsky Sedgwick was one driving force behind the affective turn in cultural and media studies (Angerer 2014, pp. 49–69). For Sedgwick, the key was the conception of affects as free, malleable variables, not attached to any specific object:

> Affect, unlike the drives, has a degree of competency and complexity that affords it the relative ability to motivate the human to greater degrees of freedom.… Tomkins even proposes a principle for freedom, suggesting Freud's pleasure principle as the model. He calls it the *information complexity, or "degrees-of-freedom principle"*.
>
> (Sedgwick and Frank 1995, p. 35, italics added)

Second, Rosalind Picard drew on the, so-called, Tomkins–Ekman paradigm to develop computer programs for the automated detection of human emotions. In the first issue of *IEEE*, Picard describes finding a report in the *Wall Street Journal* that explained the invention of a machine capable of measuring emotions. Its inventor was none other than Manfred Clynes, the NASA scientist credited with coining the term "cyborg" (Clynes 1995a, 1995b). His "Sentograph" was supposed to measure the tiniest variations in the pressing of a button, correlating the data thus obtained with emotional states such as happiness, excitement, sadness, and so on: "I was amused by this crazy fact," Picard wrote. Years later, she was introduced to Clynes by Marvin Minsky, and Clynes told her that when he first presented his device "he was literally laughed off the stage" (Picard 2010, p. 12). She also describes her attempts over the following years to ignore the significance of emotions since, as a hardworking engineer, she did not want to get a reputation for being interested in something as insignificant as emotions: women and feelings in science! Picard finally overcame these obstacles and fears and is now known as a pioneer of research into computers and emotions: "Today we know emotion is involved in rational decision-making and action selection, and in order to behave rationally in real life you need to have a properly functioning emotion system" (ibid., p. 12). Moreover, the fact that Picard herself founded the company Affectiva and has now begun marketing applications – the latest being Affdex, a program used to decode the facial expressions of customers – is evidence of the current interweaving of techno-science and business.

Affect as the new power game

These projects and struggles take place within a field that can be described using French philosopher Bernard Stiegler's concept of "psycho-power". But whereas Stiegler (2010, 2014) uses the concept primarily to demarcate the manipulative interventions of the programming industry (with affective control and the obstruction of attention as leitmotifs), it should be noted here, specifically with reference to Foucault's analysis of power, that

there is also a pleasurable side to power that is not limited to the repressive exercise of that power by those who possess it. Digital media in general, and affect technologies in particular, clearly illustrate this pleasurable productivity.

For this reason, I have spoken of a "*dispositif* of affect" (Angerer 2014) and analyzed the forces responsible for transforming the sexual *dispositif* identified by Michel Foucault into an affective one. Foucault defined the *dispositif* of sex in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge* (1978), showing how desire and repression, prohibition and attraction intermingle beyond recognition, implying a productive manipulation. Although Foucault himself did not speak of manipulation in this context (in spite of viewing the talking cure of psychoanalysis as the pinnacle of such manipulation, installing yet another self-restriction in the guise of liberation), this view can be transferred to the *dispositif* of affect I have identified.

One can claim in general terms that sexuality has ceased to be a constitutive force for Western societies and their individuals since the second half of the twentieth century. This does not mean that sexuality no longer plays a part, but its function is different to the one it played from the nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth. It was not only Freudian psychoanalysis that viewed sexuality as the main cause of mental illnesses, sociopolitical theorists (Wilhelm Reich, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse) also saw the repression of sexual desire as the prime driving force behind a reactionary, totalitarian, and generally disturbed character. Sexuality has long since forfeited this dominant role. It is definitely no longer the main field of sociopolitical interventions for the ideological state apparatus via military, family, and school (Althusser 1977). As Gilles Deleuze writes in his *Postscript on the Societies of Control* (1992), we are experiencing the end of the milieus of enclosure: "We are in a generalized crisis in relation to all the environments of enclosure – prison, hospital, factory, school, family" (ibid., pp. 3–4). As Foucault, too, showed, these environments of enclosure were all arranged more or less explicitly around a sexual core. In psychoanalysis, this key position of sexuality was coupled with a notion of desire defined in terms of a fundamental lack on the part of the subject. According to this definition, the individual's entry into language creates an unbridgeable gap between body and speaking/thinking subject. From the 1970s Deleuze and Félix Guattari sharply criticized this view of the split subject, as countenanced in particular by Lacanian psychoanalysis, calling instead for a full subject whose desire is attributed to a superabundance of being. It is important to emphasize this here because discussions of affect that refer to Deleuze (and Massumi) bear on precisely this superabundance of the affective. Brian Massumi took the interval introduced by Deleuze in his books on cinema (Massumi 1996, p. 29; Deleuze 1983, 1985) and called it a zone of affect, the moment when too much happens for the individual to be aware

of. In this version, affect is what has always already happened, what cannot be perceived in its entirety, and what could thus never become conscious. It is what makes the body act of its own accord, what always escapes me as the person to whom this body belongs. It is thus the clues which the intelligent horse Hans learned to read at the beginning of the last century, clues formulated and transmitted by the body of its own accord – thus communicating with the environment and other bodies.

Although the discussion surrounding affect has diversified hugely since the original German publication of *Desire After Affect* in 2007 (Angerer 2014), its main argument (the diagnosis of a "*dispositif* of affect") can be confirmed.

My claim that the focus on affect highlights the similarities between man, machine, animal, and environment, rather than underlining the differences, is now clearly justified. In recent years, as well as finding expression in critiques of this hegemony of language, the *dispositif* of affect, combined with the phenomenon of all-pervasive digitization, now offers new possibilities for intervention in almost every area of life: pharmacological (Crary 2014; Stiegler 2014); epistemological (Angerer et al. 2014); and technological.[8]

Roughly since the 1990s a fundamental shift has taken place in the conditions of media technology, as affectivity is technicized to an unprecedented degree. Affect- and psycho-technologies are used to record, store, measure, categorize, catalogue, operationalize, simulate, and induce affective states. Noteworthy examples include affective gaming, surveillance technologies, and certain applications emerging from the "quantified self" movement and life tracking. But the most far-reaching promises are being made by those working in the hotly contested field of affective computing. This research can be traced back to the visionary book of the same name published by Picard in 1997, in which diverse potential applications for the computer-based identification and simulation of affects are named for the first time. In recent years, this field of research has become increasingly prominent: an international conference of *Affective Computing and Intelligent Interaction* (ACII) has been held every two years since 2005 (ACII 2017), the *IEEE Transactions on Affective Computing* (IEEE 2017) have been appearing since 2010, and the first comprehensive overview was published in 2015, *The Oxford Handbook on Affective Computing* (Messinger et al. 2015).

Users are being promised custom-generated agents that provide affective interfaces and constantly record affective parameters (facial expressions, body posture and movement, vocal range, bio-data[9]) to create a kind of double or complementary personality to satisfy individual happiness profiles. Preliminary forms of this are already on the market in the form of apps for the permanent monitoring of body data, movement and communications profiles, and media usage.[10] With the help of these data and special algorithms, the emerging discipline of "psycho-informatics" attempts to render the mental state of users decodable in real

time – admittedly in order to motivate these same users to engage in corresponding healthy activities.[11] The network of technical objects that surrounds us is thus being increasingly upgraded into a sensitive environment, allowing it to interact with its users on an affective level.

This affective level has always marked out humans as unpredictable in a double sense, escaping the grasp of both reason and measuring techniques. But with the recent establishment of the "affective sciences" (Davidson et al. 2003) this has changed fundamentally. One can go back further still to research affective programming in the field of cybernetics; although its focus was on decoding human affective apparatuses and emotional competence as a rule-based program, there were also attempts to program computers with "affective" algorithms (Angerer 2014; Pias 2003–2004). This double dynamic of decoding and recoding rested on assumptions that remained implicit at the time, but which, in the light of today's globalized neoliberal politics, are becoming increasingly visible.

Affective sciences is a label that covers a wide range of disciplines, from philosophy to psychology, biology to neuroscience. What they share is a basic assumption that emotions (in this context, the term is used interchangeably with affects) play a central role everywhere, be it in sport, in health, in the economy, in the arts, or in politics. While emotion research remains located within the field of clinical cognition, the affective sciences manage to expand its usage, suggesting links to the body and the establishment of communication and relationships by means of authentic elements. Affect has become the joker in a broad-based power complex involving research and application, technology and politics in equal measure. Initial worrying signs have long since become visible in digital propaganda and viral marketing strategies. When the affective sciences today claim that emotions are at work everywhere, besides being a seemingly banal statement, they give the impression that this is somehow a recent discovery. On closer inspection, however, the nature of this recent discovery becomes clear. It is true that affective data are a central object of neurological research, a discipline that really is quite young. But affective data are generated not only by brain research, but also in intelligent environments, whether under the label "smart cities" (Sprenger and Engemann 2015) or "twittering trees" (Thünen-Institut 2016). In *Ecology of Affect* (Angerer 2017) I examine the use of the prefix affective and analyze its connective (and separating) role between brain, body, and environment. Whether it is movement analysis of crowds for the police, body motion data for insurance companies, pollutants for air quality measuring stations, or sugar values on a user's watch – they are all labeled affective data. But these data are not affective per se; they are sequences of numbers that are compressed into information, which is then translated into affective states from which, in turn, conclusions are drawn. Insurance companies, for example, have always gathered data to assess client risk, and although this data was also generated via numbers (how much alcohol, how much sport, etc.), there were also always data that

could be omitted. But what happens when such details are revealed without my direct involvement, sent by the, so-called, "Internet of things" (Sprenger and Engemann 2015) directly to the insurance companies? For these newly interlocking scenarios, I have developed the concept of the "intensive milieu". In this context, a milieu is no longer necessarily a social or political unit, but is primarily a matter of coexisting in a world inhabited in equal parts by human, para-human, and non-human agencies. Interaction among these agencies (or companion species) happens below the threshold of consciousness via *sensings*, that is, in the form of affective and technical entanglements. An intensive milieu is characterized by *intra-active* dynamics, a term proposed by Karen Barad (2007). It emphasizes the non-separability of two poles, which attain their respective (temporarily identitary) positions vis-à-vis one another only in the process of an intra-action. The idea of an intra-action surpasses the conventional notion of causality (which presupposes separate, independent objects or events) and thereby poses a challenge to the metaphysics of entities conceived as fully individuated. Accordingly, in an intensive milieu, individuation is never complete but always ongoing in dynamic processes of becoming. In this perspective, affective computing and other Big Data-driven interactive media practices have a particular importance as they function as the formative milieu for possible further phases of (post)human individuation.

Movements, fast and slow

In this view, intelligent machines, smart environments, and bio-mediated bodies enter into a genuine relationship that has been studied over recent decades under various labels. It is no coincidence, then, that the interest in affect (and no longer in sexuality) began around the same time as cybernetics (see the remarks on Silvan Tomkins in this chapter), and that neurological research uses new visualization and recording techniques to stress its ability to detect affective structures. It is thus also no coincidence that viral marketing and social media networks rely on and activate the same affective feedback loops developed by computer engineers to make intelligent machines capable of acting as affective machines. Moreover, it is also no coincidence that behavioral psychology has been applied in the economic sector for many decades to further advance the achievements of the affective sciences: the work of Daniel Kahneman, to which Richard H Thaler and Cass Sunstein refer in their book *Nudge. Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth, and Happiness* (2008), can be named as an example. A nudge is a pressuring stimulus that is not actually noticed; one is thus triggered to do something, to see or think about something differently, or to make a decision – without noticing who or what is pushing one in that direction. Kahneman's book *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (2011), drawing on joint research with Amos Tversky, is based around such stimuli, and presents models for the way people make decisions. According to their

initial hypothesis, people live irrationally. Irrational here is not the opposite of rational, but refers instead to different levels or systems of thought that find expression in different speeds of affective reaction. And it is no coincidence that Kahneman's book begins with a visual example: the face of an angry woman. Immediately, he writes, we know, without consciously thinking about it, that the woman is angry and that she is about to start screaming (ibid., p. 31). This is an example of what Kahneman calls System 1, a system that works quickly and automatically, without effort, and largely without voluntary control. (One might think of the universal facial expressions described in the Tomkins-Ekman model and used in affective computing.) System 2, by contrast, comes into play when we are faced with a mathematical problem; it focuses on mental activity, promoting something akin to conscious thought, and is subjectively experienced as concentration, the power to act, the freedom to make decisions (ibid., p. 21). Although people believe System 2 is the more important, it is actually System 1 that exerts supreme control over life and the course it takes: "The automatic operations of System 1 generate astonishingly complex patterns of ideas, but only the slower System 2 can construct thoughts in an orderly series of steps" (ibid.). The abilities covered by System 1 include: identifying the source of a sound; grimacing at a horrific picture; detecting hostility in a voice; giving the answer to 2+2; driving a car on an empty street; reading large words on a billboard in passing; and so on (ibid., p. 22). As this list shows, automatic physical reactions meet learned automatic skills, outlining what could be described as the affective dimension. Which brings us back to our starting points – the intelligent horse Hans, the tattoo girl Lisbeth Salander, and the autistic employees at SAP.

While Hans the horse "reads" body movements made without the knowledge of the person in question, Lisbeth Salander follows clues that she is capable of identifying as the pattern of a crime. She sees patterns where others neither see nor recognize anything, and autistic members of staff detect irregularities in endless columns of numbers that would be overlooked by non-autistic people. This means that although System 1 is constantly in action, as Kahneman writes, it may be especially well developed in certain groups of people and called on to perform especially well in certain situations.

In this light, the title of this chapter – *Intensive Bondage* – can be read as an augmentation and concentration of System 1, as a displacement or shifting of both requirements and governmental interventions that, as described by Deleuze in his essay on the societies of control, modulate small and very small movements, acting as a nudging force. Thus, the intensity of bondage is based on affective forces understood as operational forces: connecting, separating, and translating various levels and various species, intensifying or lowering the bondage(s).

Translation: Nicholas Grindell

Notes

1 "*Asperger's Syndrome*, he thought, *Or something like that. A talent for seeing patterns and understanding abstract reasoning where other people perceive only white noise.*" (Larsson 2011, p. 399, italics in original).
2 According to a report in the magazine *Der Spiegel*, the company SAP has begun to hire autistic software testers because of their ability to recognize structures and patterns, their high level of concentration, and so on (see Motzkau 2013).

3   One thing in any case is certain: man is neither the oldest nor the most constant problem that has been posed for human knowledge. … As the archaeology of our thought easily shows, man is an invention of recent date. And one perhaps nearing its end.

(Foucault 1966, pp. 386–387)

4 On the emergent field of affective computing, see Angerer et al. 2016.
5 One can refer here to a long series of machines coded as female, including Olimpia (in ETA Hoffmann's *Der Sandmann* 2013) and Maria (in Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*). Picard herself merely states that women are more emotionally literate, making it logical to cast computers operating on an affective basis as female figures.
6 On this, see David Wills' analysis of the role of shame in Descartes (see Wills 2011).
7 On critiques of the implementation of Ekman's research see Anna Tuschling (2014).
8 Gadgets for monitoring and control on and in the body, surveillance of private and public space, and so on.
9 The second section of the *Oxford Handbook of Affective Computing* ("Affect Detection") has chapters on each of the following affective channels: "face analysis," "body expressions," "speech," "texts," "physiological sensing," and "affective brain-computer interfaces". The latter are clearly intended as the culmination of all previous attempts at recording the emotions of test persons under observation (Calvo et al. 2015).
10 For a good assessment of what existing apps and programs are capable of measuring, see Carter 2015.
11 For an introduction to the field of psycho-informatics and its promises, see Alexander Markowetz et al. (2014). A critical take on Markowetz's research has been offered by Andreas Wenleder (see Wenleder 2014).

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13 Beyond Turkish-German cinema

Affective experience and generic relationality

Nazlı Kilerci and Hauke Lehmann

A conflicted term

What are we supposed to understand when we see a film grouped under the label of Turkish-German cinema? What precise contexts, associations, or characteristics do we look for when we use this label? Why do we use it? The term seems to suggest that these films speak to questions of migration and integration, questions of how German society is viewed and views itself in relation to people considered "foreign". Let us call this aspect the dimension of the political. But which conception of politics should be employed here? Up to now, the dominant framework for dealing with the intersection of migration and film has been the concept of identity politics. Under this framework, the link between audiovisual images and real-world concerns has always been rather tenuous. Do we view these films as paradigms of an integration policy, or do they help us understand the relations between immigration and media discourse? Do they represent statements on behalf of the filmmakers, and if so, how do these statements work? This chapter addresses this problem of linking the dimension of the political with the realm of audiovisual images. Arguing against the framework of identity politics, we propose an approach that understands the political – drawing on recent positions in political philosophy (Mouffe 2005; Nancy 1991; Rancière 2004) – as designating the conditions that constitute a political community. We lay out the first building blocks for an approach that turns away from the concerns of identity politics and looks to concepts of affective experience and generic relationality to better conceptualize the political relevance of cinematic images, which is precisely marked by the term Turkish-German cinema.

So, how can we justify the use of this term when talking about films like *Shirins Hochzeit* (Helma Sanders-Brahms 1976) or *Gegen die Wand* (Fatih Akın 2004)? Several justifications have been tried, more or less explicitly, but almost never problematized. One common approach operates according to a topical logic, concentrating on stories of migration and integration, identity crises, problems of belonging, and so on (Burns 2007). Another one reads the fictional characters as Turkish or German on the

grounds of cultural, religious, or ethnic attributions (Prager 2012). A third one groups the films according to biographical and ethnic attributions regarding the filmmakers themselves (Naficy 2001). These three justifications have been especially influential because in Germany the system of public financial funding has taken them up and applied them to the conditions of concrete film and TV production.

The problematic implications of this kind of conceptualization have been discussed elsewhere (Lehmann 2017). Their underlying project of identity politics leads not only to truncated notions of cinematic representation and genre theory; it also excludes films made in Turkey and those by German filmmakers that deal with similar themes. Moreover, it is highly questionable in a political regard because it presupposes that the films refer to a universally shared, unmediated knowledge about what the actual reality of Turkish-German social relations looks like. In applying this approach, scholars have no choice but to look for and, thereby themselves reproduce, racist stereotypes, while presumably judging how accurately the discursively pre-established idea of a Turkish-German identity is represented. What these approaches fail to do is ask *how* the films actually address their audiences' everyday experiences, that is, how they engage their spectators affectively. They do not clarify the terms according to which audiovisual images can intervene in and change political discourse. Instead, they imply an unproblematic continuity between cinematic "texts" and the levels on which political opinions and attitudes are formed and contested.

It is only possible to uphold this conceptualization if one wants to continue to instrumentalize the films according to the project of identity politics. If this is not an option, we are faced with the problem of how to conceive of a history of Turkish-German cinema, as we cannot readily resort to external, a priori, definitions of a corresponding corpus of films. The academic discourse has seen any number of descriptors, all of which remain within, or at least refer to, the context of identity politics: from a "cinema of duty" to the "pleasures of hybridity" (Göktürk 1999); from a "cinema of alterity" to a "cinema of double cultures" (Seeßlen 2000); a transnational "cinema of migration" (Mennel 2008); and, most recently, a "post-migrant cinema" (Heidenreich 2015).

Beyond Turkish-German cinema

While the modulation of labels is symptomatic with regard to the problematic connection between politics and poetics, it does not help us conceive of these films and their commonality in terms of audiovisual movement-images. Based on our initial encounter with these films, we proceed from the intuition that they *do* have something in common. However, this commonality does not lie in some essence of Turkish-Germanness, or in the shared experience of migration. Rather, the films relate to each other and

to hegemonic structures in the audiovisual economies in which they circulate. As Stanley Cavell writes of the comedies of remarriage: "they *are what they are* in view of one another" (Cavell 1981, p. 29, italics in original). If we want to make this formula productive for our purposes, we have to understand the term "view" as designating the ever-concrete encounter between screen and audience, each time producing a new and specific aesthetic experience. As a result, the kind of commonality we have in mind is constantly evolving and transforming. To examine such a kind of commonality, we cannot proceed from external definitions. Instead, an inductive approach is needed; we are remitted to heuristic categories developed from an analysis of single films. The main part of this chapter is devoted to elaborating this heuristic, which serves as a basis for describing the encounter between screen and audience as a nexus for the unfolding of affective relations. In short, we hypothesize that we can find commonalities in the way the films affectively involve their audiences. These films develop cinematic worlds in which identities and affiliations are projected as affective relations. On the one hand, these relations unfold in the films themselves as a space of experience. On the other hand, spectators are involved in this space via their own affective situatedness in the world. This approach requires rethinking cinema's relation to everyday perception:

> Thus, films do not represent actions in the given space of our everyday world view. Rather, they use the modes of everyday perception to project specific perceptual relations. They present a world, which we look at like our everyday world, but under different laws of perception, obeying a different sensibility. These modes [of sensibility] articulate a specific way to experience the world with one's senses. One could say the cinematographic image-space describes specific possibilities to inhabit the world as a perceiving and sensing body.
> (Kappelhoff 2007, p. 306, translation by the authors)

According to Hermann Kappelhoff, it is more useful to think of films as taking the modes of everyday experience and reorganizing them, not only to make them accessible but also to reveal their potential for transformation. They do not simply show the world but constantly pose the question of how, in which perspective, this world appears. Films cannot but emphasize the question of perspective, since the establishing of a perspective – or mode – is the cinematic a priori for the appearance of a world. This is where the concept of generic modality (Gledhill 2000) is helpful; the relativity of each cinematic description of the world becomes obvious when we think about differences between the comedic and the melodramatic modes, for example. According to Gledhill, a modality "organises the disparate sensory phenomena, experiences, and contradictions of a … society in visceral, affective and [in the case of melodrama] morally explanatory terms" (ibid., pp. 228–229). As Kappelhoff and

Matthias Grotkopp remark, quoting Peter Brooks, "[a] modality is a 'mode of conception and expression' that must be regarded as a 'sense-making system' and the different modalities are related but significantly different versions of reality" (2012, p. 31). They go on to address various aspects of modalities, such as the spatiotemporal organization of perception, the status of the body, the role of language, and so on (ibid., pp. 31–32). All these aspects are subject to description and re-description. If we conceive of cinematic images in this way, we cannot presuppose any sense of identity or community. Rather, we argue, we can describe the films grouped under the label of Turkish-German cinema as staging community and identity as a fragile feeling for a "we" as a "sense of commonality" that is not directly available but always depends on the concrete, contingent interaction between screen and audience (Kappelhoff 2016, pp. 32–34). This feeling is only accessible in its fragility, that is, in the multiplicity of perspectives and the interplay of different modalities actualized in the unfolding of fictional worlds. That means it is only accessible in the concrete act of film perception, understood as an encounter between screen and audience. It cannot be located on the level of representation but depends on the activity of spectators realizing it as an experience of going through the duration of the film. By virtue of this fragility, this feeling dissolves fixed identity attributions such as German, Turkish, or Turkish-German.

Pathos scenes

In undermining these normative categories, this precarious feeling lays claim to political relevance in the sense of Jacques Rancière's conception of the political. Rancière (2004) describes the conditions that constitute a political community as a "distribution of the sensible". The political comes into play when there is a conflict between different distributions, or different regimes, of what is accessible to experience. He states:

> A *political* community is in effect a community that is structurally divided, not between divergent interest groups and opinions, but divided in relation to itself. A political "people" is never the same thing as the sum of a population. It is always a form of supplementary symbolization in relation to any counting of the population and its parts. And this form of symbolization is always a litigious one.
>
> (Rancière 2010, pp. 188–189, italics in original)

As soon as the "people" is made to coincide with the population, one is forced into a logic of inclusion and exclusion. The political in Rancière's sense therefore necessarily involves conflict, which is carried out on what he calls a level of "symbolization". As we would like to argue, the way German society makes sense of itself as a community is strongly articulated

in the production, circulation, and consumption of certain images point-ing, in a way still to be specified, at some of those conflicts: what are "our" values; how do "we" discriminate between men and women; which forms of violence do "we" find acceptable? Such norms and customs are obvi-ously not eternal categories, they have to be agreed and disagreed upon time and again. Films, on the other hand, play a role in shaping this process of "making sense". With regard to the circulation of images, clichés, and ideas about migration and belonging, they fulfill a function of organizing affective intensities in terms of aesthetic experience.

In this respect, it is the very fragility of feeling that serves as the generic engine for the films we want to examine. These films are able to demon-strate the plasticity of the very norms and agreements mentioned above, and to render this plasticity into an aesthetic experience. Accordingly, we are interested in how they deal with this fragile feeling, how they modulate and transform it, and how they establish connections among each other while doing so. This generic dimension – which, in our perspective, is thus deeply tied to the question of politics – is actualized in what we call *pathos scenes*. This term was coined by Hermann Kappelhoff (adapting it from Aby Warburg's *Pathosformel*) with regard to the Hollywood war film (Kappelhoff 2016). The concept of pathos refers, on the one hand, to the dimension of political conflict addressed by the films:

> [Types of pathos] emerge precisely where these limits [of a commonly shared world] become visible as a field of conflict. In this sense, new types of pathos mark conflicts which concern the political community in its very foundation.
>
> (Kappelhoff 2016, p. 80, translation by the authors)

On the other hand, it refers to the aspect of the affective involvement of spectators:

> [The pathos scene] binds its affective dimension to the specific com-positional implementation of generic modalities, understood as audio-visual movement-images, which modulate affective involvement. The temporal arrangement of pathos scenes shapes the macro structure of the audiovisual rhythm, which we have defined as "spectator feeling" [*Zuschauergefühl*]. When we speak of an affect dramaturgy, it is these arrangements we have in mind.
>
> (Kappelhoff 2016, p. 135, translation by the authors)

This connection between affective involvement and the dimension of the political is central to our approach. Pathos scenes are not themselves affects or emotions. Rather, they are dramaturgical units that open up spaces of affective experience, which can manifest themselves according to various generic modalities (comedy, melodrama, suspense, etc.). The

following section analyzes three different types of pathos scene, both in their concrete manifestation as a composition of expressive dimensions of the cinematic image (montage, framing, light, sound, acting) – the micro level – and in their dramaturgical significance for the whole film – the macro level. On both levels, we establish their function not only in terms of providing an affective experience, but also for linking this experience to an audiovisual economy of circulating forms and patterns. In this regard, pathos scenes are not simply the building blocks for the corpus of a genre but are the intersections through which the individual film and the affective experience it offers communicate with the world – the world here being understood both as the realm of everyday experience and as the political community in which these everyday experiences seek to find their proper place (Rancière 2004). In this sense, the communication of films with the world can be thought of as an intervention that opens up the potential for change. Each short definition of a type of pathos scene is followed by an exemplary analysis.

Analyzing pathos scenes

Being exposed/exposing oneself

This type of pathos scene deals with the production of emphatic visibility (in the sense of being an object for a gaze), in an affective spectrum extending from embarrassment and ridicule, over anger, defiance, and vulnerability, up to joyful exuberance, according to the range of generic modalities connected to it (especially comedy and melodrama). An important variant of exposing is linked to the grotesque, which stands out disproportionately. These qualities of feeling attach themselves to theatrical or spectacular dimensions of the cinematic image, which come to the fore especially in the staging of celebrations (weddings, religious ceremonies, parties). These stagings emphasize the corporeality of figures and objects, their materiality and texture. The precise rendering of spatial relations recedes in favor of a haptic relation between audience and image (Marks 2002, p. 3, who addresses this relation as "haptic visuality"). However, this corporeality is not integrated into a togetherness but demonstratively sets itself apart from a continuum as something deviant, particular, or special – often even as an opposing force. The reflexive aspect of this constellation is central to the specific pathos at play here, referring the spectator back to his/her own activity of seeing and sensing in relation to the visual configurations enacted in the cinematic space. Out of this reflexivity arises a feeling of "I am laid bare". This feeling aims at a sense of commonality, which is not perceivable as a positive entity on the screen, but becomes accessible for spectators through the impression of a deviation, as an asymmetry in perceptual relations. Spectators become able to reflect on the conditions for the constitution of a shared context of

experience. These conditions are realized to the extent to which one takes part in a common world by being visually and visibly present.

Auslandstournee (Ayşe **Polat 1999**)

Auslandstournee (*Tour Abroad*) pairs "Şenay, an eleven-year-old orphan girl, and a transvestite singer, Zeki, in search of her mother" in a road movie structure (Göktürk 2002, p. 254). On a narrative level, the film addresses themes of home and family by staging a plot of unwanted and rejected children searching for their mothers in the motherland. The film seems to question the functionality of the family in times of migration by keeping the parent figures largely absent from the narrative. However, focusing on the way this narrative unfolds cinematically, it seems more important to first account for the way the characters are staged: the way fragile feminine bodies are covered in elegant costumes; the body postures; the gestures and acting style of Hilmi Sözer as Zeki; and especially the way Turkish is spoken in terms of word choices. Together these form a field of reference pointing to the famous singer Zeki Müren, linking at the same time to a historically specific consumer culture. This happens in two ways. On the one hand, this reference field establishes a link to a specific casino culture (*gazino kültürü*) – recalling the history of *arabesk* and classical Turkish music and its prominent star performances (including films) on the brink of the military coup of 1980. On the other hand, this historical and sentimental dimension links to a video-rental culture in Germany, recalling the history of Turkish music and cinema in the times of the military coup, specifically mediated as a shared experience.

By appropriating the audiovisual repertoire of *arabesk* music (Stokes 1992) in the melodramatic mode, *Auslandstournee* deals with the perspectives of an artistic community of singers, belly dancers, and shadow-play performers of the 1980s – describing this community's familial togetherness as well as the process of their separation. The affective range extends between the generic modes of comedy and melodrama, thereby opening up a realm of experience for the spectator to relate affectively to the various ways of life in this community, which are staged by the film in different spaces, bridging past and present.

Singing and performing onstage is an important structuring element for the film and serves to underscore remarkable qualities in its mise-en-scène. Zeki especially is accentuated in his physicality. The texture and fabric of his costumes with glitter, flower patterns, and make-up are highlighted to expose his transgender persona as the theatrical construction of a character. We would like to analyze a single scene to demonstrate these principles in more detail. Şenay and Zeki drive from Paris to Wuppertal on the track of her lost mother, and spend some time in a hotel room. The rhythmic flow of this scene is regulated mostly acoustically through music, establishing a sentimental atmosphere. A melancholic *arabesk* song

of the transgender singer Bülent Ersoy, entitled *Yaktı Beni* ("It burnt me"), plays throughout the scene, which can be divided into two parts.

In the first part, the two figures are shot separately. The first figure visible in the image-space is Şenay, decorating her cacti, which she carries around with her throughout the journey, on a table in the small room. The pastel colors of the scene – with red lamps on the wall and floor giving off a warm interior light, and a dark blue couch with fresh flowers on the table providing some contrast, complemented by a mirror – create a domestic atmosphere in the small space. The soundscape further determines the melancholic and sentimental atmosphere of the scene, even though the lyrics of the song are not translated via subtitles. The simple montage chain is then punctured by a close-up of a picture of Bülent Ersoy, kept in Zeki's wallet (Figure 13.1). As Zeki keeps talking, Şenay keeps her silence throughout the scene, as the image cuts back to her and her box of cacti. Her facial expression does not reveal any kind of sadness; it is rather her silence that points to the child's fragility and vulnerability.

During the same shot, the sound level increases and the music takes over as the dominant expressive register in the second part of this scene. The calmness shifts into a rhythmical flow. With a crescendo of sound, the song dominates the scene and effects a transition in generic modality. It opens up a dimension of theatricality as the couple start lip-synching along with the song, in an aesthetic reminiscent of music video-clips or a stage performance, the camera being addressed directly by the characters. The figures are now highlighted in their visibility, as the hotel room turns into a stage; they are dressed alike, with similar make-up, in glittering costumes

Figure 13.1 The face as a catalyst for affective transformation.

and jewels. Şenay's facial expression also becomes livelier. The melancholic mode of the previous setting shifts into a joyful exuberance. Şenay holds the flowers in her hands in the back of her body as she dances and lip-synchs in middle close-up (Figure 13.2). Zeki, dressed in an elegant, half transparent costume, decorated with glittering flower patterns, floatingly dances and sings in joy (Figure 13.3). Bandages he wore earlier on

Figure 13.2 Hotel room as stage/video image, Şenay.
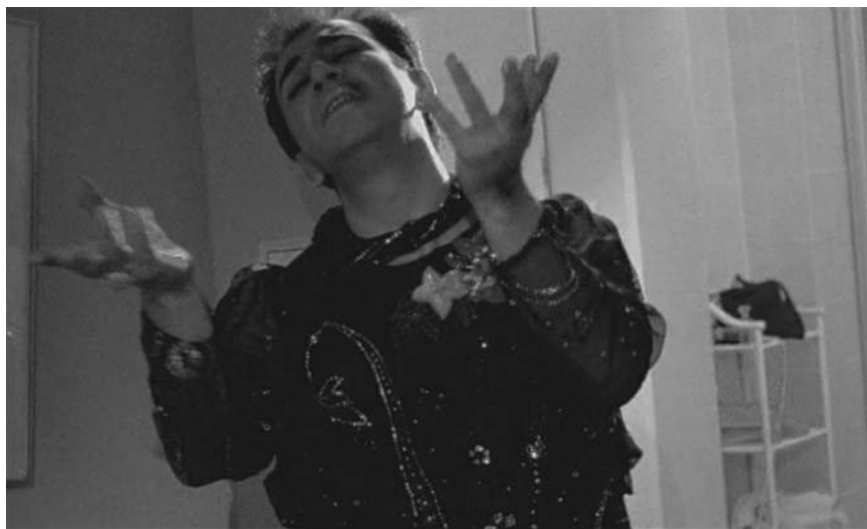
Figure 13.3 Hotel room as stage/video image, Zeki.

his nose and hand are now removed, and the wounds on his lips and hand expose a pathos, a vulnerability that is connected to the aesthetic pleasures of the *arabesk* style, both in music and cinema (Dadak 2015). This pleasure can be translated as the joy of pain; the sublimation of pain and suffering in alienation and powerlessness. As the camera sways from side to side, Zeki moves slower and gets closer to it. On the soundtrack his humming and non-synchronous lip-synch to the song come to the foreground. Zeki descends to the floor and receives a "flower rain" from Şenay on the bed, which evokes the star performances of the aforementioned casino culture.

Death and mourning serve not only as a starting point for the two main characters' journey (beginning with the loss of Şenay's father), but introduce a mode of temporality structuring the entire story *as* a journey; the two figures move from one country or city to another, the hotel rooms, the drives in cars, taxis, and horse carriages, and the train rides rise to prominence, each station being connected with a lost time through the various ways memories travel with them and become visible through photos, stories, and anecdotes. Along the way, the film strives to make the particular experience of history accessible as a reified feeling, a sentiment. This extends to the hotel room scene, where, with the help of a clear mode shift – from quiet sadness to joyfulness in pain – an accented visibility is created, as bodies are exposed as intersections of desire and pain. At the same time, the theatrical dimension of the scene's celebratory manner extends its experiential qualities towards a ritual of mourning for the beloved lost ones, and for lost time. This ritual of mourning can be affectively experienced as the reification of a feeling, negotiating as it does the tension between individual body and cultural codification. Structured by the aesthetic experience of *arabesk*, the mourning becomes expressed through the bodies of two vulnerable figures; two perspectives becoming reflexive and intertwined within the space in an affective rhythm. It is this rhythm that makes the shared space of references accessible to the spectators: on the one hand offering a commonly shared experience for the audience, recalling a specific time in history including its music, film culture, and fashion; on the other hand, creating the possibility of a shared feeling through the concrete staging of this relation.

The way this scene intricately negotiates the conditions of visibility for the film's characters – shifting the mode of perception from calm, distant observation to a haptic visuality, simultaneously transforming the camera from uninvolved participant to an addressee of the theatrical performance – implicates the audience in an affective tension between two different modes of spectatorship, experienced as the concrete duration of the sequence: from hotel room to stage. This opens up a time of reflection no longer contained in the image-space on the screen, but entirely located in the dark space of the cinema. It is this time of reflection that brings about the possibility of a shared sentiment, or a sense of sharing.

Navigating urban space

This type of pathos scene is characterized by a principle of interlock, of interconnectedness between figures and surrounding space. Space is made accessible through movements of exchange, distribution, and occupation. These movements produce a layer across space – a layer which is fed by imaginary references and associations to the extent that spectators re-enact these movements and recognize them as addressing a film-historical space of experience. This sphere of imagination opens up an affective spectrum between the threat of the city space and the promises of success and luck it seems to embody. The way figures move together, or as loners, in this space provides the audience with a feeling of familiarity, of being at home. The city space is marked as well-known in various generic modalities – not exclusively, but predominantly in those of mafia and gangster films – well-known in the sense that the streets of New York or San Francisco are known to moviegoers from countless films (although this is not a matter of recognizing specific references). A feeling of "I know my way around here, this seems familiar to me, I am at home, I take part in this (dis-)harmony" is generated, oscillating in a tension of recognition and misrecognition. By reflecting about recognition and misrecognition, a feeling for commonality is produced that addresses the audience as a medium of shared experience.

Nacht der Wölfe (Rüdiger Nüchtern 1982)

Nacht der Wölfe (*Night of the Wolves*) tells a story about gang conflicts between young Turks and Germans in Munich in the early 1980s. In its basic outline, the film follows a *Romeo and Juliet*-like plot as it has been employed, paradigmatically, in *West Side Story* (Robert Wise and Jerome Robbins 1961). In parallel to the gang fights, a love story develops between Daniela, a 17-year-old German girl, and Doğan, son of Turkish immigrants. The film ends with Daniela tragically killing Doğan by accident, encapsulating the senselessness of the gang conflict. We will analyze how the film uses the urban space to affectively involve the audience with its themes.

The staging of the film articulates a twofold impulse. On the one hand, it makes no attempt whatsoever to disguise the generic universe it posits as a space of reference. This is clear from the very beginning: the title font (expressive hand writing, red on black) echoes *The Warriors* (Walter Hill 1979); while the first shot of the gang members parading through the streets of Munich – especially their emphatically self-assured attitude of claiming space – evokes and builds on *The Wanderers* (Philip Kaufman 1979). This frame of reference is simultaneously actualized and given a twist by the use of music: while *The Wanderers* employs a doo-wop, rockabilly-style soundtrack to position itself nostalgically with regard to a

kind of synthesized 1950s-culture; and while *The Warriors* uses a combination of electronic sound effects with rock and funk elements to evoke its theme of a racially-charged inner-city dystopia; *Nacht der Wölfe* uses hard rock and heavy metal. This opens up a space of experience that is not only emphatically contemporary with regard to the early 1980s (as opposed to dystopic or nostalgic), but is also characterized by an attitude of aggressiveness, accentuating the film's aspect of youth rebelling against traditional customs – an aspect that is itself staged as a generic conflict, with Daniela's father dressing up as a cowboy while she is putting on make-up that looks like (Hollywood-style) Indian war paint.

The second dimension of the film's staging concerns an impulse towards documentary. The streets of Munich do not completely transform themselves into cinematic images (in the strong sense of being fictional) but remain recognizable as the everyday surroundings of 1980s Germany. They are in a process of *becoming* cinematic images – a nonlinear process in which both the "before" and the "after" remain visible (Deleuze 1997, pp. 194–204). On this level, the gang's clashes with the police are not only shaped according to a generic logic; they also make manifest how this generic logic comes into conflict with the city space it attempts to appropriate. It is against this background that the film's director insists that the association of films like *The Wanderers* and *The Warriors* with street life in Munich are not coincidental but grounded in historical experience (Nüchtern 2014). Apparently, these films themselves quite directly provided a template for youth culture, inspiring a specific habitus that involves not only an individual preference for fashion and music, but extends, most importantly, to ways of socially relating to others – substantiating Rick Altman's description of the function of films as creating generic communities (Altman 1999, pp. 156–165). This is the double impulse of the film's poetic logic; it describes the establishing of generic communities while testifying, at the same time, to the sense of commonality these very communities are based on. The use of heavy metal music on the film's soundtrack, for example (i.e. an aspect of audiovisual staging), is complemented by the gang members breaking into a record store and stealing music cassettes (an episode in the narrative). In this sense, the film takes part in the very process it is documenting.

To demonstrate how this shared space of experience is realized in terms of affective involvement, we will now analyze a sequence 20 minutes into the film, which begins with a transition from Daniela's bedroom. After a quarrel with her parents she exhales deeply and turns up the volume on her turntable. Hard rock music (*Run if you can* by Accept) fills the soundtrack. A cut takes us to a point of view shot of the hood of a car driving fast through the streets of daytime Munich (Figure 13.4).

The next shot takes us into the car, in which members of the gang are enjoying the music, themselves, and each other's company – one of them sitting on the roof and loudly proclaiming the gang's reign over the street.

Figure 13.4 Inscribing the gang's reign over the streets.

This proclamation is instantly linked to the two couples making out in the backseat, one of whom is Daniela with her still-boyfriend Duke. The emphasis on sexuality is strengthened when the car stops to pick up another girl who happens to be walking along the street. The car then proceeds to a gas station before visiting a friendly motorcycle gang. This whole time the houses, street signs, and passers-by remain present as the backdrop of everyday Germany, culminating in the fact that the car's driver has to collect money from his fellow gang members to fill up the gas tank. This presence of the everyday is interpreted and concretized as the presence of the law when they meet a police car and have to hide under the seats of their car (Figure 13.5). For a moment the fiction is interrupted – albeit in a mode which still upholds a second-degree fiction, playing cat and mouse with the police.

After an intermediate scene in a billiard saloon, Duke borrows the car to go and have sex with Daniela at a deserted construction site. He parks the car and they undress, but as they are lying down, Duke damages the car's cassette player. When Daniela will not stop laughing about it, he hits her, which results in her rejecting him – the fiction is interrupted again. On the way back to the saloon, Duke drives recklessly, the surrounding cityscape now reduced to a blur. The street lights have become an almost abstract image, a backdrop to the emotional drama of love, sex, humiliation, and jealousy. Visualized as this amorphous backdrop, the streets of Munich no longer appear as culturally distinct but become connected to cinematic fantasies of the city as an accumulation of light and color (Figure 13.6).

Figure 13.5 The law of the everyday.

Figure 13.6 The car as psychic interior, separated from the outside.

This transformation of urban space does not follow a linear logic; rather, the discrepancy between everyday reality and abstract light installation describes an affective spectrum within the poetic structure of the film. This spectrum extends from the fantasy of escape to open rebellion against society – a difference in feeling qualities that can be experienced by spectators and which is directly related to the possibility of fiction. It is this discrepancy that serves as the potential matrix for a sense of

commonality by allowing spectators to make an aesthetic experience onto which they can map their own conflicting impulses between conformity and non-conformity. That is, both attitudes can now be realized – and shared – as specifically embodied ways of being in the world, realized narratively as the conflict between the two gangs and their diverging life-worlds; the very plasticity of the world, its dependence on perspective, becomes an object for reflection. Over the course of the film, the alternation between recognition and misrecognition crystallizes into a sense of what it might feel like to belong. Such a possibility of belonging, in this perspective, becomes a question of affectively situating oneself with regard to a hegemonic media culture.

Splitting off

This third type of pathos scene emphasizes a state of being excluded from a commonly shared context. It is based on the coexistence of multiple perspectives. The arrangement of perspectives is realized dramaturgically in the transition between different modalities (ways of being-in-the-world); the limitations, the not-fitting or isolation of a specific way of being, is produced as a feeling by passing through different contexts during the course of the film's dramaturgy, which each time results in a mismatch. This leads to an invisibility of figures (or aspects of figures) rather than to a visibility. Figures, or aspects of them, are excluded not by being exposed, but by being neglected. The pathos of this invisibility can express itself as suffering (if understood melodramatically), it can also operate in the mode of suspense: as a lurking in the shadows; a kind of excess questioning the stability of the generic context itself. The corresponding affective spectrum extends between unease and melancholy. The single figure is emphasized not so much as an object (a body), but rather as a specific habitus or attitude, a particular perspective, which does not merge with its context. Private space is experienced as being cut off and separate. The relation between interior and exterior space is discontinuous, making it hard to orient oneself. Exterior space tends to be amorphous and vague. This leads to compensatory impulses of observing, collecting impressions, holding on to objects. Spectators can experience a feeling of: "I understand, I take part in how it feels not to belong, not to fit in; I sense that there is something separating this perspective from others." This experience of deviation potentially harbors a feeling for what might, in contrast to separation, be shared.

Ummah – Unter Freunden (Cüneyt Kaya 2013)

The protagonist of *Ummah* (*Ummah – Among Friends*) is the undercover informant Daniel, who works for the German *Verfassungsschutz* (domestic intelligence service). Daniel encounters the duo Abbas and Cemal, entering

their milieu after moving to the Neukölln neighborhood of Berlin. On its narrative level, the film deals with the theme of brotherhood that is emphasized in their markedly "Islamic" way of living in the context of the, so-called, "problematic" neighborhood of Neukölln. On the level of the audiovisual image, the film questions the dynamics of integration and coexistence by referring to the media discourses and ongoing debates in German media in regard to this neighborhood.

The process of Daniel being included in this milieu is staged spatiotemporally in ways that affectively engage the audience – in a spectrum that extends from the modes of gangster and mafia films to Hollywood buddy comedies, evoking the act of viewing such films as an experience that can potentially be shared by the audience. But this process is not a linear one; rather, the film introduces multiple perspectives on the changing constellation of characters, creating different ways of being within spaces that reflect and often contradict each other. For example, the specific way in which the relation between the figures of Abbas and Cemal and the community of neighbors, daughters, friends, and colleagues is staged expresses a harmonious, unproblematic kind of visibility, which integrates different lifeworlds by appropriating modes of mafia and gangster films and giving them a comedic twist.

The film creates a significant contrast between Abbas and Cemal on one side and Daniel on the other by assigning him a particular perspective that detaches his specific way of relating to the world from this collectivity. This contrast is realized as a kind of invisibility in spatiotemporal constellations, where Daniel's habitus and the space in which he tries to find a place are characterized affectively by a sense of inhibition and discomfort. In these constellations, feelings of sadness and sentimentality are actualized in forms of uncanniness and obscurity. The dramaturgy of the film can be described as the process of Daniel becoming visible, or of going from being excluded to being included in a shared way of being. This process is based on a nonlinear oscillation between different generic modes, mainly between suspense/paranoia and melodrama on one side and comedy on the other.

In the following we will analyze the opening sequence of *Ummah*, placing an emphasis on "splitting off" as a type of pathos scene. The opening credits stay in black, as the soundscape initially structures the scene. Three gunshots, a broken glass, and falling objects are audible as the credits of the film run, grounded by constant electric buzzing. A chain of out-of-focus lights creates a kind of blue and orange wallpaper as the sound shifts into a more electronic, high-pitched tone and we reach the title of the film. As the title fades away and the camera slowly zooms out, the neon-colored circles gradually become recognizable as objects in space (a string of lights). The soundscape remains uneasy, which carries a horror-like foreboding as an experiential quality. Due to the lights, the slow, tentative camera movement, and the close framing, the haptic

qualities of the image-space are foregrounded against a desire for orientation (Figure 13.7). Electric buzzing dominates the acoustic atmosphere until the ring tone of a mobile phone concentrates the audience's dispersed attention. As the camera moves further, the results of the incident we witnessed on the sound level are transferred onto the image-space: the montage leads from one dead body on a chair to another body lying in its own blood. A gun and a broken DVD case are lying on the floor. The letters of the word "hate" (HA𝕾𝕾), tattooed on the fingers of a hand, and the sign "𝕾𝕾" (for SS) in combination with the Celtic cross (*Keltenkreuz*) become visible on the arm of a prone body. The mobile phone tone repeats, while the camera continues to inch forward, seemingly unconcerned with finding the source of the sound. This incoherence between visual and auditory perspective, complemented by the unnerving buzzing sound and the absence of comprehensible actions, gradually crystallizes into an image of total disintegration.

Now the camera arrives at Daniel, lying on the floor with his eyes closed. The camera climbs up to his face, rendering his wounded body palpable as a state of pain and suffering. When the ringing tone repeats, he opens his eyes and mouth with a deep, audible, terrified breath. With the camera resting on his face and directing attention to his eyes searching for orientation in body, space, and time, the affective qualities of paralysis and numbing pain coalesce into a feeling of survival among the dead (Figure 13.8). The image of disintegration has now found an anchor in the figure of Daniel, developing into the pathos of being totally split off from any coherent context of vitality. He remains in darkness, as the red-blue-yellow colors of the lights illuminate his face in turn. As he gets up and goes to the bar, the scene becomes clearer. We are at a bar in a small town where a bloody fight took place, with only one survivor. The next image is of Daniel, standing outside and alone, with the blurred lights of the town behind him. His heroic survivor-look, in combination with the

Figure 13.7 Disintegration as haptic visuality.

Figure 13.8 From undead …

dramatic gaze of a loner, is underlined with a middle close-up as he exits the scene, in a car, into the night (Figure 13.9). For much of the narrative that follows, Daniel will continue to behave like someone who has returned from the grave, only slowly reintegrating into life.

The opening scene of *Ummah – Unter Freunden* is a composition of different generic modalities extending from horror to action and crime. The composition creates a morbid atmosphere through the way it relates mise-en-scène, setting, sound, and camera movement to one another. The space becomes obscure and discomforting while highlighting Daniel in his encapsulation and singularity as a survivor among the dead. The film picks up and slowly transforms this feeling of being split off over the course of the narrative. The entire dramaturgy is structured by Daniel – and, with or without him, the audience – entering into different zones and shifting between different contexts, generating a variety of multiple perspectives that contradict and clash with each other as, on the narrative level, the dark

Figure 13.9 … to action hero.

secret of Daniel's past is revealed. By appropriating diverse generic modalities and actualizing them in a way that highlights their incongruence, the film enables the audience to develop a feeling for the discrepancies between different lifeworlds – regardless of their ethnic or cultural ascriptions.

The use of pathos scenes

To recapitulate. The concept of pathos scenes does not aim at completely encompassing those films that are labeled as Turkish-German cinema. It is meant to allow systematic comparisons between them by analyzing the specific ways these scenes are realized in different films with regard to different poetics of affect. In this, our heuristic taxonomy represents the first step in the construction of an alternative approach, which analyzes the films without using ethnic, cultural, national, or biographical markers of identity. Only by eschewing these categories can we begin to examine the films' political significance in the full sense of the term: the political designating that kind of sphere or state where the meaning of nation, biography, or cultural identity is not yet determined, but is a matter of disagreement, contestation, and struggle.

The films come into view as nodal points enabling the mixing, overlap, and exchange among various generic modalities. The pathos scenes themselves make it possible to experience the differences and tensions between these modalities, as they involve transitions from one to the other, or use them for developing contrasts and conflicts. We can even go further: on the one hand the pathos scenes are realms of affective experience; on the other hand they can be described as distinct ways of appropriating generic modalities, or of establishing relations between them. What becomes visible from this perspective is the films' functions in the affective economy of a political community. They involve their audiences within processes of affective exchange, which directly refer to how German society views itself as a community. Images, ideas, and beliefs about migration and belonging, by being circulated, modulated, and transformed in the process, fulfill an important function in this ongoing activity of litigious self-reflection. By appropriating the modes of genre cinema, that is, appropriating the experience of going to the cinema and watching films, the films we briefly analyzed here not only modulate and reformulate descriptions of the world we live in, but in the process also introduce an aspect of aesthetic reflexivity. By appropriating these genre patterns they express an aesthetic pleasure that can be understood as an act of positioning oneself – historically and socially – with regard to an affective economy. This pleasure or aesthetic judgment, directed towards a specific description of the world, is what can be shared by spectators/consumers in the audience and thus can serve as the basis for new feelings of commonality.

This is not to imply any easy transition from aesthetic to political judgment. On the contrary, this chapter proceeds from the conviction that

there is a question, a problem regarding the link between politics and poetics in the first place. The other side of this coin, however, consists in upholding the argument that there *is* a link – that there is a "politics of aesthetics" (Rancière, 2004), which needs to be conceptualized, or, rather, whose theoretical conceptualization needs to be adapted to the concrete analysis of (genre) films.

As a result, judging the political significance of these films does not rely on employing reading strategies that reveal their potential for subversion. Such an approach seems to originate in a desire to ennoble the aesthetic object as something that is resistant, insofar as it removes itself from exchange and circulation, insisting on its uniqueness. What we have in mind, in contrast to this idea, is more akin to what Lawrence Grossberg (1997, p. 151) aims at when he writes that social, cultural, and political relations are necessarily and constantly disarticulated and rearticulated, and that the effects of any practices cannot be determined outside or in advance of those struggles. We would like to argue, with Grossberg, that dismissing films as commodities for taking part in processes of economic circulation fails to grasp the complexity of consumption, understood as aesthetic experience:

> It does not follow, necessarily, that art can be reduced to a commodity if we situate it in people's lives. That it is a commodity does not deny that it still may be other things as well. Moreover the concrete complexity of the practices of consumption suggests that such artistic practices, even if they situate the audience as consumer, may also situate them in other contradictory subject-positions.
>
> (Ibid., pp. 154–155)

The films analyzed in this chapter testify to this very complexity of consuming cinematic images: understanding films as testifying to the consumption of images sheds light on the potential obstinacy of such an act of consumption; its potential disregard for authorial intentions as well as for the discursive attempts at fixing the meaning of terms such as Turkish or German. In this sense, the constant disarticulation and rearticulation described by Grossberg can be interpreted as a generic principle that is not aimed at the endless reproduction of the same experiences, but rather at affectively situating audiences with regard to changing historical contexts. The historical space of experience opened up by a given film evolves and changes with each new encounter between screen and audience. It is this encounter, not just the film nor just the audience but their affective entanglement, which has to be addressed as the nexus of a *poiesis*: the bringing forth of something new.

Thus, judging the political significance of these films is more a matter of extracting from them and describing the specific pathos they introduce into the affective economy of our political discourse. The pathos types of

"Being exposed," "Navigating urban space" , and "Splitting off," in this sense, all point to the problematic and affectively charged constitution of commonly shared ways of being-in-the-world. They concern the relation between individual and collectivity, as well as individual and collective relations to memory and history. As has been stated in this chapter, these common ways of being do not represent positively existing formations with countable members; rather they provide orientation for our daily struggles to negotiate the tensions between acknowledging particularity and claiming equality. Perhaps the extent to which these films – by affectively involving their audiences – introduce or allow disagreement and dissensus into these struggles is the true measure of their political relevance.

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