INTRODUCTION
Ruptures, Shifts and Ripples

It takes less than an hour to drive from Keflavík Airport to Reykjavík's bus terminal, which is located in the city centre. This scenic route, called Reykjanesbraut, meanders through the Reykjanes Peninsula, a region in south-western Iceland, and runs along the Atlantic Ocean, with endless areas of mossed lava fields and mountain peaks gradually emerging on the horizon. At first glance, the landscape seems to be almost deprived of any human activity; it evokes a sense of emptiness and strangely begins to envelop one's body, feelings and imagination. It is astonishing, but unnerving: full of excitement and bewilderment. This emptiness is suddenly ruptured by a couple of American tourists sitting next to my seat. 'It's like being on a different planet', I hear; 'it's simply mad ... this is such a mysterious and beautiful landscape', they continue, both stuck to the window of a shuttle bus. It is the summer of 2017 and my second time in Iceland. I am here to further my ethnographic fieldwork and explore the affective and temporal dimensions of the economic crisis that hit the island in 2008. I am also lost in my thoughts, just like the American tourists are lost in their words. But seeing and feeling the outer emptiness, I think about my friends whom I have not seen for over a year. I look forward to meeting Paweł and Magda, Marcin and Agata, Basia, Wiola, Natalia, Guðrún, Hrafn, Sigmar and Hallur, and many others. As always, there is so much to do, to catch up with, and not enough time. But I am definitely excited. While thinking these thoughts, a glimpse of something 'out of place' suddenly appears on the horizon of emptiness – something that catches my anthropological attention. Halfway to Reykjavík, I see two cars, a few kilometres apart, covered with dust. Far from any buildings or tourist attractions, they seem to be abandoned and simply left on the side of the road. Their actual presence significantly ruptures the emptiness of the landscape. They definitely do not belong there; in fact, their presence is a haunting one. These two cars are the ghosts from the past and they

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immediately trigger my ethnographic imagination. 'It's happening again', I tell myself, feeling anxiety, and immediately casting my mind back to the experiences, recollections and stories I had encountered in the field last year. 'Another crisis is coming', I start to feel and anticipate the future.

At first glance, a car left on the side of the road is not something particularly interesting or worth problematising. This is not, however, the case in Iceland, where cars have the potential to evoke a meaningful feeling of anxiety, resulting from vernacular temporal orientation and reasoning. The abandoned car is, in fact, seen and sensed as an affective repetition and a reminder of the past; its re-emergence in the present might forecast the crisis future. Therefore, a car is not merely a simple object, but rather an affective matter and a temporal mark, which evokes social alertness and uncertainties towards the immediate future. It is a ghost that haunts and pulls the past and the future into co-existence in the present. Abandoned cars bring back the memories from the beginning of the twenty-first century, when Iceland underwent rapid economic growth and cars, among other things, became the embodiment of hyper-consumerism and risky borrowing. It was a 'time of prosperity' in Iceland, a period during which 'it was easier to buy a new car than to bother with repairing the broken one', as I constantly heard from my research partners, who wanted to vividly illustrate to me what was happening during the so-called Icelandic 'manic millennium' (Mixa 2009, 2015). The stories about broken and abandoned cars became an embodiment of the excessive consumption, an imaginative and affective representation of the overheated economic system and its uncontrollable neoliberal policies and highly deregulated financial sector.

Abandoning cars went hand in hand with buying luxurious vehicles. Brand new and shiny high-end cars, such as Range Rovers, Land Cruisers and even Hummers, grew in numbers on the streets of Reykjavík. Interestingly, they implied not only the social position of their owners, but also a cultural materialisation of the progress and Iceland's bright future. It was commonly assumed, locally and globally, that Iceland was on its way to becoming one of the most affluent societies across the world: a country with its own know-how, ready to conquer the global economy. Today, we know that it did not last long and that in many ways it was rather a dream of the postcolonial, the national and the neoliberal bedfellows. Interestingly, after the economic collapse and the subsequent crisis, the symbolic status of the high-end cars has been ironically rebranded and instead of Range Rover, Land Cruiser and Hummer, they became to be respectively known as 'Game Over', 'Grand Loser' and 'Bummer' (Bergmann 2014: 142). No longer harbingers of an optimistic and affluent Icelandic future, today they are rather the embodiments of the uncertain times and a constant reminder of the systemic flaws which prepared the fertile ground for the crisis to come. Therefore, in Iceland, *a* car

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might be *the* car and it can evoke a meaningful, affective and temporal sense of repetition, which alerts us to the haunting past and the haunting future.

In this book, I speak with Icelandic ghosts of the past, present and future: ghosts that have affective and temporal forms, ghosts that haunt not only the past but also the future, and ghosts that make people think and do things. This is obviously a direct reference to Avery F. Gordon and her book *Ghostly Matters* (2008), in which she argues that ghosts and hauntings are crucial aspects of modernity. They must be listened to and confronted as entities having their own forms, shapes and impacts. Haunting ghosts inform us of social realities and the ways in which people live their lives temporally and affectively. After all, 'the ghost', writes Gordon (2008: 8), is 'a social figure and investigating it can lead to that dense site where history and subjectivity make social life'. Contrary to Gordon, however, I do not explore the textual or visual dimensions of ghosts but rather their embodiments and impacts on social reasoning and actions. Be it a car, or a construction crane, a ghost might possess various objects and subjects, landscapes and experiences, matters and materialities, thus assigning particular meanings of affective and temporal resonance to them. Importantly, however, a ghost might haunt contingently and contextually; it might appear and haunt just as surprisingly and suddenly as it might disappear. But its presence always brings hauntings into play and 'being haunted draws us affectively, sometimes against our will and always a bit magically, into the structure of feeling of a reality we come to experience, not as cold knowledge, but as a transformative recognition' (Gordon 2008: 8).

Anthropology and the anthropologist might also be haunted. As it was in the case of the ghostly appearances of these two abandoned cars on my way from the airport, their presence oriented my ethnographic thoughts towards the past and the future. Ghostly cars, or to be exact, their echoing meanings, evoke the state of anticipation, which I became familiar with during my fieldwork. I would thus argue that it is important to follow ghosts because their haunting might lead us to surprising problematisations and transgressions of taken-for-granted social categories, processes and phenomena (Good, Chiovenda and Rahimi 2022). Moreover, ghosts might haunt not only the past but also the future, making it an interesting, affective and temporal realm of anthropological inquiries and responsibilities; the future is haunted, but it also haunts the present, unfolding the complex ethics of being and social becoming (Ferreday and Kuntsman 2011).

Now, these two abandoned cars on my way from the airport were probably nothing other than tourists leaving their cars at the roadside and walking away into lava fields to take a perfect picture; they might have also been a simple case of a car breakdown, which resulted in a prolonged waiting for a tow. This is, however, not as important as the very fact that they represented

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the experiences from the past and the anticipations of the future. Being 'out of time' and 'out of place', they launched my ethnographic reflexivity. I have immediately found myself being mis-timed and shifted to a different 'vernacular timespace' (Bryant and Knight 2019), as if it was not 2017 but 2007, and these two dusted cars are a glimpse into what is about to happen again. I thus caught myself reasoning through affective, temporal and imaginative ways of sensing the present in which the emerging matters and materialities create localised atmospheric timescapes and uncanny times. At that very moment, on the shuttle bus to Reykjavík, the pre-crisis period was re-materialising itself and orienting my anthropological problematisations towards the haunting future.

Feeling a ghost presence and being haunted (metaphorically, of course) has many similarities to what Daniel M. Knight (2016, 2021) terms a 'vertiginous moment' – a moment in which the temporal shifts between different times induce affective states of confusion, perplexity and alertness. According to Knight (2016: 33), 'temporal vertigo' shows how the past is used as a template of reasoning and a 'justification to the present and for the immediate future'. It always happens suddenly and surprisingly, and unravels people's 'belief' in the repetitive histories, the feeling of 'going back in time' and the prevailing 'idea that moments in time (selective pasts) have been stitched together in the present' (Knight 2016: 33). In this sense, vertigo impacts the temporal understandings of the past, present and future by making them visceral and 'uncanny' (Bandak 2019; Bryant 2016; Stewart 2017). Obviously, different ghosts create different vertigo effects, which then impact people's lived experiences as well as their ways of dealing with the ongoing haunting matters. From uncertainty, anxiety and fear to joyfulness, hopefulness or simply 'stillness' (Stewart 2005), the vertiginous hauntings affect social understandings and practices. They do things to people as well as make people do things, engendering future oriented agency. Apart from being an individual reaction to 'what is happening', they also have the potential to move and attune other bodies and produce collective responses to the looming haunting future.

In Iceland, there are many, often unexpected or even peculiar, ghostly matters, which heave in sight and charge the social, cultural, economic and political atmospheres (Stewart 2011; see also Anderson 2009). They haunt and are haunted; they shift people's experiences temporally and produce vernacular past-future narratives – 'They're doing it again', 'The crisis is coming', 'It's just a matter of time before it happens' – which begin to dominate the present and rupture the otherwise taken-for-granted ordinaries. Ghosts orient social actors by evoking a feeling that 'something' is about to happen. Significantly, this kind of haunting orientation is a pivotal aspect of social reasoning and its epistemic potential lies in the ways it temporally

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and affectively shapes social imaginations and actions (Ahmed 2010; Ringel 2016a). Orienting towards the past and future, through the presence of ghosts, unravels the fears and hopes existing in the present as well as unpacking the contexts of active meaning making and social practices in their very state of becoming. It thus opens new research conceptualisations and potentialities.

In anthropology, however, the research orientation was for a long time dominated merely by the past or, to be exact, by the politics of pastness (Fabian 1983). It was the past which seemed to inform the 'ethnographic present' (Hastrup 1995) by focusing on 'the logic of reproduction, the force of custom, the dynamics of memory, the persistence of habitus, the glacial movement of the everyday, and the cunning of tradition' (Appadurai 2013: 285). Changing the research orientation does not mean entirely neglecting the past, it rather concerns shifting the analytical focus from often a static recognition of the past in the present to a more processual understanding of the relations between the past and future coexisting in the present. Therefore, engaging with people's orientation towards the past and future means working with both the logic of repetitions and familiarities as well the emergent, the anticipated and the possible. As Kirsten Hastrup (2005) points out, social meanings, reasoning and actions are continuously produced not only on the basis of what has happened in the past but also on what is assumed, speculated or anticipated to happen in the near future. And if the role of anthropology is 'to explain how the world works', then it must also consider future orientations and attempt to 'make new connections between individual imagination and social "facts"' (Hastrup 2005: 8, 11, 16).

This book is about highlighting and ethnographically exploring these kinds of new and surprisingly emerging connections. It analyses the temporal and affective ways of living in the social world and focuses on haunting moments in which both the past and the future begin to actively inhabit the present – moments in which crisis is affectively anticipated, making people attune to the haunting futures. I thus follow crisis-ridden matters and materialities which point to lingering and often unintended consequences of the economic collapse of 2008. These are available to me thanks to my research partners, Poles and Icelanders, whose lived experiences – not only different but also similar and overlapping – unravel the affective and temporal dimensions of *kreppa* (crisis). As I will show, it is through moving timescapes and time vortices, uncanny repetitions and anticipatory moods, practices and reproductions that the future haunts and is haunted. Its impact on the present, in turn, raises timely questions about social reasoning, human agency and the troubled times that we seem to be living in. Unpacking the interdependencies between the past, present and future helps to illuminate existing imaginaries, cultural meanings and

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social practices, including those formations which are still in a state of becoming. The attentiveness to these processes of active meaning making in motion offers insights into the lived affective and temporal ways of being in the world.

Before I dive into these interdependencies, ghosts and the murky haunting future itself, let me first briefly address three main themes that, directly or otherwise, run throughout the book, namely ruptures, shifts and ripples. I use the notion of rupture to contextualise crisis and migration in their relation to the critical eventness of social life and to radical changes in the otherwise taken-for-granted teleologies of everyday life. Shifts, on the other hand, are of a temporal order and are used to highlight not only the imaginative movement between different vernacular timespaces but also to contextualise the meanings of time. And finally, ripples concern the experiential impacts that emotions and affects have on individual bodies, social relations and human actions.

CRISIS AND MIGRATION

To rupture means to discontinue, disrupt and interrupt the apparent wholeness of things, thoughts or actions. Social life is often imagined and constructed as a continuous reproduction of the known, the familiar and the accustomed; a rupture, in turn, unexpectedly violates these naturalised and taken-for-granted ways of being, acting and becoming. In fact, the current world seems to be framed as times of multiple ruptures with a bleak and uncertain looming future already affecting the present. Its gloomy visions are the embodiments of the currently experienced fears, anxieties and worries, starting from socially induced environmental disasters and pandemics, through economic turbulences and harshness shaped by rapid neoliberalisation and uncontrollable markets, to political conflicts and cultural struggles resulting in strong societal divisions and even hatred. This is often the contextual global narrative of our global timespace – a time of crisis, a time of migration, a time of acceleration and interconnectedness, a time of disruptions and divisions, a time of overheating (Bryant and Knight 2019; Castles, de Haas and Miller 2014; Eriksen 2016; Lindley 2014a). And although there is nothing new in these kinds of ruptures, and the crisis-talk might be traced back to the transformation from industrial to capitalist societies (Holton 1987), the very feeling of crisis and of ruptures is different. Ruptures seem to be simultaneous and happening almost at the same time around the world. The imagined futures haunt the present, evoking dark narratives (Ortner 2016) of the global and local experiences of environmental, economic and political uncertainties.

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For the Global North, the economic crisis in 2008 was a critical rupture in the otherwise taken-for-granted teleologies of the everyday life. The temporal reasoning between the past, present and future has been shattered. Originating in the American financial system, the crisis began to ripple and rapidly affect Western societies. For many, it came as a surprise and an unprecedented lifetime event, but for others, crisis was rather inevitable and it simply uncovered the flaws of neoliberal political economies. The optimism associated with the idea of unlimited growth, the emerging possibilities of wealth and the upcoming individual bright futures proved to be cruel (Berlant 2011). Iceland was on the frontline of this reality check. Its overheated economy, driven by radical neoliberalisation and debt-induced hyper-consumerism, became fragile and exposed to emerging global market turbulences (see Alibar and Zoega 2011; Bergmann 2014).

In actuality, the interconnectedness of the global economy meant that the collapse was experienced almost simultaneously in different parts of the Global North. It was an unprecedented event, which could not easily be compared to any of the previous crises of capitalism (Martin 2009). Significantly, the crisis was not merely a financial event – it immediately produced a series of subsequent multiple crises and highlighted the role of 'knotted eventedness' in different social, cultural and political realms (Henig and Knight 2023). In various countries, the social atmosphere was dense and migration became an easy target to be blame for the turbulent times. Therefore, in order to deal with the emerging economic uncertainties, most nation-states introduced new migration policies and regulations, restricting movement and the crossing of borders (Tilly 2011). In fact, the times of crisis are also times when nationalism rises to power and most European nation-states openly call for the need to control the borders and monitor the 'flows' of people and resources (Lindley 2014a; Rogers, Anderson and Clarke 2009; Roos and Zaun 2016). The anti-immigrant rhetoric, xenophobia, discrimination and racism have a fertile ground upon which to grow. But it is also migrants who are often the first to experience political and economic measures of dealing with crisis.

For Polish migrants in Iceland, the crisis was a critical rupture in their everyday lives. Unexpected layoffs, frozen bank savings and suspended financial remittances to Poland, austerity measures and the dismantling of social policies have all resulted in the feeling of loss and precarious and uncertain living. At least this is how the crisis was lived through and experienced at the very beginning of its unfolding. However, at the same time, I have also encountered interesting relativisations of crisis. 'Crisis? What crisis?', I often heard from my Polish interlocutors, 'This is not a crisis … in Poland, now that's where the proper crisis is'.

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The idea that crisis means different things to different people points out the intersections of social class belonging, migration practices and livelihood strategies. Significantly, it also highlights the role of temporal and affective dimensions of crisis. With this book, I thus argue that the lived experiences of crisis inform particular ways of harking back and looking forward, which have the potential to transgress, intersect and overlap the taken-for-granted group identities and move beyond the pervasive othering of 'migrants' in contrast to the 'host society'. Throughout my fieldwork, I have followed not only differences but also similarities of how the lived experiences of the crisis past and the anticipated haunting crisis future inform the reasoning and actions of Poles and Icelanders. This enabled me to look not only at the politics but also the poetics of belonging and to stress the 'de-migranticising' potential of affects and futurities (see Dahinden 2016; Yuval Davies 2006). Migrants are part of the societies they reside in, and the haunting future also causes them to reason, anticipate and act upon it.

The notion of crisis is a crucial aspect of every historical process. It points to the past and present developments and unravels the temporal dialectics between social reproduction and transformation. In a way, it shows how history is temporalised as a process of subsequent events (Kosseleck 1988). In fact, Janet Roitman (2014: 7) argues that 'crisis is a criterion for what counts as "history"; crisis signifies change, such that crisis "is" history; and crisis designates "history" as such'. Therefore, crisis is a concept which enables us to locate, recognise and analyse particular historical developments and temporal meanings socially assigned to the past, present and future. Its eventness shows how different times are marked as significant and delineated as separate entities. But crisis might also be a 'critical event' (Das 1995), which lingers contingently in the present and provides 'reference points for individual and collective suffering' as well as potentialities to 'annihilate and recreate the world' (Knight and Stewart 2016: 5). Crisis might thus resurface through the lived experiences of the past, through meaningful stories and haunting memories. In doing so, it affects the present understanding and future imaginings; it charges the social atmosphere and triggers, alerts and mobilises people to think and to act.

Crisis is never simply an 'aberrant' event, happening 'beyond the realms of "normal" development and change' (Lindley 2014b: 1). As I will show, in order to understand crisis, one needs to move beyond the divide between its externalities and internalities, permanencies or temporariness, triggers or solutions, and focus rather on the lingering, often unintended, social effects of crisis, which are embodied in unforeseen emergencies, affective repetitions and modes of anticipation. Therefore, the crisis that I am interested in is a haunting one. It is a form of crisis that pulls both the past (experiences) and the future (orientations) into the present, where they co-exist

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and shift the anthropological perspective from understanding crisis *in context* to researching it also *as context* of the so-called post-crisis 'new normalcy' (Vigh 2008). Looking at crisis *in context*, that is in the moment when it actually ruptures the ordinary social life, is also a crucial part of my argument. Detailing what has happened in Iceland and how the crisis was dealt with not only helps to highlight the past events but also helps to explain the current developments and suddenly emerging orientations towards the crisis future. However, at the same time it is important to approach crisis *as context* in Iceland and treat it not merely as a one-time event that happened in the past but rather as a spectre that contingently haunts social reasoning and actions. Its critical eventfulness is thus lasting; often hidden under the surface of the mundane and the 'new normal', it lingers and waits for manifestations. Disguised as a ghost from the past, the crisis possesses matters and materialities and it assigns meanings to social practices and relations. It percolates the present and haunts the future. In this sense, crisis as spectre is a reminder of the past rupture and a sign of the future potentialities. Its power lies in the social experiences of the repetition and its affective and temporal understanding.

TEMPORAL SHIFTS

In the capitalist modernity, experiencing and thinking about time encompasses its global standardisation as well as its vernacular meanings and localised conceptions (Thompson 1967; Zerubavel 1982). Time has different forms and representations, cycles and rhythms, maps and scales, which are interlaced through the dynamic of individual temporal experiences (Gell 1992) and the collective framing of time. This is what Laura Bear (2016) calls the 'labour in/of time', which plays a significant role in our everyday life. Furthermore, the ways in which time is negotiated, mediated and organised also highlights the fact that time is a social category and a cultural construct, which might provide valuable insights into the processes of historicisation and the politics of the present itself (Luhmann 1982).

In her critical essay on time in anthropology, Nancy Munn (1992) points out that time becomes divided into the past, present and future through temporalisation practices, which assign them particular cultural meanings. Temporalisation concerns performing the 'labour in/of time' and enables movement beyond the vague yet widely popular concept of temporality. The temporal shifts which I analyse in this book are thus not about the movement between different temporalities but rather between different temporalisations of the past, present and future. This is a significant distinction. Although temporality represents the 'wholeness' of time and includes the

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reified images and ideas of 'different times', temporalisation highlights heterogeneous understandings and practices of the past, present and future. Therefore, in contrast to static temporality, temporalisation stresses the dynamic experiences of time. As I will show, the past, present and future are not inhabited and lived through in a similar way; they do not have a similar ontological status but are 'a matter of contingent and contested social practice' (see Ringel 2016b: 392). Focusing on temporalisation enables us to unpack the ways in which people create meaningful relationships between the past, present and future, and what their role is in the social life. As Munn (1992: 115–16) argues, 'people operate in a present that is always infused, and which they are further infusing, with pasts and futures'; people thus experience and practice a 'sociocultural time of multiple dimensions', which 'are lived or apprehended concretely via the various meaningful connectivities among persons, objects, and space continually being made in and through the everyday world'.

Those two abandoned cars that I encountered on my way from Keflavík airport conjured the ghost of the past – the ghost that immediately made me shift temporally and orient myself towards the crisis future. It is through such temporal shifts between the past and future that hauntings begin to possess matters and affect the present by making it 'uncanny'. For Sigmund Freud (2003: 148), the feeling of uncanny stems from the return of familiarity, of 'something that should have remained hidden', but unexpectedly 'has come into the open'. To experience the uncanny, one thus needs to recognise its familiar features; the elements of the uncanny are sensed not as something 'new or strange' but rather as something familiar that was 'estranged' and 'repressed' (Freud 2003: 147–48). This is a key aspect of the uncanny, which unravels the haunting potentialities of repetition and return. The 'compulsion to repeat' (Freud 2003: 145), a rather common element of historicisation and temporal reasoning, transforms haunting ghosts into tangible experiences. As Freud (2003: 150) argues, the 'uncanny effect often arises when the boundary between fantasy and reality is blurred, when we are faced with the reality of something that we have until now considered imaginary, when a symbol takes on the full function and significance of what it symbolizes'.

The work of the uncanny seems to be prevalent in Iceland, where different experiences of the crisis suddenly return as spectres and begin to haunt the looming future. They cause the past to become socially reasoned as repeating itself, as possessing various matters, objects, doings and sayings. The atmosphere of 'It's happening again' envelops public moods and presses people to act. The haunting ghosts appear in the moments when the experiences of time shift from the present to the past and the future. Hauntings are thus about the movements of bodies and thoughts; about having a feeling

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of being elsewhen, in another time, and inhabiting a different timespace. However, as I will show, hauntings are rather contingent, contextual and relational; they have different rhythms and scales and happen with different frequencies to different people. But when they do occur, they infuse social understanding and make people do things and act upon possible futures. As such, they are a significant context of analysis, providing insights into local histories, the lived experiences of societal developments and changes and temporalisation practices. Furthermore, hauntings also shed an interesting light on agency and its affective and temporal dimensions in everyday life. They evoke anticipation and have the potential to create new social actions and relations. In other words, hauntings – or rather, the ways of acting upon them – might transform the present itself. Agency becomes a form of affective and temporal action, one that is performed in particular timespaces but at the same time 'shapes our present experience of the future' (Bryant 2016: 27; see also Ringel 2016a; Schatzki 2002, 2010). In this sense, it highlights human actions as being 'closely tied to a vision of plot' and 'a profound matter of responding', where the very response is always 'made within a moral horizon and within a social context that we interpret and project forward as we go along' (Hastrup 2005: 11). Hauntings problematise the notion of agency by stressing the importance of temporally and affectively infused social responses towards the uncanny return of the familiar past and the anticipated possible future.

Temporal shifts resemble maps of local meanings, embodied experiences and social practices, which provide knowledge about the past and the future co-existing in the present. In fact, they cause the present to become sensed as continuous assemblages of different pasts and different futures. Whereas the past has always been an important element of anthropological analysis, the future only recently began to play a significant role in understanding how people organise their social lives, meanings, relations and practices (Salazar et al. 2017). Obviously, the past and the future cannot be experienced or explored first hand, but their different 'versions' always 'assume present form in relation to events, political needs, available cultural forms and emotional dispositions' (Hirsch and Stewart 2005: 262; see also Harding and Rosenberg 2005). This brings us back to the role of temporalisation in shaping the images, meanings and contents of the past and future – a temporalisation which unravels how individually lived experiences intersect with social, economic and political developments.

It is thus not only the past but also the future that might tell us fascinating stories about the present (Strathern 1992). Its imagining, reasoning, speculating, forecasting, planning and finally anticipating shows us that the future is 'lived and felt as inevitable in the present, rendering hope and fear as important political vectors' (Adams, Murphy and Clarke 2009: 248).

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Although always open-ended, the future materialises itself through affects; it is sensed and felt as being possible and makes people attune to its looming uncertainties or potentialities. The future inhabits the present and its impacts are 'set up' by the folding past (Fortun 2012: 450). Investigating the future and its impact on the present might be discomforting; however, it does not concern predicating what will happen. Instead, it means delving into questions of 'how', 'when' and 'why' people think that something will happen. This, in turn, demands us to rethink the ways in which ethnographic knowledge is produced. As Arjun Appadurai (2013: 286–87), a proponent of studying the future in its relations to imagination, anticipation and aspiration, writes:

> As we refine the ways in which specific conceptions of aspiration, anticipation, and imagination become configured so as to produce the future as a specific cultural form or horizon, we will be better able to place within this scheme more particular ideas about prophecy, well-being, emergency, crisis, and regulation. We also need to remember that the future is not just a technical or neutral space, but is shot through with affect and with sensation. Thus, we need to examine not just the emotions that accompany the future as a cultural form, but the sensations that it produces: awe, vertigo, excitement, disorientation. The many forms that the future takes are also shaped by these affects and sensations, for they give to various configurations of aspiration, anticipation, and imagination their specific gravity, their traction, and their texture.

In Iceland, as well as across the rest of the globe, the futures are in the making. Often dark and crisis-infused, these are the haunting futures which conjure ghosts, evoke sensations and make people ready to act upon what seems to be looming large.

RIPPLES

The past and the future that emerge in the present are not only of a temporal but also of an affective order. They have a 'rippling effect' (Ahmed 2004), move and align bodies, engender social demands, responses and actions, and also have the potential to weaponise political strategies and induce social mobilisations. The experiences of temporal shifts are embodied in 'emotional episodes' (Beatty 2019), affects and feelings, sensations and commotions, which make people think thoughts and do things. Indeed, the haunting future in Iceland is visceral; its figments unfold in the present, ripple through, and inform social reasoning and actions.

Ripples are also global and concern the troubled and troubling times we live in. Despite being differently experienced and unevenly distributed, a sense of multiple crises – or a polycrisis – seems to be lurking almost

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everywhere and creates the image of a looming future as worrying and bleak, and full of fears, anxieties and uncertainties. This is the future that is precarious, fragile and framed by the prevailing global crisis-talk of economic matters, social and political unrests, global pandemics and climate disasters. It might become real, materialise itself and actualise sensed fears, but its projections might also fade away and disappear from sight. Furthermore, the future, even one that is dark and a crisis, might also engender hopes and potentialities of radically transforming the social, economic and political structures of our lives. These hopes and fears shed light on how individuals and societies deal with what is imagined as coming; they unravel strategies of muddling through the uncertain and create new forms of agency and resilience.

Obviously, fears and hope are not the only affective responses to haunting crisis futures. There is a whole spectrum of emotions, affects and feelings which convey tensions between global crisis-ridden atmospheres and local worlds. The notion of ripples encompasses this diverse spectrum and highlights the power and potentialities of the affective ways of living. Significantly, ripples also point to the movement of emotions and affects and move beyond their understanding as individual feelings. There is, of course, a long-standing and often heated debate in social sciences and humanities on the differences and similarities between what one could and should call emotions or affects and feelings (Beatty 2013; Lutz 2017), what their meanings, roles and impacts on individuals and societies are (Wetherell 2012), and what their language, politics and power are (Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990). Emotions are often perceived as 'something' different from affects; they are assumed to be more easily identifiable and having localised cultural meanings, whereas affects are rather difficult to account for or pin down. At the same time, affects are distinguished from feelings as being suddenly evoked in the ordinary and as simply happening. 'They're things that happen', Kathleen Stewart writes enigmatically (2007: 1–2), things that 'happen in impulses, sensations, expectations, daydreams, encounters, and habits of relating, in strategies and their failures, in forms of persuasion, contagion, and compulsion, in modes of attention, attachment, and agency, and in publics and social worlds of all kinds that catch people up in something that feels like something'. Although this definition (or rather, 'affective' description) of affects in their ordinary forms hints at the epistemic potential of exploring the affective dimensions of social worlds, it hardly explains what affects actually are, how they work and what their social significance is (Jansen 2016). Furthermore, affects are also often perceived as being manifested through emotions and as being 'sorted' into cultural and linguistic emotional labels and categories which give them forms and make them more conceivable (von Scheve and Slaby 2019: 43). But at the same time, for some scholars of

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affect, identifying affects, naming and historicising means that one already loses their actual significance (Massumi 1995).

It is not, however, my intention to dig into these debates, detail their origins or explain theoretical and conceptual differences between emotions and affects. The future that haunts and is haunted in this book is definitely affective; this is the future that I call an affect. Yet it is also the future that needs to be contextualised and explained through temporalisation; it is the future that manifests itself in temporal shifts and engenders 'emotional episodes' on individual and societal levels. I thus find it useful to follow Ahmed's (2004) idea of 'affective economies' and analyse how through such economies, affects might impact social reasoning and actions. It is through affective economies that people orient themselves and their bodies, and sense and identify what looms on the horizon. According to Ahmed, emotions are affective because they do not simply originate or reside 'in' individuals but rather 'surface' between different bodies, objects, matters and materialities. In a similar way to the Marxist logic of capital, the affective 'valence' (value) of emotions arises from movements and circulations, from the potential to 'accumulate' individual bodies and bind them together into the social, creating the 'effect of a collective' (Ahmed 2004: 119; cf. Richard and Rudnyckyj 2009). Affective economies move the analysis beyond individual 'psychological dispositions' as they 'mediate the relationship between the psychic and the social, and between the individual and the collective' which emerges in particular settings (Ahmed 2004: 119; see also Svašek 2012a, 2012b).

It is thus through affective economies that the future haunts and is haunted in Iceland. Its ripples impact the present and provide insights into the physical, the experiential and the embodied ways of social reasoning and acting. They highlight how the social processes and cultural knowledge intersect with political and economic emergencies in a temporal and affective fashion. Ripples also tell us about subjectivities and how they are constructed and performed in everyday life through contingent, personal and collective relations with histories, experiences and structural conditions. As Sherry Ortner (2005: 31) writes, subjectivity is a crucial element of ethnographic effort because it represents 'the ensemble of modes of perception, affect, thought, desire, fear, and so forth that animate acting subjects', as well as 'the cultural and social formations that shape, organize, and provoke those modes of affect, thought and so on' (see also Luhrmann 2006). Subjectivity is performed through habituated and routinised actions, but at the same time, it might also concern the most surprising, unexpected and creative ways of muddling through and responding to the present matters. Therefore, the rippling effect of the future haunting in the present makes people do things which would otherwise be difficult to imagine. As I will show later in this book, it is through such hauntings that the social agency

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takes a form of different anticipatory moods, practices and reproductions. Agency thus becomes not only driven by the repetition of the past but also the future, which is lived 'as already present, or even already past, and therefore necessary and inevitable' (Bourdieu 1990: 292).

Being affective, ripples affect the surroundings; they might suddenly infuse the public moods and create a particular social atmosphere. Moving through and between bodies, matters and materialities, they envelop and press social reasoning and prompt dynamic, relational and contingent social capacities to act. Ripples set up scenes and offer insights into the messy, affectively and temporally lived social life; they are the streams of life, or life as it happens here and now, or simply might happen soon. However, in order to sense ripples, one needs to familiarise themselves with their 'sticky' meanings (Ahmed 2004), which stem from temporalisations of the past and future in the present. Ripples thus need to be historicised and contextualised. In fact, it is this cultural knowledge that causes ripples to become affective representations of the relationships between the past, present and future and to alert people not only to what has happened but also to what might happen or is about to occur. In doing so, they move the ethnographic perspective beyond the divisions of thought and reason, experience and knowledge, and individual and collective, and allow us to trace the affective and temporal structures of being and acting in their 'active' form of becoming (see Skoggard and Waterston 2015: 110–12).

* * *

Let me just briefly return to Reykjanesbraut, a road leading from Keflavík airport to Reykjavík bus terminal, and to those two ghostly cars which affectively triggered my ethnographic imagination. At that very moment, appearing suddenly and rupturing the emptiness of the landscape, they felt like '*some*thing', thus shifting my sense of presentness and orienting me towards the lived experiences of the past and the alerting possible future. Although, it was my own feeling and my own anticipation of what is looming ahead, it did not come out of nowhere. On the contrary, in order to experience this haunting moment, I had to recognise it as being significant and affective. It was a moment of temporal reasoning, of repletion and anticipation interlocked with vernacular timespace activity, meanings and understandings.

As I will show with this book, there were also many other ghostly matters that haunted the future throughout my fieldwork, highlighting its affective and temporal dimensions. My research partners and interlocutors, Icelanders and Poles, kept shifting temporally between the past, present and future in their experiences and narratives, explaining to me the repetitions and ruptures in the present ordinariness. Their ways of reasoning about the ongoing developments rippled around and affectively actualized the presentness of

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the present, causing them to be alert and anticipate any future crisis. Although the economic collapse of 2008 and the subsequent crisis had different impacts on their individual lives, its affects and temporalisations crosscut national belongings and continue to linger today. The possible crisis future that haunts and is haunted in Iceland is also emergent and contingent; its spectralities come and go, but in moments when they begin to haunt, they always evoke feelings that something is about to happen, something that makes the present uncanny and demands attention and action. The crisis became a marker of collective orientation, an affective point of reference in local history and a relevant framework for human agency which highlights the power of repetition and evokes temporal reasoning (see Guyer 2007; Jansen 2014).

During my fieldwork, I have encountered and followed the ghostly matters and the haunting future with my interlocutors, Icelanders and Poles, and remained interested in the similarities and differences in their ways of understandings and actions. Polish migration to Iceland is a recent trend and began only in the 1990s; however, as I will show, it has largely coincided with the rapid transformations of the Icelandic political economy. The economic boom that preceded the collapse was also a time when most of my Polish research participants came to Iceland from different regions of Poland and a few of them have already acquired Icelandic citizenship. Throughout the book, I introduce each of my research partners and detail and contextualise their background, but it is safe to say that they represent different social classes and work in different labour sectors and services, including construction, hotels, restaurants and IT companies as well as Icelandic public institutions such as libraries, museums or municipal councils and departments. Some are married with children, including mixed marriages, others have informal relationships or are single. Although I mainly collaborated with migrants who lived in Iceland before and during collapse, I also found it important to meet Poles who came to Iceland after the crash and did not experience its effects directly. This was a helpful perspective which enabled me to explore the relations between the lived experiences of the past and ways of muddling through the crisis and anticipations – or the lack of them – of the future. Initially, it was chiefly the Polish migrant community that was my main focus of research; however, I quickly realised that I also must work with Icelanders in order to understand crisis and its consequences lingering in the present. They too are introduced throughout the book and represent a rather diverse group of social statuses and gender identities, working in tourism, construction, education, journalism or politics. Similar to my Polish interlocutors, their relationship statuses vary from being single, married or divorced with children.

All of my research participants have either directly experienced or indirectly became aware of the consequences of the collapse and with this book I tell their individual stories. Significantly, while focusing on the differences

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between their lived experiences of the crisis, I also seek out the emerging similarities in relation to the haunting future. The ethnographic material is thus a result of deep hanging out, of participations and observations, and of frequent and recurrent talks and discussions about the Icelandic past, present and future. I have attended different events (protests, meetings, parties) and accompanied my research participants in their daily routines and weekend trips outside Reykjavík. I have explored the haunting future, spending most of my fieldwork in the capital region of Reykjavík, including the communes of Hafnarfjörður, Kópavogur and Seltjarnarnes. I have also travelled to other cities and towns, such as Keflavík, Borgarnes and Hveragerði, and visited villages in Vestfirðir (Westfjords) and Austfirðir (Eastfjords). In this sense, fieldwork was open-ended and included embracing serendipitous and haunting moments and actively following them across diverse social spaces and diverse social groups as well as different scales and forces. In-depth engagement with everyday life situations, together with affective and temporal streams of representations of crisis – emerging from discourses, experiences and practices – allowed me to change and reconfigure my initial research assumptions, questions and conceptualisations.

Importantly, throughout the fieldwork, I carefully followed anthropology's ethical guidelines and made sure that my research partners felt comfortable in conveying their stories and experiences. I have always been honest about my agenda and openly declared my position as an anthropologist doing fieldwork in Iceland. The conversations, discussions, chats and interviews I had with my research partners have always been informed and consented. I have not encountered any substantive ethical dilemmas in my field; however, the very process of writing ethnography has sometimes proven to be challenging due to the anonymisation of my research participants. Since it is quite common in Reykjavík to know someone through someone else, I made sure to carefully conceal their identities by changing names, omitting more private information or choosing not to give away too many details about their job descriptions. There is one exception, though; Wiola, a Polish artist in Reykjavík, whose art exhibitions and performances I have attended and write about in this book, is actually called Wiola. She is already a well-known and established artist in Iceland and any attempts to conceal her identity would have been futile. However, I do not of course reveal anything more about Wiola than what one can already know from reading her art portfolio.

The ruptures associated with crisis and migration processes, the temporal shifts between the past and the future that are experienced in the present as well as the ripples of affective economies are all interrelated and become manifested in moments when the lived experiences of the crisis contingently and unexpectedly resurface in everyday social life. Iceland is full of ghosts that

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haunt not only from the past but also from the future. Yet in order to expose these ghosts and explain their impact on social understandings and actions, it is important to unpack the past, present and future in their relations to the affective and temporal dimensions of the economic collapse in 2008.

This book can be thought of as an analytical account of existing continuities and radical changes, of lived experiences and local rationalisations, and of emerging new meanings, practices and social relations. Chapter 1 starts with my methodological predicaments stemming from the initial feeling of fieldwork discomfort. It reflects on my positionality and shows that discomfort might be a rather productive research context which highlights the role of ethnographic time and timings in the very process of knowledge production. Therefore, the chapter addresses the well-known notion of the 'ethnographic present', but it also expands its meanings by moving beyond the researching-writing nexus and including the affects and temporalisation practices as equally significant, albeit contingent, aspects of producing ethnographic knowledge. The feeling of discomfort also leads me to the 'de-migranticisation' of migration research, which opens new epistemic possibilities and transgressions of otherwise taken-for-granted politics and poetics of belonging.

In Chapter 2, I untangle the relationship between crisis and Iceland's colonial past, nationalism and the rapid neoliberalisation of the political economy. This is an important part of the book's argument, which shows how the complex Icelandic past has impacted the development in and of the (modern) present. It also details the major economic and political changes that began in the 1980s in Iceland and highlights how the ongoing neoliberal processes have become interlaced with colonial resentment and Iceland's identity politics. This is also the time when Iceland begins to be strongly embedded in the new global economy with growing new transnational connections and increased labour migration, particularly from Poland. By highlighting these accelerated political and economic changes, I also show how the neoliberal project led to the emergence of new Icelandic identities driven by excessive consumption, class distinctions, flexibility and risk-taking.

The very moment of the economic collapse is the main theme of Chapter 3. I thus delve into the lived experiences of the crash and show how the crisis unfolds itself after the memorable October 2008. The chapter digs into the moments in which the crisis materialises itself and begins to inform people's ways of dealing with the uncertain matters of everyday life. Although the collapse has different consequences for different people and their livelihoods, it also creates the atmosphere of a cancelled future that ripples through the island. Yet, as I show, apart from anxieties or simple indifferences, the uncertain times also engender hopes embodied in the ways of muddling through the austerity measures or represented in collaborative

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efforts and solidarities during the so-called 'pots and pans' revolutionary moment. The crisis means different things to different people, but it also highlights the social importance of emerging creativities and resilience in the ways of dealing with the unknown.

Chapter 4 presents a detailed and ethnographically driven analysis of the temporal shifts in which the uncanniness of the past emerges in the present and makes the future both haunted and haunting. It shows how the 'sticky meanings' of timescapes induce the powerful logic of repetition and temporal reasoning. The movement of timescapes and the affective dynamic between the emerging past and the possible future engenders anticipation. The future is thus pulled into the present and begins to inhabit everyday life, making people think particular thoughts and do particular things. Therefore, in this chapter, I explore the contingencies, intervals and asymmetries of when and how anticipation takes different forms of 'moods', 'practices' and 'reproductions' and what it means for the present understanding, social relations and actions in Iceland.

Chapter 5 offers more substantive theorisations on the notion of haunting futures. It thus proposes an analytical shift in understanding crisis not as an event happening at a particular time, but as a spectre that has the potential to haunt. It possesses people's experiences and resides in socially meaningful matters and materialities. However, the spectralities of crisis are not sensed as something that is constant; rather, they come and go depending on the present circumstances and developments. Just as suddenly as they might appear, they might also disappear, but the idea of their return always lingers. Another significant shift that is problematised in this chapter concerns the notion of the future as having not only a temporal but also an affective order. I thus argue that understanding the future as affect enables us to navigate through its orientations and actions without lapsing into naïve causalities or predictions. This chapter also sheds new light on the very idea of human agency and the ways of dealing with haunting futures in a temporal and affective manner.

I conclude the book not only by recapitulating the findings about the haunting crisis future in Iceland but also by opening a discussion on troubling and troubled times of ghosts and spectres. The hauntings are here to stay and induce anxieties, dizziness, confusion and the fear of repetition and the return of something that should be long gone. However, it is also our responsibility (and response-ability) to sense, hear and talk with the ghosts. Only then might the future open its novel possibilities and potentialities.

For now, however, the future haunts and is haunted, creating a discomforting feeling of being temporally shifted and mistimed.

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