

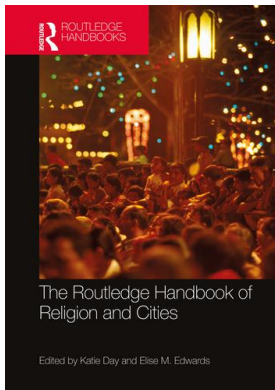
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### Infrastructure between anthropology, geography, and religious studies

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# INFRASTRUCTURE BETWEEN ANTHROPOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES

*Isaiah Ellis*

Infrastructure forms a critical piece of urban life, both in terms of the way it moves bodies around cities, and the way it has moved cities around bodies, shaping not just movement itself, but the meanings attached to mobility. To understand the physical structures that facilitate movement and its meanings is to understand, in the words of ethnographer Penelope Harvey, “the material conditions of possibility for life”—how the spatial worlds we inhabit came to be and how they might change.<sup>1</sup> To understand infrastructure is therefore not just a matter of technical or historical knowledge, but of political possibility.

Yet questions remain about infrastructure’s political and social effects, and even what is and isn’t an infrastructure. Much like “religion,” infrastructure is a concept, available for creative adaptation and for critique as either “too specific and coherent” or “far too vague and open-ended.”<sup>2</sup> It can refer to numerous objects with diverse features and functions, including railroads, canals, automotive roads, telephone wires, computer servers, and water and electrical utilities. As often as not, infrastructure can refer to sub-components of each of these things: “infrastructure” describes the subtending structure of any material system (such as a railroad network) but can also describe the system itself. An idea or ideology could be an infrastructure if it subtends the operation of material systems such as those named above.<sup>3</sup> This essay introduces perspectives on infrastructure from the fields of anthropology and geography, with an eye toward untangling some of the definitional and methodological problems of the term at its points of connection to religious studies. In doing so, this essay points toward ways of thinking about and researching religion in terms of the “material conditions of possibility” infrastructure affords.

## **Methodological considerations**

To understand why infrastructure is difficult to define, we must look to the history of its study. The ethnographic study of infrastructure first coalesced in the 1990s and early 2000s among information scientists, who defined information systems as infrastructures and sought to understand the social impact of the digital distribution of information.<sup>4</sup> In the following decades, cultural anthropologists redefined the scope of inquiry, seeking to study the social and political impacts of physical infrastructure projects.<sup>5</sup> Within this literature, infrastructure has emerged as an analytic for the study of technology, temporality, and the human/environment relationship in the contemporary

world.<sup>6</sup> Named in this way, infrastructure has become difficult to circumscribe, both as something meriting ethnographic attention and as a term with theoretical and methodological implications. Like with the term religion, it is difficult to say what universal insights about infrastructure, or “culture” for that matter, scholars can deduce from local examples.

There has been some debate about who first linked infrastructure to culture, but one proposed starting point is of special interest to religious studies: Clifford Geertz’s 1972 essay, “The Wet and the Dry.”<sup>7</sup> In this essay, Geertz describes the physical forms of Balinese and Moroccan irrigation systems as “at once a technological unit . . . a physical unit . . . a social unit,” and, “as we shall see, a religious unit.”<sup>8</sup> For Geertz, these irrigation systems evidence the environmentally determined cultural differences that gave them shape. Paul N. Edwards has since argued that, although building methods and materials for infrastructure projects might become universal in global modernity, a local “technological style” will remain a factor making those projects available for study. The local style imprints the culture itself on territory, shaping solutions to the functional problem of circulation according to local political and social forms. Importantly, a technological style bears an organic relationship to its mother culture; infrastructure *is* culture made manifest. For Geertz, at least, the religious content of infrastructure lies in the local religion itself.

Scholars of postcolonial nations have found that infrastructure projects do not always adopt local forms or proceed with local interests in mind. They have emphasized that, rather than being unproblematic, local cultural products, “roads and water pipes, electricity lines and ports, oil pipelines and sewage systems” are best understood as “critical locations through which sociality, governance, and politics, accumulation and dispossession, and institutions and aspirations are formed, reformed, and performed.”<sup>9</sup> This description, from an edited volume entitled *The Promise of Infrastructure*, is rich but broad, suggesting two things: first, that infrastructures bear political functions beyond the conveyance of bodies, machines, and information; and second, that infrastructures bear a “promise” to reframe the anthropology of the state. It makes these suggestions with multiple conceptual axes in mind that are already under lively use in anthropology, including materiality and embodiment (locations that are “formed, reformed, and performed”), the state (governance), political economy (accumulation and dispossession), and society (institutions and aspirations). Notably, this definition does not restrict what counts as infrastructure, but rather ensures that the concept is empirically and conceptually flexible, able to move fluidly across geographical and historical contexts, and to bring a number of phenomena under its rubric such that they can all be understood on the same terms.

This flexibility does not guarantee the term’s usefulness, even if it does promote its use. Laura Rival argues that infrastructure sometimes has pretensions to replace the “social anthropology of technology” without innovating methodologically or adding new layers to terms such as “material culture.”<sup>10</sup> For Rival, infrastructure is not a good concept for understanding her field sites in the Brazilian Amazon because it flattens indigenous understandings of old forest paths and new capitalist developments alike. Infrastructure, for Rival, often strays too far from the social worlds anthropologists seek to engage, and thus operates as a new mode of the ethnographic extraction of data. At the very least, the term risks shunting local worlds into the representational nexus of development economics. This is an important caveat for religion scholars; infrastructure can be of little use as a new term if it stands atop familiar categories, whether from within or outside of the field—it must bring something new to the table methodologically without erasing nuanced and site-specific interpretations of the local.

A recent work of American religious history, David Walker’s *Railroading Religion*, shows how this might work. Walker centers railroad infrastructure as a site for the material and administrative production of religious difference, and even of what “religion” is. The small railroad town of Corrine, Utah embodied the ironies and failures of that quest (and, yes, its inhabitants were

called Corrinethians). As Walker argues, railroad expansion into LDS-controlled territory, funneled in part through Corrine, was meant by its boosters to sound the “death knell” of Brigham Young’s and his compatriots’ faith, paving the way for mainline Protestantism and its notions of a secular economic sphere while uplifting dissenting forms of Mormonism more commensurate with the emerging transcontinental markets in trade and tourism.<sup>11</sup> “At the nexus of these concerns,” he writes, “we find, in Utah, a locational moment—the placement of western religion—that was also a locomotive moment.”<sup>12</sup> Just as Mormonism is “mainlined” in his book, so does Walker himself mainline railroads into American religious history, reframing longstanding questions about religious freedom, the secular, commerce, material culture, sacred space, and even Mormonism itself through rail commerce, land management, and the agents of those projects, processes, and people thought to lie exterior to the usual concerns of religion scholarship.<sup>13</sup>

While Walker’s book deals with physical infrastructures and administrative practices, the creative uses to which anthropologists have put infrastructure as a methodological and conceptual tool further add to the picture. For Kim Fortun and Mike Fortun, infrastructure refers to any groundwork or pathway for “open, inventive, and experimental modes of access and circulation.”<sup>14</sup> Urban anthropologist AbdouMaliq Simone has cultivated that sensibility in his own work. Rather than define infrastructure “in physical terms,” he instead emphasizes “economic collaboration among residents seemingly marginalized and immiserated by urban life.”<sup>15</sup> In the absence of sanctioned modes of access and mobility, he argues, human relationships come to fill the function intended for physical infrastructures, forming a “platform providing for and reproducing life in the city.”<sup>16</sup> Inspired by black radical thought, Simone’s perspective embodies a recurring critique of the notion that “African cities don’t work.”<sup>17</sup> The term infrastructure highlights the contrast between Western ways of seeing “Third World” cities as characterized by lack, and the rich collage of informal economic and social networks that residents of cities such as Lagos and Douala must operationalize daily to get by in environments not designed to provide them with a future.

Simone’s work also highlights the ways racist, colonial processes produce contexts whose material conditions verge on the apocalyptic.<sup>18</sup> And he is not alone in thinking that infrastructure provokes existential questions about the possibilities for sustaining human life on earth. For Gökçe Günel, the “proposed renewable energy and clean technology infrastructures” that dominate Abu Dhabi’s technology sector serve as spaces offering “technical solutions” to solve the problem of waning “hope” for human existence beyond the current global climate crisis. By technical solutions Günel means the notion that even the most disastrously destructive uses of technology contain within them the reparative seed of survival, or even the promise of utopia.<sup>19</sup> For Günel, this entrepreneurial hope constitutes “the soul of carbon.” Yet it is not only those who design physical infrastructure who trade on dreams of creativity and hope, but also local actors unevenly emplaced within the systems that buttress those dreams. Though it is differently phrased and inflected, contemporary work on infrastructure trades on its analyses of enchanting hopes as well as of mundane technical operations. It is in the space between these poles that infrastructure makes lives (un)livable, and worlds (un)inhabitable. Inspired by these multi-disciplinary resources, religion scholars might find that infrastructure provides an especially potent ground to think through—to name a few—contemporary technological utopianism and its critics, internet politics, the continuing extractive labors of industrial production, and religious expressions in cities.<sup>20</sup>

### **Between enchantment and zoning: Roads and religion**

As theories of infrastructure increasingly emphasize emergent networks laden with affective intensities and eschatological hopes, it is easy to place them in conversation with recent religious

studies literature that shares an opposite trajectory by emphasizing the “material dynamics” of religious practice and the networks of relations that have displaced notions of *sui generis* religion.<sup>21</sup> Until recently, few have understood roads as enmeshed in those networks, but a deeper dive into their social and political significance reveals another robust intersection of the study of infrastructure and religious studies.

An influential thread of social scientific thought interprets roads as agents of cultural and social erasure, paving over local paths with “empirical non-places,” alienating spaces of transit that cannot themselves “be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity.”<sup>22</sup> James C. Scott brings this interpretation to a critique of the modern state, viewing modern roads as the product of “standardization,” defined as “naming practices of the state” that generate “mutually exclusive and exhaustive designations.”<sup>23</sup> The process of road construction therefore requires not only technical knowledge but also “a force of social and political will which is able to generate and foster the belief that these technologies have a capacity to transform the spaces through which they will pass.”<sup>24</sup> As roads interface between individual bodies and the body politic, they constitute a material performance of modernity and collective identity, marking certain “moods” or dispositions toward the social. Rather than being devoid of relational and social meaning, roads overflow with meaning in their production, their traversing, and in the upbuilding of spaces around them.

If roads have a meaningful role to play in statecraft, then state authorities can call upon them to negotiate the religious and secular geographies of cities. Zoning practices are one arena that shows “the co-production of religion and place across a range of contexts, scales, and networks.”<sup>25</sup> In one example of this process, geographers Claire Dwyer, Justin Tse, and David Ley have examined “how diverse faith communities negotiate belonging in (sub)urban space within the framework of secular planning regimes, and how they undertake co-existence within a planned zone” that was created in service of “a secular discourse of civic multiculturalism.”<sup>26</sup> Such a discourse has informed planning decisions in Richmond, British Columbia according to what Dwyer et al. call “ocular multiculturalism”: over 20 different faith communities’ houses of worship were zoned into place along the Number 5 Road corridor, reflecting the city’s desire to capitalize on their visibility as ethnically and religiously “diverse” spaces through tourism and other forms of economic development.<sup>27</sup> The ways zoning laws and negotiations with city and suburban councils affected religious communities in Richmond became evident in the landscape of religious spaces that resulted. The resulting cluster of “ethnic” religious communities along Number 5 Road reflects a “managerial approach to cultural diversity” worth investigating as a form of secular practice enacted through the road itself.<sup>28</sup> This kind of curated religious landscape, for scholars such as Dwyer, came to characterize Richmond’s relationship to its migrant communities, as well as its citizens’ views on where certain religious practices should take place in the town.

Roads’ mundane dimensions, particularly their administration and production by state actors, often create sentimental “moods” that veer more in the direction of what Penelope Harvey and Hannah Knox call “the enchantments of infrastructure.”<sup>29</sup> As my research into road building in the US South has uncovered, in the early twentieth century, advocacy for road improvement occurred in tandem with discourses of Southern “redemption” from defeat in the Civil War and from Northern “misrule” during Reconstruction.<sup>30</sup> Roads advocates, nearly all white southerners, framed good roads, or their lack, as evidence of the seen and unseen order of things; how they were and how they should be. As the editor of *Southern Good Roads Magazine (SGRM)* wrote in 1910, “nothing hampers development, material, moral or spiritual ... so much as mud.”<sup>31</sup> Throughout the former Confederate states, road advocates argued that relief from mud would benefit Southern life by increasing rural church attendance, intensifying church influence

over Southern life, and offering spaces for the ritual remembrance of Civil War icons such as Robert E. Lee. Many such remembrances took place along “Monument Avenue” in Richmond, Virginia, episodes that Charles Reagan Wilson argues exemplify a “ritualistic expression of the [Confederates’] Lost Cause.”<sup>32</sup>

Far from being “non-places” or even purely administrative spaces, roads in the early twentieth-century South were technologies for the aesthetic, sentimental, and economic production of “the South” as many Americans have come to view it. The landscapes that emerged along modernized roads were marked by what historian Fitzhugh Brundage calls “memory theaters”—places, markers, and place names that explicitly entangled Old South nostalgia with economic strategy, which black and indigenous southerners contested from their earliest formation.<sup>33</sup> Good Roads Movement advocates and other economic boosters often sought to articulate the moral and economic value of roads for rural communities, but their activities generated significant urban and small-town development as well. The best-known case of this is Charleston, South Carolina, which developed its historic district in order to capture Northern tourist dollars while asserting white hegemony over the African-American builders, performers, and street merchants upon whose labor it was built.<sup>34</sup> Another, lesser-known example is Pinehurst, North Carolina, which was founded and master-planned from 1895 to 1897 by industrialist James Walker Tufts in collaboration with the firm of Frederick Law Olmsted. The curving streets, expansive croquet lawns, and, later, world-famous golf courses gave rise to a segregated economy of sacred and secular leisure, as resort guests were invited to worship at a multi-purpose entertainment hall featuring minstrel shows, Presbyterian-based “undenominational” services, and lectures on world religions.<sup>35</sup> Black residents, many of whom worked in the resort hotels, formed their own religious and communal life in the adjacent semi-formal settlement called “Taylortown.” In this context, road development united religious and racial politics around tourism, with Tufts’ son Leonard and other townspeople collaborating to “make Pinehurst a place for the effective renewal of one’s mental, physical, and spiritual powers.”<sup>36</sup>

Roads in the US South were complex sites for the formation of cultural memory and for the management of the racialized labor of “progress” as contemporary actors understood it. The prospect of good roads prompted much self-reflection on the role of the white race in the history of roadbuilding. In November of 1913, the newly elected Democratic North Carolina governor, Locke Craig, spoke at a “Good Roads Day” barbeque in Buncombe county. The *Asheville Citizen* reported him as saying that

Good roads are not only desirable, but they are a necessity if we wish to keep pace with the march of progress ... This is our land, our heritage, and we must improve it or the Great World Builder will send another race to accomplish what we fail to do.<sup>37</sup>

Yet “another race” *was* improving that land. The moral and civilizational project to which Craig referred relied entirely on the use of African American convict labor. Convict labor was universally acknowledged as indispensable for the economic viability of road construction, and some also argued that a vital piece of convicts’ roadbuilding work was to *be seen working on the road*. If mud offered an insufficient surface for the upbuilding of a New South, black bodies could serve as highly visible instruments of mud’s eradication, and improve themselves morally in the process.<sup>38</sup>

The Number 5 Road in Richmond, British Columbia, and the numerous roads that traversed the postbellum South call attention to spaces of transit as sites of what Justin Tse calls “immanent processes of cultural place-making, the negotiation of social identities, and the formations of political boundaries, including in geographies where theological analyses do not



seem relevant.”<sup>39</sup> Tse’s emphasis on process—place-making and the labor it requires—could serve to render dynamic the binary between place and space that usually remains static in religion scholarship. As oft-cited geographer Yi-Fu Tuan points out, spaces of transit may bear potent political possibilities, as they can represent and facilitate escape, rebellion, and subversion against established orders solidified in place.<sup>40</sup>

### Infrastructure, religion, and cities: Moving forward

Roads, canals, and railroads have inspired generative analyses within religious studies.<sup>41</sup> These and other infrastructures’ multivalent roles as spaces of statecraft as well as local meaning-making mean they are all the more likely to enhance scholarship on religion in urban contexts. Mary Haycock and Smriti Srinivas offer a compelling theoretical directive to explore what they call “*urban re-fabulation*,” a process that centers “murals, improvised shrines, stories, or body cultures ... that incorporate idioms of devotion and sacrality in order to “inscribe religion and spirituality in cityscapes through material, performative, and other means.”<sup>42</sup> As Hillary Kaell argues, finding religious forms in landscapes viewed as secular—a reading to which urban landscapes are particularly susceptible—requires attending to sensory cultures that linger on the margins of the conscious experiences of city-dwellers going about their daily business. This leaves scholars with the paradoxical mandate to examine things that are at once “highly visible and yet somehow invisible.”<sup>43</sup> What Haycock and Srinivas call “urban life worlds” are born in both conscious and unconscious moments of human creation, and live in a continual process of becoming-(in) visible as urban landscapes, local concerns, and broader cultural narratives shift.

Even when marginalized or made invisible, the concerns of religious communities are always in dialogue with changing cityscapes and the means of moving through them. Spaces of transit and the urban spaces their dynamics shape constitute key points in the formation of collective life and its ground-level politics. They may represent a contested politics of “redemption” and renewal, as in the early twentieth-century South, or they may represent a political push to “mainline” religiously different groups, enfolding their worldviews within a landscape of capitalist governance, as was true of nineteenth-century railroads in Utah. They may serve as points of interest in the everyday politics of urban community. They represent, in each case, the possibility of new ways of engaging mobility and space for religious studies. The interdisciplinary study of infrastructure will be an indispensable conversation partner in realizing such possibilities.

As the meaning of the term infrastructure has become more capacious, so has the field of things, bodies, and practices that its definitional rubric seems to include. Studies of infrastructure have drawn on theoretical turns that have also caught religion scholars’ attention, especially the study of material and visual culture. Meanwhile, infrastructures themselves have subtended a large body of scholarship that has identified urban and rural spaces as key sites for understanding religion historically and ethnographically. The phenomena we name as “religion” and the phenomena we name as “infrastructure” are always already entangled with each other, and with a host of other social, cultural, governmental, and economic processes that find their home in cities.

### Notes

- 1 Penelope Harvey, “Introduction,” *Critique of Anthropology*, “Attention to Infrastructure Offers a Welcome Reconfiguration of Anthropological Approaches to the Political” 38(1) (2018): p. 5.
- 2 Harvey, “Introduction,” p. 4.

- 3 I wish to thank Brian Larkin for bringing this idea to my attention in a conversation.
- 4 Susan Leigh Starr, "The Ethnography of Infrastructure," *American Behavioral Scientist* 43(3) (November/December 1999): pp. 377–91; Paul N. Edwards, Geoffrey Bowker, Steven Jackson, and Robin Williams, "An Agenda for Infrastructure Studies," *Journal of the Association for Information Systems* 10(5) (2009): pp. 365–74.
- 5 See Peter Redfield, *Space in the Tropics: From Convicts to Rockets in French Guiana* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Rudolf Mrazek, *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Dimitris Dalakoglou, "The Road: An Ethnography of the Albanian-Greek Cross-Border Motorway," *American Ethnologist* 37(1) (2010): pp. 132–49; Keller Easterling, *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space* (London: Verso, 2014); Brian Larkin, "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42 (2013): pp. 327–43; Ashley Carse, *Beyond the Big Ditch: Politics, Ecology, and Infrastructure at the Panama Canal* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014); Penelope Harvey, *Roads: An Anthropology of Infrastructure and Expertise* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015); Gökçe Günel, *Spaceship in the Desert: Energy, Climate Change, and Urban Design in Abu Dhabi* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).
- 6 Some edited volumes that encapsulate this literature include Thomas J. Misa, Philip Brey, and Andrew Feenberg, eds, *Modernity and Technology* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003); Colin McFarlane and Stephen Graham, eds, *Infrastructural Lives: Urban Infrastructures in Context* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Lisa Parks and Nicole Starosielski, eds, *Signal Traffic: Critical Studies of Media Infrastructures* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015); Penny Harvey, Casper Bruun Jensen, and Atsuro Morita, eds, *Infrastructures and Social Complexity: A Companion* (New York: Routledge, 2017); Nikhil Anand, Akhil Gupta, and Hannah Appel, eds, *The Promise of Infrastructure* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018); Gregg Hetherington, ed., *Infrastructure, Environment, and Life in the Anthropocene* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).
- 7 Clifford Geertz, "The Wet and the Dry," *Human Ecology* 1(1) (1972): pp. 23–39. Some credit Louis Althusser's *For Marx* for its use of infrastructure as a metaphor for the Marxian "base" that undergirds cultural superstructures. Others credit Walter Benjamin's fragmentary excursus on Paris, *The Arcades Project*. See Appel, Anand, and Gupta, "Introduction."
- 8 Geertz, p. 34.
- 9 Appel, Anand, and Gupta, "Introduction: Temporality, Politics, and the Promise of Infrastructure," p. 3. See also Redfield, *Space in the Tropics*; Mrazek, *Engineers of Happy Land*; Brian Larkin, *Signal and Noise: Media, Infrastructure, and Urban Culture in Nigeria* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Nikhil Anand, *Hydraulic City: Water and the Infrastructures of Citizenship in Mumbai* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).
- 10 Laura Rival, "Opposing the Motion," *Critique of Anthropology*, Attention to Infrastructure Offers a Welcome Reconfiguration of Anthropological Approaches to the Political 38(1) (2018): p. 15. For more on social technologies and "socio-technical worlds," see Timothy Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil* (London: Verso, 2013), and Tanja Winther and Harold Wilhite, "Tentacles of Modernity: Why Electricity Needs Anthropology," *Cultural Anthropology* 30(4) (2015): pp. 569–77.
- 11 David Walker, *Railroading Religion: Mormons, Tourists, and the Corporate Spirit of the West* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), pp. 88–89.
- 12 Walker, p. 59.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 247.
- 14 Kim Fortun and Mike Fortun, "An Infrastructural Moment in the Human Sciences," *Cultural Anthropology* 30(3) (2015): pp. 359–67.
- 15 AbdouMaliq Simone, "People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg," *Public Culture* 16 (2004): p. 407.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 409. See also Simone, *Always Something Else: Urban Asia and Africa as Experiment* (Adelaide: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2016).
- 17 AbdouMaliq Simone, *For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), p. 1.
- 18 See for example his reflections on "the uninhabitable." AbdouMaliq Simone, "The Uninhabitable? In Between Collapsed yet Still Rigid Distinctions," *Cultural Politics* 12(2) (July 2016): pp. 135–54. Also see Simone, "The Last Shall Be First: African Urbanities in the Larger Urban World," in *Other Cities; Other Worlds: Urban Imaginaries in a Globalizing Age*, ed., Andreas Huyssen (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. 99–119. Geographer Jeff Garmany has analyzed the role of churches serving as informal institutions of urban governance in Brazil. See Garmany, "Religion and Governmentality: Understanding Governance in Urban Brazil," *Geoforum* p. 41 (2010): pp. 908–18.



- 19 Gökçe Günel, *Spaceship in the Desert*, p. 21.
- 20 On industrial production, see Darren Dochuk, *Anointed with Oil: How Christianity and Crude Made Modern America* (New York: Basic Books, 2019).
- 21 See David Chidester, *Religion: Material Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018), p. 209.
- 22 Quotes are in Marc Augé, *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 2008 [1995]), pp. viii, 63, 97; Also see Dimitris Dalakoglou, "The Road: An Ethnography of the Albanian-Greek Cross-Border Motorway," *American Ethnologist* Vol. 37, No. 1 (2010), pp. 132–49. On roads as spatial instantiations of capitalist hegemony and physical dominance over space, see David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Malden: Blackwell, 1989); Louis Althusser also describes the characteristic Marxian view of "base" in terms of "infrastructure" in his famous work, *For Marx*.
- 23 James C. Scott, "Vernaculars Cross-Dressed as Universals: Globalization as North Atlantic Hegemony," *Macalester International* 24(7) (Summer 2009): p. 4.
- 24 Harvey and Knox, "The Enchantments of Infrastructure," *Mobilities* 7(4) (November 2012): p. 523.
- 25 Elizabeth Olson, Peter Hopkins, and Lily Kong, "Introduction—Religion and Place: Landscape, Politics, and Piety," in *Religion and Place: Landscape, Politics, and Piety*, eds, Peter Hopkins, Lily Kong, and Elizabeth Olson (London: Springer, 2013), p. 3. On geographies of the secular, see Banu Gökarişel, "Beyond the Officially Sacred: Religion, Secularism, and the Body in the Production of Subjectivity," *Social and Cultural Geography* 10(6) (September 2009): pp. 657–74; Lily Kong, "Global Shifts, Theoretical Shifts: Changing Geographies of Religion," *Progress in Human Geography* 34(6) (2010): pp. 755–76.
- 26 Claire Dwyer, Justin Tse, and David Ley. "Highway to Heaven: The Creation of a Multicultural, Religious Landscape in Suburban Richmond, British Columbia," *Social and Cultural Geography* 17 (5) (2016): p. 670.
- 27 Dwyer, Tse, and Ley, p. 671.
- 28 Dwyer, Tse, and Ley, p. 671. Rosemary Hicks examines a legal dimension of this issue through her analysis of the "Ground Zero Mosque" controversy in New York City. See Hicks, "Between Lived and the Law: Power, Empire, and Expansion in Studies of North American Religions," *Religion* 42(3) (2012): pp. 409–24. Kim Knott also comprehensively theorizes the spatial dimensions of religion in secular publics in her monograph *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis* (London: Equinox, 2005).
- 29 Harvey and Knox, "The Enchantments of Infrastructure," p. 521.
- 30 C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), especially chapter 1; Howard Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1855–1935* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991); W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Tammy Ingram, *Dixie Highway: Road Building and the Making of the Modern South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).
- 31 Henry Branson Varner, "The Duty of the Press in the Good Roads Movement in the United States," *SGRM* 1(3) (March 1910): 3.
- 32 Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865–1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), pp. 28–9. The term "Lost Cause" dates back to the 1866 publication of a book by that title. Authored by Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause* argued that the South's defeat in war was inevitable, and that Southern soldiers, their commanding officers, and their wives and children exemplified the very gallantry the Federal troops supposedly sought to destroy. As Wilson notes, the Lost Cause discourse was as much about "looking forward" to the future of racial politics in the South as it was about looking backward toward the war itself.
- 33 Brundage, *The Southern Past*, p. 286. Also see Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).
- 34 Brundage, *The Southern Past*, chapters 1 and 2.
- 35 Rev. Thaddeus A. Cheatham wrote of the Village Hall that "There might be a Minstrel show on Saturday night but there would always be a religious service on Sunday if the Minister could be obtained." Cheatham, "A Brief History of the Village Chapel in Pinehurst," 1952. Tufts Archives. Pinehurst, NC.
- 36 Cheatham, "A Brief History."
- 37 "Big Barbecue Marks Second of Good Roads Days; Governor is Present and Delivers Address," *Asheville Citizen* (November 7, 1913).
- 38 See Talitha L. LeFlouria, *Chained in Silence: Black Women and Convict Labor in the New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

- 39 Justin Tse, "Grounded Theologies: 'Religion' and the 'Secular' in Human Geography," *Progress in Human Geography* 38(2) (2014): p. 202.
- 40 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).
- 41 Hillary Kaell, "Seeing the Invisible: Ambient Catholicism on the Side of the Road," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 85(1) (March 2017): pp. 136–67; Gabriel Klaeger, "Religion on the Road: The Spiritual Experience of Road Travel in Ghana," *Afrika-Studiecentrum Series* 13 (2009): pp. 212–31. Some other examples in the literature in the field with which I am most familiar, United States religious history, include: Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millenium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); and Robert A. Orsi, ed., *Gods of the City: Religion and American Urban Life* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999). Laurie Maffly-Kipp also provides a framework for thinking about how a different conception of mobility and movement could change our geographic and temporal understanding of American Religious History. See Maffly-Kipp, "Eastward Ho! American Religion from the Perspective of the Pacific Rim," in *Retelling U.S. Religious History*, ed., Thomas A. Tweed (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 127–48.
- 42 Mary Haycock and Smriti Srinivas, "Ordinary Cities and Milieus of Innovation," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 86(2) (May 2018): p. 462. Emphasis in original.
- 43 Kaell, "Seeing the Invisible," p. 137.

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