

INTRODUCTION

States of Anxiety in Africa

Perspectives, Approaches, and Potential

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WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO UNDERSTAND LIVED EXPERIENCES, behaviors, or even whole spaces through the lens of anxiety? Such a question immediately calls for consideration of what, precisely, is meant by “anxiety.” As a term that in Western medical and philosophical thinking has roots in classical Greek moral discourse, as well as in the Freudian psychoanalytic theories of the early twentieth century, *anxiety* is difficult to pin down.¹ Is it a pathological or a natural state? A normal response to fear, uncertainty, vulnerability, or more diffuse feelings of being unsettled or out of place? Is it a cultural construct? A symptom of the modern era, as it is regarded in twentieth-century Western social and cultural discourse; a way of neatly characterizing the ache of uncertainty and distress about everything from the horrors of World War II to the threat of nuclear war, environmental degradation, public health crises, violence, and family breakdown?² Is it more than just an internal state—pathological or otherwise—being something that emerges in relation to the outer world, in particular to material objects such as borders and bodies? Should it be read as a confluence of inner and outer worlds, an affect caused by particular social, political, and historical circumstances? And how do we know that we are dealing with anxiety, particularly where the word itself is rarely used, when instead we need to read anxiety through local idioms or in the traces left by individuals and communities—in rituals, behaviors, ideas, theories, policies, and material culture?

Such questions reflect theoretical debates within the study of the emotions between social constructivism and biological universalism, as well as the question of whether there is any such thing as an inner self, or if we are dealing with primarily cognitive as opposed to physiological emotional states. Recent scientific research that locates anxiety in biological processes and highlights the role of neurochemicals and neural networks might offer a new perspective on the social constructivist/universalist dichotomy, but it nevertheless fails to explain what anxiety might mean to individuals or communities at any one place or point in time, and what the study of anxiety as both expression and embodied experience offers analytically.³ This lack of definitional precision is particularly acute when considering what the study of anxiety could bring to African studies. So pervasive are notions of anxiety as a symptom of the (Western) modern era that the use of the concept requires us to question the appropriateness of imposing it on the past, or on the words or actions of others, and in doing so implicitly positing anxiety as universal. This might help explain why, despite a vast literature on anxiety in Europe and the United States, anxiety in Africa has received relatively little scholarly attention.⁴ This has remained the case even as the “affective turn” has seen the publication of numerous historically, culturally, and ethnographically sensitive studies of other emotions on the continent—of anger, jealousy, love, and happiness, among others.⁵ The exception to this lack of attention to anxiety has been among historians of empire, particularly of settler colonies, who have since the 1980s shown how “colonial anxieties” of sexuality, authority, modernity, climate, and race shaped attitudes and policies in colonial settings in Africa and help reveal the vulnerability of the colonial enterprise.⁶

Influenced in part by the growth of interest in the emotions and affect across disciplines, the literature on anxieties and empire has moved a long way from its original focus on colonial medicine to encompass violence, rebellion, and intimacy, among other themes.⁷ It demonstrates that feelings of anxiety were not limited to the imperial elite, but shaped behaviors across the colonial divide, including in African contexts. The edited collections *Anxieties, Fear and Panic in Colonial Settings: Empires on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown* (edited by Harald Fischer-Tiné, 2016), *Empires of Panic: Epidemics and Colonial Anxieties* (edited by Robert Peckham, 2015), and *Helpless Imperialists* (edited by Maurus Reinkowski and Gregor Thum, 2013), while predominantly focused on Asia, offer comparative insights into the multiple ways such “negative”

emotions not only expressed social and cultural attitudes but guided political action, having real, lived consequences for colonizers and the colonized alike. In this sense, the study of anxieties in the context of empire is not just an intellectual exercise, but a political project. “The very suggestion that imperial overlords could ever be viewed as vulnerable, or even ‘helpless’ in some situations,” as Mark Condos has noted, “is deeply unsettling because empires ultimately represented power and dominance, and were often remarkably durable even during times of crisis.”⁸

Across disciplines, as the literature on anxieties and empire reflects, emotions and the affective—*anxiety, fear, and panic*, as well as feelings of love, hate, and happiness—are undergoing a particular “moment.” Far from the “unfocused” emotion talk described by historian Barbara Rosenwein in 2006, much of this work now deals not only with overt expressions of emotions but with the ways we might uncover the meanings and experiences of subjective emotional states, changes in affective norms across time and space, and how emotions order worlds and worldviews.⁹ This scholarship demonstrates that emotion or sentiment is not epiphenomenal to power—“a smokescreen of rule”—but rather “the substance of politics, the moralising self-presentation of the state as itself a genre of political authority.”¹⁰ Borrowing the concept of “affective states” from Ann Laura Stoler, anthropologists Mateusz Laszczkowski and Madeleine Reeves take up the concept to consider “a range of affects, feelings, and emotions for and about ‘the state’ and its agents, and explore how those contribute to the state’s emergence, transformation, endurance, or erosion.”¹¹ Here they build on both earlier anthropological work from the 1970s and 1980s that explored the cultural constructedness of emotions¹² and the more recent “affective turn” that takes affect as a prediscursive charge or intensity, as presubjective but not presocial, defined against emotion that is already “fix[ed] into place through a variety of discursive practices.”¹³ While this latter work has helpfully moved anthropological attention away from the human subject and has taken seriously the kind of energies or affects discharged by particular objects and spaces, in certain iterations it has flattened out questions of history and politics.¹⁴ Joining this work with more historical approaches to the emotions, particularly anxiety, then, helps us sidestep this risk. Indeed, attending to anxiety from a multidisciplinary perspective allows for an exploration of the political in ways that move beyond simplistic dichotomies (rational/irrational)—and reified categories (subject,

object, society, past, present). As William Mazzarella has pointed out, affect “implies a way of apprehending social life that does not start with the bounded, intentional subject while at the same time foregrounding embodiment and sensuous life.”¹⁵

These more recent approaches see emotions as multidirectional and existing in multiplicities, and are attendant to the intersections of the emotions and power not only as related to the colonial project, but as related both to more recent histories, and the deeper past. Even work that focuses on singular emotional states pays careful attention to the multiple emotional registers that are framed within them. In the case of ethnographic work on uncertainty in Africa, for example, anthropologists explore how it is accompanied by feelings of “vulnerability, anxiety, hope and possibility.”¹⁶ Unpacking these lived affective experiences can tell us much about what it feels like to navigate diverse social, political, and economic contexts marked by marginalization, violence, and inequality in ways often ignored or pushed aside in more “traditional” studies of, say, politics or development.¹⁷ This research makes clear that exploration of the emotions requires keen attention to material factors and wider structures of power, often tracing them not only to transnational forces such as the enduring effects of structural adjustment policies but also to local and regional histories of war and conflict, in addition to the “afterlives” of colonial rule. As feminist scholar Sara Ahmed has written of the “sociality of emotions,” “emotions are not simply something ‘I’ or ‘we’ have. Rather, it is through emotions, or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the ‘I’ and the ‘we’ are shaped by, and even take the shape of, contact with others.”¹⁸

Scholarly literature on the emotions nevertheless remains uneven, not only in different geographical contexts but between disciplines. While anthropologists have long been interested in the emotions, new research by archaeologists into complex human emotions in the deeper past is only now opening up new possibilities for expanding the historicity of emotions. Work by Sarah Tarlow, as well as an edited volume put together by Jeffrey Fleisher and Neil Norman, both archaeologists of Africa, shows how emotions are central to understanding the “before” and “after” of events, the composition and reach of social and political structures, and give meaning to concepts such as power, control, and resistance.¹⁹ Among the various entry points into the materiality of anxiousness, worry, and fear, according to these initial theoretical and

methodological explorations, are the reconstruction of emotional communities, attention to evocative spaces, and risks inherent in the performance of rituals. Rachel King (this volume) similarly sees the material remains of encounters between people as a way of recovering “a sense of how objects and people behaved.” Anxiety, through this approach, is something that “‘makes sense’ of and orders the world, based on often-imperfect information and sensibilities related to past experiences and visions for the future.”²⁰

This volume brings together essays on anxiety in Africa from a variety of perspectives—history, archaeology, anthropology—in order to demonstrate the potential of anxiety as a tool for scholars within African studies. The approach calls us to consider anxiety not as a category of universal human experience, as hard-wired or even as completely socially constructed, but instead as an analytical lens that can be employed in multiple ways. Collectively, the chapters showcase not only how anxieties are revealing of individual and collective vulnerabilities, but how anxiety can be used to explore subjectivities and embodied experience. The contributors particularly call attention to ways of thinking about African spaces—physical, visceral, somatic, and imagined—as well as time and temporality. They all, in different ways, reinforce the historically and culturally situated nature of anxiety—how it is embedded in practices, language, and material culture, and how it emerges in relation to the outer world, in particular to material objects such as bodies. Through a multidisciplinary approach, the volume also brings histories of anxiety in colonial settings into conversation with work on the “negative” emotions in disciplines beyond history. While anxiety has long been acknowledged as a powerful tool for unsettling colonial narratives and revealing the vulnerability of the colonial enterprise, this volume shows anxiety can equally disrupt related narratives in the contemporary moment, such as those of sustainable development, migration, sexuality, and democracy. The contributors highlight the need to take emotions seriously as contemporary realities, but ones with particular histories that must be carefully mapped out.

There is power and potential in anxiety precisely because it can both unsettle otherwise dominant narratives and reveal the ways these narratives are themselves embodied, reproduced through actions, coproduced between individuals, and represented in material culture. Anxiety, whether about the body, the environment, or the state, or indeed as an internal state, is always about something else as well. In colonial settler

societies, anxieties about sexuality, authority, modernity, and climate, among other concerns, were also anxieties about race and gender, connected by the perceived need to maintain white male prestige. For the psychiatrists who attempted to theorize about Africans “in transition” in the late colonial period, anxiety was an inevitable result of “culture contact,” modernity, and urbanization, but revealed just as much about the vulnerability of the colonial enterprise.²¹ For African intellectuals and writers of the 1950s and 1960s, writing about anxiety was a way of capturing concerns about decolonization, modernity, and state formation.²² Chinua Achebe wrote of a sense of chaos in the Igbo cultural world, describing the “continual struggle, motion and change” and “fear of anarchy” weighing down on his characters as a “resonance of an immemorial anxiety.”²³ Here, anxiety is useful because it allows us to keep various kinds of narratives in focus: individual narratives of lived affective experience (of colonial settlers and missionaries, of persecuted pastors, of refugees) alongside more collective narratives of colonization, decolonization, modernity, hegemonic masculinity and heterosexuality, and postconflict political transition.

The rest of this introduction maps out the themes that recur throughout the volume. In bringing together chapters from different disciplines, the volume suggests three main entry points for thinking about anxiety. The first is the ways that anxieties might be tied to distinct African spaces or places—whether real or imagined—and the ways these “anxious spaces” shape not only actions and policies but material culture, language, and physical and psychological expression. The second arises from the ways that the chapters, particularly when read alongside each other, so often invite reflections on the future. Thinking about anxiety and temporality opens up ways of exploring imaginations of the future, questions of unknowability, and alternative visions and realities. And the third, which runs through our discussion of both space and temporality, is the power of anxiety to destabilize commonsense or normative narratives. Throughout the volume, the literature on colonial anxieties is frequently taken as a historiographical and analytical starting point. This is unsurprising, considering that anxiety, as a concept, has been most productively employed by historians of empire. In the discussion that follows, the literature on colonial anxieties is similarly taken as a starting point. The aim is to explore what new questions and avenues for investigation arise when this literature is placed in conversation with that from other historical or disciplinary approaches. But it is also to

highlight the ways anxiety continues to pose challenges, not least that of language (where anxiety does not have an obvious equivalent) and ontology (for a construct that appears to presume the existence of an inner sense or being). Africa has long been “reinvented” as a particular kind of place through the imaginaries of Western observers—as a place of “lack” and “failure”; as “irrational” yet as enticingly exotic, if not erotic; as a void upon which the West has been able to project its own desires.²⁴ Such challenges need to be addressed head on by researchers if anxiety is going to hold any analytical power.

Anxiety, Environments, and Spaces (Real and Imagined)

In the colonial setting, it seems, the very environment was inscribed with anxiety.²⁵ These were spaces that offered adventure, opportunity, and wealth, but also immense danger. Medico-scientific thinking about the “tropics” had since the seventeenth century linked environment with disease, and even death, feeding into fears about the white man’s ability to acclimatize and exposing the vulnerability of any long-term colonial project. Fears about the environment were not unfounded. Until the mid-nineteenth century, mortality rates were often so high that certain regions—notably West Africa—were considered effectively uninhabitable by Europeans.²⁶ Even as the immediate threat of disease was diminished through improved prevention and control measures, anxieties about the negative physical and psychological effect of the environment remained, now more frequently refocused on the climate itself. Medical officers stressed the “unhealthiness” of life in tropical climates and advanced theories about “tropical neurasthenia,” a diagnosis of “nervous exhaustion” that was reserved almost exclusively for white colonizers.²⁷ Humidity and the sun—with its heat, light, and rays—were linked to changes in body temperature, pulse rate, heart and respiratory function, and perspiration, leading to a weakening of the nervous system. Settlers and missionaries, too, complained about the depletion of energy or “nerve force” that accompanied prolonged periods in the tropics, agonizing over its effects on bodies and minds.²⁸

As historians of empire have shown, protecting vulnerable European bodies from the negative effects of tropical climates became a major business of imperial health and hygiene. No European could be properly equipped for life in colonial settings without purchasing a potentially lifesaving kit of soap, specialized clothing, medicines, and bedding.²⁹ Regular assessments of mental and physical fitness became an essential

part of administering empire, providing a useful way of managing the behavior of missionaries and colonial servants.³⁰ Indeed, anxieties about environment and climate were never just about individual bodies but reflected broader colonial anxieties about prestige, race, masculinity, and the vulnerability of colonial states. Use of the diagnosis of tropical neurasthenia for “policing the colonizers,” Anna Greenwood has argued, persisted as medical officers in British East Africa continued to publish on neurasthenia and its relationship to environment and climate until well into the 1930s, long after such thinking had fallen out of fashion in Europe.³¹ When people were invalided or removed from site, moreover, the action was taken not only for their own health but for the reputation of empire.

Anxieties about environment, race, and prestige were shaped by social and political dynamics in specific settings, but, for the colonizers at least, they were also transcolonial concerns. At their heart was a discomfort caused by the experience of difference and being different: the sense of having to constantly navigate uncertainties of environment and people, of alien encounters, and the feeling, as Ranajit Guha posits, of “indefiniteness” and of being “not at home in empire.”³² In this way, anxiety could be said to be indicative not only of a shared settler identity or experience, but of a colonial condition.³³ Certainly, the need to manage and understand difference underpinned cultures of imperial research and knowledge production on colonized peoples.³⁴ Medical, anthropological, and ethnopsychiatric knowledge in particular both articulated and offered explanations for stereotypes of natives as irrational, overemotional, and prone to sporadic outbursts of violence. Such pathologization, while projecting an image of the inherent superiority of the colonizers, ultimately served to reinforce vulnerability.

This framing of empire through the lens of the emotions, and particularly through anxiety, has been important for ongoing attempts to undermine an older historiography that presented European empires as rational, orderly, and progressivist forces.³⁵ Certainly, anxieties cannot be separated from these broader insecurities of empire, including real, imagined, or anticipated threats. As Kalala Ngalamulume’s chapter on yellow fever in Saint-Louis-du-Sénégal in this volume shows, in Senegal, the disease environment was perceived to be so dangerous that the very strictest measures were required to prevent disaster. These anxieties, which were tied to the anticipation of an outbreak, were closely linked to concerns about livelihoods, civil liberties, and

the legitimacy of segregation based on race. Yet we should remain cautious of focusing too much on the imperial dimensions of such phenomena. The search for common themes and features across imperial contexts risks overinscribing the power of race and racial difference in explaining emotions and can muddy those settings where questions of difference are not so clear cut. It also places more emphasis on defining what united individuals than on understanding differences between them, potentially flattening individual emotional subjectivities. As Ngalamulume and others point out, Africa, in its imagined or “invented” sense, was a place that provoked the most extreme emotions. If, as Robert Peckham has noted, a persistent theme in colonial archives in Asia is “the anxiety induced by Asia’s immensity,”³⁶ then in Africa we might say that such anxiety was also tinged by that of instability, of a “primeval” psychological element in relation to the immensity of its landscape and people.

One provocative line of inquiry is to explore anxieties more fully as constituent parts of African histories and contexts, and particularly in relation to African spaces. By looking at European settler engagement with African performance and dance across three distinct settings in colonial Kenya and Uganda, Cécile Feza Bushidi (this volume) highlights the contingent nature of settler anxieties. Not “merely a trigger for settler anxiety,” dance, in certain spaces, could also provoke awe, have the power to soothe, or represent a respectable form of cultural consumption. Whether dance generated anxiety seemed intimately tied to questions of space and context, revealing the need to assess anxiety in relation not only to things but also to “environment” or performance context. Dance observed while on safari, for example, evoked far less anxiety than dance that “invaded” settlers’ living spaces. Such landscapes, environments, or distinct spaces might be conceived of as “anxious spaces.” Although thinking about them in this way might not necessarily reveal how people felt, it provides ways of thinking about representations and actions within them. King takes up this theme in her examination of the material aspects of anxiety and affect as they relate to people described as thieves, “free-booters,” and cattle raiders. The Maloti-Drakensberg Mountains and surrounds, through this lens, constitute an “anxious space” that shaped not only actions but “clothing, material accoutrements,” and “how people reacted based on these insensibilities” in ways that acknowledge the agency of both colonizer and colonized. “Raiding movements—part of raiding affects,” King notes,

“thus confounded authorities in the southern Drakensberg and Natal: try as they might, military operations often failed to understand and respond to raiders’ strategies, patterns, or alliances.”

Thinking about the ways in which particular social, political, and economic spaces give rise to atmospheres or “moods” that structure the kinds of actions and imaginations that become possible (or not) in the course of everyday life highlights the contingencies of emotions and the emotional communities that might exist in any place at any particular time.³⁷ Indeed, in looking beyond the colonial, we are invited to consider the wider affective landscape in which anxiety plays a key role, and to move beyond the environment and the physical and emotional landscapes that have received so much attention in the literature on colonial anxieties. Attention to political and social spaces here not only provides a way of decentering empire but can help reveal the complexities of anxieties even when African agency and voices are difficult to discern through written records. Nakanyike Musisi’s chapter (this volume) looks at anxieties about gender and masculinity in Buganda within and beyond what was, supposedly, the strictly homosocial space of the *bisakatte* (royal enclosure) within the court compound of Mwangi II (1884–97). These anxieties were coproduced with missionaries, traders, and colonial officials, but were nevertheless deeply situated within Ganda apparatuses of power and sexual politics. “At the core of this anxiety,” Musisi contends, “were spirited cultural tensions and contradictions—a struggle over two competing patriarchal cultures (British and missionary on the one hand and Ganda on the other hand) and, more so, their dissimilar assumptions about power, sexual desire, the body and, above all, constructions of masculinity.” Anxiety, in this way, has multiple uses, bringing together the personal and the political into one frame. The value of this approach can be seen in other contexts, too. Carina Ray’s work on interracial sexual relationships in colonial Ghana, for example, explores such sexual unions not only as a source of colonial anxiety but as both a source and a resource for anticolonial nationalist agitation. Through attention to the personal and political meanings of such unions for the colonized, Ray highlights how such unions were implicated in the ending of empire.³⁸ Such work cautions us against overattending to anxiety as it plays out in relation to empire or colonial settlers alone.

The themes of power, prestige, and control as highlighted in the literature on colonial anxieties remain key here, but they offer a new way

of reading and explaining change, as well as themes such as race and violence. Writing on the Congo Free State, for example, Nancy Rose Hunt draws on the related concepts of anxiety and nervousness to explore violence and the creativity of people living under it. Nervousness—“a kind of energy, taut and excitable”—is not anxiety, she tells us, but instead “suggests being on edge. Its semantics are unsettled, combining vigor, force, and determination with excitation, weakness, timidity.”³⁹ Bringing together the biopolitical and the securitizing, Hunt shows how invasive medical practices and censusing were countered by “therapeutic insurgents” who articulated a different model of healing. This new method of reading the colonial past is made possible “by attending to perceptions, moods, and capacities to wonder and move.”⁴⁰ It shows that emotional transformation was not unidirectional, something imposed onto colonized “others” while leaving the colonizing unaffected. Similarly, as recent scholarship on emotions and Christian missions has shown, although instilling the “right” kind of Christian emotions into converts was part of a colonial “civilizing” mission, affective relationships across colonial divides could destabilize racialized power structures and support anticolonial activism.⁴¹ In this way, as Claire McLisky and Karen Vallgård point out, “while emotions in colonial contexts could create lines of division, they could also work to confront or even dissolve such boundaries.”⁴²

Anxiety, then, can help illuminate the multiplicity of emotions and the ways emotional regimes might shift in nonlinear and potentially contradictory ways.⁴³ Anxiety does not exist in isolation, but may be experienced in conjunction with and in contrast to other emotions. Taking the 2010 destruction by fire of the Kasubi Tombs—the resting place of Buganda’s four preceding kings—as his point of departure, Jonathan Earle (this volume) explores vocabularies of anxiety and calm in Uganda. While anxieties can be read in the writings of intellectuals such as Eridadi Mulira, or in struggles between missionaries and the Baganda over burial practices, it was (and still is) the sense of calm that is more commonly evoked by the Baganda in the envisioning of politics and political spaces. It is precisely anxiety’s ambiguity, its shiftiness, in fact, that might make it of particular analytical value. This is what literary theorist Sianne Ngai argues when she considers anxiety as one of the “ugly feelings.”⁴⁴ Unlike more “noble” feelings such as anger or fear, Ngai argues that “ugly feelings”—not only anxiety but also envy, paranoia, irritation, the racialized affect of “animatedness,” and what

she terms “stuplimity” (a mixture of shock and boredom)—are more ambiguous and ambient; they are weaker than other emotions and often do not take a direct object. The political effects of these “ugly feelings” are indeterminate—unlike, say, rage or anger, which can spur political action, anxiety or envy do not do so exactly—or, rather, they may or they may not. It is precisely this ambiguous character, however, that “amplifies their power to diagnose situations, and situations marked by blocked or thwarted action in particular.”⁴⁵ Where there is anxiety, we might say, there is a social, political, and economic context in which individuals have come to feel obstructed, suspended, or blocked. The task of the historian, archaeologist, or social scientist—as opposed to the literary critic, then—is to consider the particular conditions that give rise to this blockage, and how it manifests in lived realities.

Anxiety, Temporality, and Futures

Just as attention to anxiety in relation to African spaces opens up new ways of understanding otherwise dominant narratives, so too does it bring attention to questions of time, temporality, and futures. Colonial anxieties were in part tied to anxieties about the future—the ability for European bodies to survive long-term in tropical climates, as well as concerns about the long-term political viability of the colonial project. Such anxieties coexisted with fears about security and rebellion, and they again underscore the vulnerability and contingency of colonial rule. But the lens of anxiety can do more than this. It can both help us make sense of what happens when imaginations of the future are thrown in doubt by an external force, even if who or what this force might be is ambiguous, and work to permit new questions about the linkages between the past and the present. In pursuing such linkages, it is helpful to ask how anxiety might invite reflections on temporality, particularly the future. Here, work by Ngai, drawing on German Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch, is instructive. Bloch distinguishes between the “filled emotions” (envy, greed, admiration) and “expectant emotions” (anxiety, fear, hope), arguing that the latter are less object-driven and have an “incomparably greater anticipatory character.”⁴⁶ Expectant emotions, he writes, “imply a real future; in fact that of the Not-Yet, of what has objectively not yet been there.”⁴⁷ As many of the contributors in this volume point out, anxiety arises precisely because of the unknowability of the future, and anticipating this Not-Yet can have in many cases physical effects on the body.

Expectation and anticipation are central to understanding the shape and meaning of anxieties in colonial Africa. As a growing body of literature on decolonization is indicating, much of this can be read through what might be regarded as the “afterlives” of colonial anxieties—through the ways such anxieties evolved or were revealed through moments of transition. Indeed, decolonization can be read as a particularly anxious moment, for European settlers and colonial officials, at least, because it was a time when long-standing fears and anxieties seemed to be coming true. As Matthew Stanard has shown for Congo, during colonial rule, anxieties about the weakness of Belgium’s hold over the state underpinned colonizers’ need to project an image of control—of “Bula Matari,” or “breaker of rocks.” This projection ultimately made the Congo crisis, with its apparently sudden “eruption of chaos, violence and death,” come, to outsiders at least, as a shock.⁴⁸ In exploring anxieties felt by white settlers in Kenya on the eve of the country’s independence, Will Jackson and Harry Firth-Jones (this volume) similarly trace the shifting contours of anxiety, exposed through searching questions about violence, prestige, and control: “would newly liberated Africans seek revenge on their erstwhile colonizers? Would white life and white-owned land be secure in an independent African state?”

As such new work on anxieties in the context of decolonization shows, approaching decolonization as an emotional moment and a chronological frame allows for connections to be made “that cross the colonial and the postcolonial,” to borrow from Jackson and Firth-Jones. In doing so, anxiety provides another way of moving beyond older perspectives that viewed independence and decolonization as moments of rupture. It also provides ways of connecting images of Africa across broader expanses of time and space. Jackson and Firth-Jones, for example, draw links between fears of criminality in Kenya in the 1960s with fears of insecurity, farm seizures, and roadblocks in Zimbabwe in the 2000s. Such an approach links anxiety to attempts to envisage and understand Africa, what Jackson and Firth-Jones call a certain type of scholarly discourse “that attempts to comprehend a postcolonial and characteristically *African* state today.” While looking at a much earlier period, Ngalamulume’s chapter, too, sees anxieties and fears surrounding African behavior as linking his research on epidemics in Saint-Louis-du-Sénégal with occurrences of influenza across eastern, southern, and western Africa in 1918–19, as well as with panic over HIV/AIDS in the 1980s, Ebola in the 2010s, and COVID-19.

While for Jackson and Firth-Jones the roadblock might be seen as a key expression of anxiety, for Ngalamulume it is quarantine—its use or absence bringing together themes of surveillance and protection, as well as vulnerability. This raises the importance not just of situating anxiety within historical and political contexts but of interrogating the very ways that anxiety relates to the past itself. “Africa’s postcolonial era,” as Richard Reid has argued, “has been characterized by anxiety about the deeper past.”⁴⁹ National elites have wanted to “move on” from the past, to carefully manage it, or to eradicate histories that are messy and highlight violence, division, economic instability, and the “superficiality of the nation.”⁵⁰ Yet while postcolonial leaders might try to “move on” from these deeper histories, they continue to provide important resources for citizens. Indeed, Earle’s chapter shows how for the Baganda, the kingdom of Buganda and its kings are understood to provide calm in moments of postcolonial political anxiety in Uganda. This recourse to calm also challenges President Yoweri Museveni’s regime, suggesting that there are other ways of governing than the one he and his party, the National Resistance Movement (NRM), have pursued. Here it is calm, not anxiety, that requires analytical attention, and Earle skillfully considers both emotions to provide important insights into the affective political landscape of postcolonial B/Uganda.

Anxiety, then, can be used as a tool through which to explore linkages between the personal and the political, or between the individual and the social. As Musisi shows, at the root of the anxiety found in Mwanga II’s court in the late nineteenth century are conflicting patriarchal regimes—one represented by the British and Christian missionaries; the other by the institution of the Buganda kingdom itself—and differing ideas about power, sexual desire, the body, and masculinity. Andrea Mariko Grant (this volume), meanwhile, explores how anxiety arises when “visions” for the postgenocide future of Rwanda come into conflict or are thrown into doubt. Here, anxiety is multidirectional—the affect results when the state intervenes to “thwart” one’s plans for the future; but in this very act of thwarting, the state’s own anxieties (and fragilities) are revealed. While the state may attempt to inculcate particular kinds of emotional regimes or affective dispositions in its subjects, these attempts are never completely successful. And, indeed, “unseemly” or “unruly” emotions can rather index “mismanagement of the polity and mismanagement of the self,” unsettling projects of governance and subject-formation.⁵¹

What is striking here is that while anxiety is tied up with expectation, anticipation, and conflicting visions, its effects are not always obvious or straightforward. This reinforces the need for close attention to what Kathryn de Luna has described as “the subjective emotional stakes” for individuals in decision-making.⁵² Simon Turner (this volume) touches on this in exploring the experiences of Burundians in Kigali, Rwanda, after thousands fled violence in 2015. Faced with protracted stays in Kigali, some of his interlocutors placed their hope in God, believing it was through divine intercession rather than international or regional intervention or rebel movements that a peaceful future would be achieved. Here, while states of uncertainty might have a certain “positive potentiality,” anxiety “is concerned with the potential for negative futures.” In this way, anxiety cannot be separated from the wider literature on the so-called negative emotions that, ironically, are not necessarily solely negative. As Elizabeth Cooper and David Pratten have argued, uncertainty is productive; it can offer opportunities for individuals to act in the world and create new kinds of social relations, forms of subjectivity, and experiences of time.⁵³ Marco Di Nunzio elaborates on this insight, arguing that uncertainty can be understood as “a terrain of possibilities.”⁵⁴ For the young men in Addis Ababa with whom he worked, they in fact “embraced” uncertainty—they moved around, engaged in various kinds of labor and relations, in the hope of getting a “chance” or “stroke of luck” (*idil* in Amharic), which would open up new possibilities for them in the future to escape the conditions of marginality and exclusion in which they lived. Thinking about anxiety and the ways it is tied to possibilities and futures has value because, unlike concepts such as uncertainty, insecurity, or uneasiness, anxiety does not necessarily dissipate once one’s material circumstances change. Rather, it may be carried in the body and condition one’s subjectivity and intersubjective relations in a present that would seem, at least on the surface, less anxious. Anxiety, then, again has an unsettling role—one that not only helps us understand what it is like to be caught up in a particular moment but provides a lens onto the contradictory, multiple, and potentially nonlinear paths that individuals might take.

Approaching Anxiety

Before we discuss the structure of the book and the individual chapters, it is important to consider the challenges that accompany employing anxiety as an analytical lens. How, after all, can we approach anxiety

methodologically? To return to the questions and issues raised at the beginning of the chapter, attention must be paid to what exactly anxiety actually is. What is striking about so much of the scholarly literature that touches on anxiety is that so little of it pays attention to questions of definition or meaning. There is some unevenness here between disciplines. Much of the literature on colonial anxieties, for example, has tended to sidestep the issue, seeing anxiety as a broad and at times vague concept, with historians taking more interest in discovering what anxiety reveals about race, bodies, minds, and sexuality, among other themes, than in the theoretical literature on the emotions. Where there has been attention to questions of definition, this has most often drawn on the distinction made between anxiety and fear, particularly as articulated by Guha and Joanna Bourke: while fear is something that arises in response to an identifiable threat, anxiety is more diffuse and is related to a perceived threat. Anthropologists and sociologists have been somewhat more inclined to question the use and suitability of “anxiety,” if only to argue for the use of other terms. Didier Fassin, for example, has suggested substituting “anxiety” with “uneasiness” or *inquiétude*, “which gives it a sense more active than affective.”⁵⁵ Cooper and Pratten, moreover, in their *Ethnographies of Uncertainty in Africa* (2015), while not focusing specifically on anxiety, instead see it as integral to their understanding of the uncertainty that they argue has come to define everyday life across the continent.⁵⁶

In this volume, we do not attempt to draw clear distinctions between anxiety and related emotions or emotional states, such as fear, uncertainty, and insecurity. This is a deliberate choice. It stems in part from the unease of applying anxiety as an analytical lens in contexts where the term itself has no direct equivalent in language. And it also reflects the desire to avoid dehistoricizing and depoliticizing emotion words in ways that end up limiting their analytical potential. As Bourke has noted, scholars need to be wary of imposing rigid distinctions between such emotional states as fear and anxiety precisely because this distinction “too often rests on a distinction between the rational and the irrational. However, there is no strict division between reason and emotion.”⁵⁷ Seeking to avoid the vagueness that comes from slippages between anxiety, fear, and uncertainty, among other “negative” emotions, many of the contributors instead reinforce anxiety as a multifaceted and multivocal concept that cannot be fully understood without reference to other emotions, or “fictions,” as Earle puts it in his chapter. This

is a necessary part of moving anxiety beyond its psychoanalytical and biomedical roots toward a socially, culturally, and historically situated understanding of anxious spaces and lives. Anxiety is not just a psychological state that requires the tools of the psychoanalyst or psychiatrist to uncover, but one that is constituted in many different ways and takes on myriad forms.

A focus on anxiety in African contexts reinforces the need to pay attention to specificity in the logics, mechanisms, and ways that anxiety is constituted. Looking at anxiety across time and space, we cannot necessarily assume an individualized notion of the “self,” or that emotions are located in the brain, or even that anxiety has always been a subjective experience of inner life. The somatization of what might be perceived as psychological complaints is a recurrent theme in the literature on psychiatry and mental illness in Africa. Psychiatrists and anthropologists in Uganda in the 1960s, for example, frequently drew attention to the ways that somatic complaints, particularly those affecting the chest, predominated among patients presenting with depression.⁵⁸ Broadening the scope, Julie Livingston has similarly pointed out that there is a need for historical specificity, drawing attention to nineteenth-century Bechuanaland, “where individual and dividual personhood (to use McKim Marriott’s term) coexist in explicit dynamic tension, and where they are somaticized in the gut, liver, waist, or heart, but rarely the head.”⁵⁹ In this way, we must take seriously the particular embodied and physical manifestations of anxiety, and the ways in which they are intimately connected to how the body is imagined, and where health and illness might be located. Scholars here must be equally attendant to how particular historical events are locally understood to produce new kinds of affective states. For example, in Rwanda the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi is widely believed to have led to a new form of trauma, known in Kinyarwanda as *ihabamuka*, among genocide survivors. It manifests in the experience of shortness of breath, of feeling that one’s heart is constricted, that words cannot leave one’s mouth. Distinct from fear (*ubwoba*), “*ihabamuka* is an emotion that blocks your breath and your words.”⁶⁰

Scholars interested in anxiety must pay close attention to the ways in which the concept can and cannot be translated across contexts. The meaning of anxiety, after all, is far from self-evident. Moreover, as Rosenwein has noted, emotions are always “delivered second-hand.” Individual terms, particularly when mediated through colonial

ethnographers, might not only be inscribed with anxiety themselves but also obscure affect and the affective. Giving the example of the Ila practice of *kuweza lubono mung'anda* (lit. “to hunt for wealth at home”), in which husband and wife agree that the wife should take lovers, de Luna highlights how colonial ethnography reduced what was a complicated demonstration—bringing together sensuality, affect, and the material—to prostitution because they could not comprehend this as a sincere sensory experience.⁶¹ More recent work on love in Africa has similarly highlighted the emotional and material aspects of love, suggesting that subsuming such relationships under the notion of Western romantic love might occlude more than it reveals.⁶² Bushidi’s chapter, moreover, suggests that the Kiswahili term *ngoma*, as used by European settlers, was itself an embodiment of anxiety, encompassing “indigenous forms of bodily musical performance and their presumed essential nature as excessive, disorderly, and noisy.” Language, though central to understanding negative emotions such as anxiety, can be difficult to translate. What this suggests is the need for scholars to take a wide-ranging approach to their sources in order to look for the multiple ways in which people might themselves speak of, express, or use emotion words.

In order to unpack rich vernacular vocabularies of the emotions, scholars need to pay close attention to language and terms themselves, a task that might require collaboration between disciplines, particularly anthropology and linguistics. Earle (this volume) highlights how anxieties were interwoven through political and social life in Buganda and can be read through Luganda words. Such “hidden anxieties” were central to missionary-ethnographer John Roscoe’s commentary on Luganda greetings, for example, in which he stressed that the “*tya*” in the common greeting “*otyano sebo*” was the verb “to fear,” resulting, for him, in a literal meaning of “Have you any cause for fear?” It is important to note that there may be multiple readings of any particular term, and much of the analysis requires a reflexive use of language, as well as a careful unpacking of what in particular the lens of anxiety reveals that other concepts might not. In a study of musicians who play brass instruments in Benin, Lyndsey Copeland notes that her interlocutors use a wide range of words to describe feelings of anxiety, from “worry” or “problem” (*un souci*) to “nervousness” (*nervosité*), but “anxiety” (*anxiété*) is in fact most common.⁶³ In this context, “anxiety” connotes “a quality of feeling that is subjective, affective and directed inwards,” yet it is also “relational, situated and directed outwards.” In this way, she writes,

anxiety “is at once emotional and expectant, visceral and somatic.”⁶⁴ Indeed, while for some of the contributors in this volume, “anxiety” as a term has a corollary in local vernaculars (Musisi, Earle), for others, “anxiety” is a term that can be productively employed to characterize the tenor of emotional life encountered on the ground (Bushidi, Grant, Turner).

Considering anxiety in this way requires self-reflection on the part of the researcher. Indeed, scholars across disciplines have long grappled with how to best apprehend and discursively represent emotions in research. As anthropologist Andrew Beatty has asked provocatively, “Where does emotion begin and end? Is it a matter of interpretation, feeling, category, situation, response, expression, or some or all of these?”⁶⁵ For his part, Beatty argues for a narrative approach to the emotions—narrating how emotions emerge in the unfolding of social life, insisting on the biographical richness of our interlocutors. This seems to involve relying not only on interviews but also on participant observation over long-term ethnographic fieldwork. Indeed, he is clear on the limits of understanding emotions through interviews. As he writes, “At some abstract level we might learn something about how people think about emotions *in interviews*, but not how they think or feel in practice; much less how emotions occur, are subjectively experienced, how they filter, frame, or direct sequences of action.”⁶⁶ Perhaps more worrying is the risk that anxiety might emerge as a feeling within the researcher—one that colors the analysis without consideration of whether the focus on anxiety is more reflective of the researcher than of the researched. Here, close attention to the positionality of the researcher is required, along with a sense of caution and an awareness of the limits of anxiety. While we may be able to grasp something of the anxieties, fears, and uncertainties that underpin action, that may be felt subjectively, and that may be expressed through material culture, we cannot necessarily assume that individuals have been conscious of these ways of inhabiting the world. Similarly, researchers must be cautious of over-reading anxiety into past and present lives. Decades ago Susan Reynolds Whyte issued a similar note of warning in reference to the framework of uncertainty. As she noted: “The extreme emphasis that some scholars place on the uncertainties of the present era imply that life was more certain in colonial or precolonial times. In contrast, the classical pragmatists like John Dewey recognised that existential problems always present uncertainties to social actors. But uncertainties themselves change, as do the means available for dealing with them.”⁶⁷ As the chapters in this book all reinforce, anxiety must

be understood in specific social, historical, and political contexts, and as a concept whose contours shift through time and space.

Organization of the Book

This book is organized into three parts that reflect the three entry points to anxiety outlined in this introduction: Part I: “Anxious Spaces”; Part II: “Unsettling Narratives”; and Part III: “Alternative Temporalities.” As noted above, there are overlaps between these themes. What we intend by grouping the chapters in this way is to highlight how different approaches (broadly, historical, archaeological, and ethnographic) can bring out what employing anxiety as an analytical lens can do.

The three chapters grouped as Part I: “Anxious Spaces” all emphasize the ways that anxieties might be tied to distinct African spaces or places, but they do so by “reading” anxiety in quite different ways—through material culture, policies, language, and embodied expression.

Archaeologist Rachel King encourages us to consider anxiety not just as inhering in relations between people, but also between people and things. Anxiety in this way, she argues, can be understood as “a material experience.” To this effect, she explores the material traces of anxiety as related to “outlaws”—principally thieves, “free-booters,” and cattle raiders—in nineteenth-century southern Africa. By examining the construction of jails, fences, and magistracies, King allows us to better conceive of a certain material landscape of anxiety wherein efforts by colonial authorities to curtail “illicit” behavior were often ill-informed, poorly executed, and ultimately unsuccessful. As she asks, can we see one part of African agency in the archaeological past as “the ability to manipulate affect and inspire anxiety?” The very existence of these structures reveals anxiety on the part of colonial power, suggesting a certain material acknowledgment, if you will, that the legitimacy of white rule was precarious indeed.

Cécile Feza Bushidi’s chapter explores anxieties around dance in colonial Africa, taking a wide-ranging and explorative approach. She suggests that although dance generated anxiety among colonial officials, settlers, and missionaries—often stimulated by fears about “unruly” African bodies and the political potential they might generate—this is only one side of the story. She argues instead for a multivocal perspective, pointing out that while dance enabled and validated the colonial process, the emotions it conjured in its observers were often much more ambivalent and contingent. In practice this meant that although certain

dances were outlawed by colonial authorities and that settlers often expressed alarm when they came into close contact with dancing African bodies, at other moments dance performances fed into romantic and idealized constructions of Africa. Whether dance generated anxiety seemed intimately tied to questions of space and context, revealing the need to see anxiety in relation not only to things but also to “environment” or performance context. Dance observed while on safari, for example, evoked far less anxiety among white settlers than dance that “invaded” their living spaces.

Kalala Ngalamulume’s chapter then explores the anxieties that accompanied yellow fever outbreaks in the port city of Saint-Louis-du-Sénégal from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. He argues that these outbreaks provoked anxiety in colonial public health officials and had real-world effects: new sanitary measures that disrupted individuals’ everyday lives and livelihoods, and new forms of segregation along class and racial lines. If we can read colonial officials’ anxieties about “locals” through their material practices, as King suggests, Ngalamulume argues that we can also read them through their quarantine measures: ships arriving from areas suspected of contamination were quarantined or rerouted. Yet these measures were not taken up seamlessly. Rather, colonial officials had to contend with pushback from merchants who put commerce ahead of health. Through careful analysis of archival sources, Ngalamulume reconstructs the anxious debates that took place among colonial officials about how to best contain the disease.

In Part II: “Unsettling Narratives,” chapters by Nakanyike Musisi, Will Jackson and Harry Firth-Jones, and Andrea Mariko Grant demonstrate how anxiety as an analytical lens can help destabilize commonsense or normative narratives.

In her chapter, Musisi focuses on a particularly anxious period of Ugandan history: the reign of the Buganda king *Kabaka* Mwanga II (1884–97). She shows how paying close attention to anxiety—on the part not only of Christian missionaries but also of Mwanga himself—reveals the uneasiness that accompanied changes in gender and sex structures. The missionaries sought to dethrone Mwanga in part because of his ambiguous understanding of masculinity—one that did not neatly fit into Christian and European ideas of hegemonic masculinity and heterosexuality. She explores the anxieties that arise when one dominant system is forced, through the colonial encounter, to reckon with

another. Here anxiety unsettles narratives about gender and sexuality in Uganda, challenging, for example, postcolonial narratives that see homosexuality as “un-African.”

Jackson and Firth-Jones’s chapter explores anxieties around decolonization in relation to the evacuation of white settlers from Kenya in 1963–64. Considering letters written by white settlers to the British state requesting evacuation, they show how there was a shift in anxiety around this period: instead of anxiety as related to the natural environment, articulated most clearly through the prevalence of tropical neurasthenia, anxiety was suddenly related to people, to independent Africans whose motivations could not be determined and who were constructed as containing an inherent violence. By tracing these “genealogies of anxiety,” the authors argue that we can better trace continuities between colonial and postcolonial representations of Africa and also that anxieties equally shaped other processes of decolonization worldwide. Like Musisi, they draw our attention to the gendered dimensions of anxiety, with white women constructed by white men as being particularly susceptible to anxiety and “nerves.” Their chapter highlights shifting understandings of anxiety, calling attention to its multivocal and racialized character. If independence was experienced as a moment of hope for many Kenyans, it was experienced as a moment of profound anxiety for white settlers.

Grant’s chapter considers the anxiety that results when a Rwandan pastor’s development plans—building a health center with NGO money—are suddenly thwarted by the intervention of the state. At stake, Grant suggests, were conflicting understandings of development: on the one hand, the linear, secular project as envisioned by the state through its “Vision 2020” plan, one wherein only ruling party members should benefit; on the other, the spiritual project of realizing the Kingdom of God on earth, as envisioned by the pastor, one wherein all Rwandan Christians should benefit. What the state’s intervention revealed was its own anxieties: fear that its grip on power might not be as tight as it might claim, and that the country’s “new” postgenocide Pentecostal churches might pose a threat, especially to its particular developmental “vision.”

Part III: “Alternative Temporalities” brings together two chapters that highlight themes of expectation and anticipation and invite reflection on the future.

In his chapter, anthropologist Simon Turner explores the experiences of Burundians in Kigali, Rwanda, after thousands fled the violence in 2015 when President Pierre Nkurunziza controversially decided to run

for a third term. Turner argues that although many believed that their stay in Kigali would be temporary, the protracted nature of the conflict meant that many were forced to remain much longer than expected. Turner notes that “as the conflict continued, they had to revise their plans and make the tough choice between returning to an uncertain future in Burundi and remaining in Rwanda without many options of ‘making a life.’” For Burundians facing such difficult decisions about whether to return and considering what the future might bring, Turner suggests that anxiety was morphing into despair as they became increasingly convinced that a return home and future in Burundi were no longer possible. While some continued to struggle with their feelings, others were turning—in part—to God “in order to ‘live with’ despair.”

Finally, Jonathon Earle brings both historical and ethnographic analysis to bear on anxiety in relation to the Buganda Kingdom. He argues that although much scholarly attention has been paid to the concept of anxiety as related to both the colonial and the postcolonial state, other competing concepts might be open to our interlocutors. He describes the protests that erupted after the Kasubi Tombs’ destruction, with activists convinced that President Yoweri Museveni and his government were behind the fires. Their cogent critiques, which manifested in widely circulated images and pamphlets along with spirit possessions, articulated a particular idea of calm and stability associated with the Buganda monarchy. If Museveni’s state is understood as producing anxiety in the country’s population, then the kingdom is held up as existing according to another set of principles. Here the message was clear: present-day and present-focused anxiety will give way to the calm and stability of Buganda, which has already endured and outlived the country’s postindependence leaders. One placard circulated showing *Kabaka* Muteebi II sitting on a throne, seemingly unperturbed by the protests and disturbances, with the inscription “Buganda is calm.” Earle’s chapter invites us to consider postcolonial governance while keeping both anxiety and calm in mind.

Taken as a whole, the volume aims to highlight what can be gained from exploring anxiety and anxieties across disciplines. Building on the historical attention to colonial anxieties, this broader perspective shows how the lens of anxiety might also be used to explore contemporary social lives across the continent. The chapters show the multiple ways in which greater attention to colonial histories of anxiety in particular are useful in understanding contemporary conditions. Although anxiety is often associated with the future, as we have seen, it is also a key

analytical framework for understanding the colonial past. The point is not to judge whether the colonial period can be considered to be more or less anxious than the postcolonial present—as if time can be so easily bifurcated—but rather to explore the particular ways in which anxieties persist and shape life conditions across the continent. Here, anxiety is not just an internal state—pathological or otherwise—but one that emerges in relation to the outer world, to material objects, circumstances, and social conditions.

Notes

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3. Joseph E. LeDoux, *Anxious: The Modern Mind in the Age of Anxiety* (London: Oneworld, 2015).
4. Exceptions include Claire Mercer, “Middle Class Construction: Domestic Architecture, Aesthetics and Anxieties in Tanzania,” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 52, no. 2 (2014): 227–50; Matthew G. Stanard, “Revisiting Bula Matari and the Congo Crisis: Successes and Anxieties in Belgium’s Late Colonial State,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 46, no. 1 (2018): 144–68; and Lyndsey Copeland, “The Anxiety of Blowing: Experiences of Breath and Brass Instruments in Benin,” *Africa* 89, no. 2 (2019): 353–77.
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7. See, for example, the special issue “The Private Lives of Empire: Emotion, Intimacy, and Colonial Rule” in *Itinerario* 42, no. 1 (2018) as well as the following: Mark Condos, *The Insecurity State: Punjab and the Making of Colonial Power in British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Harald Fischer-Tiné, ed., *Anxieties, Fear and Panic in Colonial Settings: Empires on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown* (Cham, Switz.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Robert Peckham, ed., *Empires of Panic: Epidemics and Colonial Anxieties* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); and Kim Wagner, *Amritsar 1919: An Empire of Fear and the Making of a Massacre* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019).

8. Condos, *Insecurity State*, 3.

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16. Elizabeth Cooper and David Pratten, "Ethnographies of Uncertainty in Africa: An Introduction," in Cooper and Pratten, *Ethnographies of Uncertainty in Africa*, 1.

17. Copeland, "Anxiety of Blowing"; Andrea Mariko Grant, "Quiet Insecurity and Quiet Agency in Post-Genocide Rwanda," *Etnofoor* 27, no. 2 (2015): 29–30; Adeline Masquelier, "Teatime: Boredom and the Temporalities of Young Men in Niger," *Africa* 83 (2013): 470–91; Henrik Vigh, "Youth Mobilisation as Social Navigation: Reflections on the Concept of Dubriagem," *Cadernos de estudos africanos* 18/19 (2010): 140–64.

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