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The American University in Cairo  
School of Humanities and Social Sciences (HUSS)

**The In-Betweens of Lifeworlds: Double Clicks of Becoming-Entrepreneurial**

A Thesis Submitted to  
The Department of Sociology, Egyptology, and Anthropology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology-  
Anthropology

By Ahmed Hatem

Under the supervision of Dr. Munira Khayyat  
May 2018

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One cannot help himself but think of different faces and names that are so alive in the discussions I bring to this project. I talk about talks in-between classes and during cigarette breaks. Those in-between moments in which comments were thrown on bafflements we, as a cohort, encounter when we try to understand the contemporary or simply stated, *what is going on*.

Last but not least, I am in gracious gratitude to my wife, Hana. I am so thankful to how she put up with how shaky my life is. I stated a glimpse of how turbulent it is in the prologue, yet I am grateful to how life is unfolding at the moment. I realized that meaning that sometimes I search for in life does not lie in goals that I seek but in relationships I build.

# **Disclaimer**

Names of people and places are all anonymized so as not to jeopardize the work of project's owner and research participants.

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# Abstract

In this project, I de-naturalize dynamics of the establishment of *social entrepreneurship* as a political project that has on the underside of it after-modern passions and desires with an affinity to the European Renaissance and the West as, according to Michel-Rolph Trouillot, “a project not a place, a multi-layered enterprise in transparent universality” (Trouillot, 1991: 32). I pursue de-naturalization through de-description. I de-cribe and trace relationships and inter-actions that are made and re-made in the name of social entrepreneurship. In those very inter-actions, entrepreneurial bodies are re-assembled. According to Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1987), “we know nothing about a body until we know what it can do” (p. 257). Hence the emphasis on actions. As such, the political becomes a mode of organization and distribution of solutions that entrepreneurs assemble around contesting and conflicting needs, wants and desires. Often-times, those needs, wants and desires are made visible through acts of making and re-making of containers, such as the Social Entrepreneur and the Bedouin. I do not understand those containers as actors, but actants. According to Bruno Latour (2005), actants is the activity of translation and mediation of actions. Those actions take place in the milieu of the after-modern. That milieu is a continuum that exists in mesh of different lifeworlds. Hence, there is no singular contemporary that prevails and dominates. Each lifeworld has its own contemporary, make and is made by other lifeworlds. In that sense, markets are not only the way ahead; life unfolds as one acts; there are no linear movements. I focus on processes and multiplicities of actions that make and re-make the contemporary whenever it is experienced. I in-turn do not trace the *what*, but the *how*. In specific, how individuals enter and exit market relationships through acts of setting prices of products and engaging in activities to acquire a formal status of their businesses. In those very processes, intimacies of life such as family, home and security acquire and grant meanings not only to actors, but to actions. I trace those actions through focusing on moments of, according to Bruno Latour (2013), double click. It is a moment when power materializers to re-configure socialites and life itself. In this project, I am using double click as a method in order to trace changing modes of existence. It is a method that I use to de-cribe relational traces that are in-action. By socialities, I mean relationships that are being made and remade in the name of social entrepreneurship.

# Prologue

In this essay, I present dialogues and encounters with individuals who are engaged in providing shelter-food-education as products and services through the market to populations who do not have access to such commodities. Those individuals are also known as social entrepreneurs. I unpack the latter concept and engage with its historical embeddedness in geographies in which I did my field work. I argue that social entrepreneurship is a re-assemblage of the crumbling West “a project not a place, a multi-layered enterprise in transparent universality” (Trouillot, 1991: 32). In that sense, and according to Achille Mbembe (2017), Europe is not the *center* of the world anymore. I describe such sense of crumbliness as an *after-modern* affect. I saw process of shattering of that project during my encounter with the director of one of the leading international organizations that provides funds for governments, when he said and I paraphrase: It is now your turn to find out solutions to your own problems because I tried to solve them before and it is now your turn. In that sense, the project of European Renaissance cannot literally generate solutions to problems of inaccess to shelter, food and education anymore. The turn is now of those social entrepreneurs to figure out those solutions.

My relationship to this project is entangled. I used to work for one of the leading organization in the industry of social entrepreneurship. I used to support social entrepreneurs build their businesses and organizations through scrutinizing their business and strategic expansion plans. In addition, I used to *analyze* their financial models in order to see whether they have financial records that speak to their business plans or they are just ideas. Part of my job was to connect them with professionals who work in the private sector and have experiences in starting



businesses that build products or market for a service to enhance the access of low-income customers to shelter, food and education. In a technocratic sense and in the same mode I was doing my job, I started doing my Masters of Arts in Anthropology in order to *better* understand the problems that social entrepreneurs are trying to solve. That aspiration for enhancement and betterment with which I started my studies is at the heart of my training I received at that organization, the work that I used to do for it, and more importantly my undergraduate training in Engineering. As an Engineer, I build models that fit in systems. If it does not fit, I go back and fix the model or the whole system. In that mode of thinking, feeling and acting, I used to work for such organization and support those entrepreneurs to solve the aforementioned problems. In that sense, I am technocrat who is trying to find a dis-functioning system to fix with a *faith* in the project of Science that breeds and re-breeds such faith in systems thinking. After I started to see the historical embeddedness of the project of social entrepreneurship, I found that it is perpetuating economies of debt through either making low-income individuals more market-dependent or convincing the state apparatus to adopt their solution on a *bigger* scale to access more individuals. I unravel that argument in more detail in chapter two. *I decided to leave my work* as I now see that I am contributing to fortifying late-neoliberal economies, and according to David Harvey (1990), through moving problems around geographically, meaning I help that director of that international organization not solve problems by producing reports and policy recommendations for business and governments to follow from Turkey, but support social entrepreneurs with finances and technical skills to solve such problems in their own communities and countries themselves.

Re-assemblage is not re-production. In arguing that social entrepreneurs are localizing what that director is talking about is not to say they are re-producing how he thinks, feels, and act.

Definitely, they *re-work* how he thinks, feels and act, but they not follow his modes of subjectification to the grain. In this project, I argue that social entrepreneurs' work is in geographical and temporal relationship to that director's mode of existence. Just as a pack of wolves, social entrepreneurs and that director are part and parcel of the same pack. They solve those problems not individually, but in concert. In that sense, and according to Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's (2013), there is no a social-entrepreneur or social-entrepreneurship in itself, meaning social entrepreneurship is not a universal, fixed entity that has the same dynamics in different spaces and times. In adding to de Castro's argument, I trace modes of relationality that connects different social entrepreneurs with their customers and customers with social entrepreneurs. In that sense, I tap into modes of attachment that make those customers agree to receive social entrepreneurs' services and products, and those entrepreneurs to keep offering their services. In those entangled relations, the social gets assembled and re-assembled. *The social is relational* and relations are the social. Those relations are not institutionalized, meaning they are not fixed. They change according to actions of actor such as social entrepreneur or the individual in Goro who receives his service or *work with her to build a product*. Assemblages have affects. In engaging with social entrepreneurs, individuals give meanings to intimacies of their lifeworlds such as family, home and security through their own practices. I turn to unravel the making of those intimacies in chapter three and four of this essay.

# 1 Introduction

*It is as though Double Click, just when we thought he was going to die of starvation, were finally on the verge of realizing his wildest expansionary dreams.*

*(Latour, 2013: 384)*

## Snapshot F | F - - -

This project takes place in a village, which is called *U-progtorous*. It is one in which people face problems of in-access to food, education and shelter. That village is connected to other villages with lesser problems of the latter kind. One of the latter village, *Cybex*, sends its representatives to those lacking villages to show them how to get rid of those problems.

In one of exchanging expertise traditions, an ambassador group from U-progtorous visited Cybex. After a meticulous security check for the whole group, the group went upstairs and waited for a director of one of Cybex economic research institutions to come in. The group was sitting in two u-shaped tables. Two women came in who introduced themselves to us as representatives from the Z-institution and who facilitated the session. They gave us instructions that we have to shut down our phone and do not tweet anything that we will be discussed in this room. I had that weird feeling; why is all this happening? At a sudden, the director, Mr. M, slammed the door and came in. Some of us were still talking to each other. He stood in front of us and started talking.

M:

Look, I am going to say things that will shock you, but I have to speak using that language as I am a politician... You do *not* know how politicians speak and what they *mean* by what they *say*... You are technocrats... You do not sit with politicians or speak their language... So listen, they call me M... That is because, I always know how to get what I want... What I want is *money* from governments to fulfill EU's agenda... to *throw* that money on humanitarian aid to Syrian refugees in Turkey... You do not know how big it is to provide food, shelter and education to people who have no place to stay... Let me tell you something... I manage \$2 billion... You know, the amount of money you control *measures* the power that you represent... Money is power... Without money, you cannot do anything... Anyway, what is happening in Syria is expected... What do you expect from a country that has different sects... Instability... I know the situation is tough in Syria.

Some of the attendees started to ask questions about the solutions that the EU are developing to respond to the what M calls Syrian crisis. M then turned to the two representatives from ZZ and angrily said: "Did not I tell you that they will ask me about *solutions*?". At that time, people were fuming at their seats, whereas the German attendees did not get a similar feeling, except one who were empathizing with the people coming from, according the M, the so called developing world. The attendees could not believe that this situation is happening. I saw that in their faces. M then turned to the attendees, with a cold face and firmly said:

I do not try to solve problems... My organization is trying to keep intact the post-World-WarII world order... We just accompany the problem and do not let it go too far, as what happened in World-WarII... It is now the time when the *white man* has recognized that he cannot solve *your* problems... It is time to take charge of solving your problems... *We* tried to solve them and we learned from our mistakes. We cannot solve *your* problems anymore".

He continued, referring to the representatives from the ZZ:

You answer their questions... My time is tight... Let me know when you finish".

Then, he suddenly left the room.

Double Click.

## Snapshot A | FA- -

A year later, ZZ was about to start a program for supporting the businesses that integrate workers with impoverished conditions, aiming at their granting them access to jobs either as business owners or wage earners, either by offering them jobs, or by catering low cost products and services (such as low cost housing). ZZ calls those businesses, Inclusive Businesses (IB). I was part of selected professionals (NGO directors, consultants, investors, Corporate Social Responsibility program managers, Representatives from Ministry of Trade and Industry) who came to a workshop organized by ZZ to *localize* a tool kit that they developed in Cybex to help IB grow. By localization they mean tweaking different specificities of the tool developed in Cybex to suit markets. These tools are part of programs that are called acceleration programs to accelerate businesses growth.

The day long workshop took place in Sofo-Hotel Coro. I entered a huge room, with well-furnished circular tables, put together in front of a huge screen on which power point presentations are going to be shown. In the introductory speech, the Cybex-village director of this program in U-progtorous, said:

Thank you for coming today... Our work aims at creating jobs and growing the economy... Yes, there is hope... We have something that works... We have the solution... We have investors and accelerators on board... It is your turn to make it work.

The attendees then spent the rest of the workshop thinking about what IB mean to the U-progtorousian market, what and how those businesses should do. Those professionals will then implement what came out of that workshop as part of the work they do in their organizations.

Double Click.

## Snapshot C | FAC-

During the same month of attending the workshop, organized by ZZ, I received a message from someone I know. She sent: This is SR.

At age 24: I co-founded an NGO and I was the Head of the Charity Department. Together we have served 4,375 poor family, which is around 21,875 person. We have offered different services for them. 1. Education; 2. Vocational training; 3. Micro finance; 4. Established senior house; 5. Establish orphanage; 6. Health services. In addition to a seasonal charity services: 1. Blankets in Winter; 2. Food packaging in Ramadan.

At age 27: Started to expand the humanitarian and development projects with Helwa ya Balady to Syria, Somalia and Kenya. Somalia: Resulted in digging 600 water well.

At age 33: I'm establishing a VIP restaurant for Sharabia people. It will serve only lunch meal and it will be free. The restaurant will feed 1000 person per day.

Double Click.

## Snapshot E | FACE

GU, a social entrepreneur, organizes annual cultural fairs in which he collects several artisans from several governorates in U-progtorous in order to let them promote their handicrafts and grant them access to market. The fair was established in a well-known neighborhood in Coro called Abasa. I met DDD from Zoho who came to the fair to present her handicrafts that she as well as numerous girls and artisans in her neighborhood made. As part of our conversation:

Since we knew GU, *el-Kheir*<sup>1</sup> came to us. I can now finance my daughter's university education so she becomes independent young lady and marry a man who will appreciate her value and will protect her... I lead a modest life and live in a modest place... I do not put my eye on<sup>2</sup> accumulating more money... Happiness is not related to money... I do not have problems that I want to solve... *Elhamdolilah*... I am leading a *good* life.

---

<sup>1</sup> It is an Arabic term that means here money.

<sup>2</sup> "Put my eye on" is a literal translation of an Arabic expression that means "look for".

Double Click.

Each snapshot presents a lifeworld. Those lifeworlds are connected through relationships that are endlessly made and re-made. The interconnectedness of those lifeworlds tells a story according to which *faces* of the social are re-assembled. Those faces are ephemeral. They come and go. They appear and dis-appear. In short, they change. Those faces are configured through affects of social entrepreneurship (SE)<sup>3</sup>, that is, of thinking and doing using the logic of SE. SE claims to support local solutions to local problems, where the left behind (citizens of the so called Third World, according to the M) have now the space to solve their social problems (such as crumbling education systems and dis-functioning public health systems). The M made it clear. It is time that he stops thinking of solutions to the left behind's problems. That rhetoric is elaborative of De Sousa Santos' (2014) argument that "there is no globalization without localization" (p. 192). The localization of the project not of democracy, but of development of *active citizens*. Active in the sense that everyone *can* now be an entrepreneur who will take charge of solving problems that face her community through market based relations and according to the narrative of M. M throws money and promotes programs through which skills are nurtured to develop those solutions in a way such as that of the ZZ presented in snapshot A. That is his logic.

M's logic has its temporal and spatial specificities. It is present in a time where he lost control over providing ready-made solutions that can be applied to different livelihoods and geographies. He re-cognizes that he made a mistake through providing ready-made solutions and believes that it is time for social entrepreneurs to figure out solutions to problems that they see

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<sup>3</sup> I unravel the making and remaking of the category of social entrepreneurship in chapter 2 of this essay. In this chapter, I will just use SE for better presentation in written form.

through his logic. He can only give access to resources such as money. He lives in the after-modern period, in which modernity as a universal project lost its capacity to provide solutions. It is growing weaker. M lives with the after-modern, but he always runs after the modern condition. In other words, he is constantly being pushed to the edge of his thinking and being where he tries to make his old categories anew, yet he always holds fixed categories and understandings about life tight and refuses to let them go. In that sense, and according to Wendy Brown (2005), we live with what we are also after. This was clear to me when he narrated a fixed history of Syria that he linearly connects to its contemporary. As such, M *depends* on those active citizens as I elaborated above. That is citizens of the after-modern neoliberal economy, not of the nation-state. Still, they solve problems of their nations, yet the boundaries of their nations are bypassed. That was evident to me during the meeting with the M, which constituted professionals who come from different localities, heard the same talk, and went back home to re-orient how their organizations work and proceed.

Moments when DDD decides to work with GU, is a moment of double click. It is a moment when power materializes to re-configure socialities and life itself. In this project, I am using double click, following Bruno Latour's (2013) method in order to trace changing modes of existence. It is a method that I use to de-scribe relational traces that are in-action. By socialities, I mean relationships that are being made and remade in the name of SE; A social entrepreneur who think in numbers of people she spend years, the director of ZZ U-progtorous who is confident in the research done and the number of professionals who attended the workshop to localize a tool developed in his home country, and the like.

Power, in the form of passionate interests, whispers in the ears of individuals, calling them to benefit from different forms of modern life. This power of attachment “wait[s] for the chains of



reference to be deployed and stabilized before it intervene[s]” (ibid: 93). At that moment of intervention, “the Double Click” (ibid: 93), is when different individuals are told to accept their after-modern condition. It is good to note that whatever *challenges* the after-modern condition has to be seen as different and other—something that does not belong to the modern, linear time because it has no equivalence in the linear mono-past, only otherness. That is clear in how M sees the Syrian history with capital S. To him, there is only one Syrian history; the one he knows. Other than that, that is absolute otherness that shall be always left in the shadows.

Unraveling the dynamics of localization processes is of ultimate importance to understanding the political molding of socialities in the contemporary. Such localization requires categorization and prioritization. That is a political project. In March 2017, The BL announced its partnership with the U-progtorousian ministries of (1) Trade and Industry, (2) Investment and International Cooperation, (3) Finance and Planning and (4) Social Solidarity, institutions working across the private sector such as local banks, industrial investors and the like, and finally the development (Cybex development institution, KAA, and the like) institutions in U-progtorous to mark the birth of a new group of institutions called social enterprises. According to the BL, “social enterprises are not recognized in [U-progtorousian] law, they must register as NGOs or private companies. The former resigns them to the grant-based/charity models, that don’t meet their needs” (2017: 1). The report continues on presenting some of the objectives of the partnership “(i) *Quantify* the value of social enterprise to national economies, using UK experience as a case study; (ii) Outline of the limitations of social enterprise in U-progtorous, and how these might be addressed via tailored financing schemes” (p. 1).

The technical language used in the manuscript, the faith in the social enterprise to bring about thrust to national economy, the acts of financialization that are required to grow the discourse of social enterprise in U-progtorous, the credibility of UK experience with social enterprises to address their problems (poverty, unemployment, unplanned urban housing, and then like) and the primacy of the presence of social enterprise as a new group in the U-progtorousian law, are all primary strands that shape the context in which my project situates itself. My project in turn grounds itself in the everyday dynamics to attend to the particularities of spatialities and temporalities that forge the neoliberal milieu in U-progtorous that is realized in the working dynamics of SE.

In pursuing that research, I intend to uncover the processes in which social entrepreneurship shapes and re-shapes the U-progtorousian social. I de-naturalize dynamics of the establishment of SE as a political project that has on the underside of it after-modern passions and desires with an affinity to the European Renaissance and the West as “a project not a place, a multi-layered enterprise in transparent universality” (Trouillot, 1991: 32).

## **2 Research Genealogy, Methodology and Methods**

### **Literature Review**

Social entrepreneurship (SE) is not just an invention of pasts, but a re-organization of them. That mode of existence of social entrepreneurship, in a Latourian sense (2013), is actualized in the kind of after-modern solutions that social entrepreneurs generate to modern problems to engage in further engineering of the future, or as Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2014) puts it “contracting the future” (p. 183). Realizing that narrative in the everyday through the practices of social entrepreneurs, indeed, closes the horizon of possibilities of the “not-yet”, as Ernst Bloch (1995: 306-13) puts it, and begets further immobility through claiming the very kind of linear mobility according to a point of reference. That point of reference is constituted of problems of no-access to food, shelter, and education. In the name of social entrepreneurship and in relation to those problems, what is yet-to-come has to be imagined and worked out.

Through the eyes and the minds of technocrats such as social entrepreneurs, the engineering of the social is a knowledge project that is part and parcel of the welfare state. By welfare, I point to the project of economic development that is a priority to the state as shown by Escobar (1995). I pay a particular attention to the modes of being and knowing that are promoted by the administrative tools of the welfare state. “As a domain of knowledge and intervention, the social became prominent in the nineteenth century, culminating in the twentieth century in the consolidation of the welfare state and the ensemble of techniques encompassed under the rubric of social work. Not only poverty but health, education, hygiene, employment, and the poor quality of life in towns and cities were constructed as social problems, requiring extensive knowledge about

the population and appropriate modes of social planning” (Escobar, 1995: 22). Such complexity required the intervention of the development institutions such as the Cybex development institution and the United Nations to preserve and reproduce a systematic production of knowledge that follows the legacy of the nineteenth century European merchant capitalists in Britain, as Poovey (1998) puts it. In doing so, the production of such kind of knowledge “excluded the possibility of articulating a view of social change as a project that could be conceived of not only in economic terms[,] but as a whole life project, in which the material aspects would be not the goal and the limit but a space of possibilities for a broader individual and collective endeavors, culturally defined” (Escobar, 1995: 83). As I focus in my argument, “one should investigate the epistemological and cultural conditions of the productions of discourses that command the power of truth, and the specific mode of articulation of these discourses upon a given historical situation” (ibid: 84). In *Encountering Development*, Escobar (1995) is a mechanical Foucauldian, which is not a theoretical framework with which I engage the discussions I had in my fieldwork. The power of truth is not something that is there and fixed. I rather focus on *the micro-politics of SE as an after-modern affect*. I trace the moments of utterance of desires, interest, pains, and others of realization of anxiety, confusion, influence and sadness. I do so through describing the formation of socialities under the influence of social entrepreneurs such as SR and GU. In this research, power is ephemeral. In a deleuzian sense, it has a *rhizomatic* character, which means it has no beginning and no end. Only at moments, of high intensity, when we can feel and see it through everyday actions of agents. By high intensity I mean, moments when the aforementioned desires, pains, and the like are made visible.

SE is *not* concerned with poverty as an impairment to economic growth. As shown above, SE is concerned with problems of access. That access is to education, food, health care, housing,

markets, and political representation. In that way, SE embodies the logic of the M. As NI, one of professionals that works in the development industry and who helped introduce SE to U-progtorous in 2003, told me:

It is not about giving jobs... Un-employment is not exclusion... Exclusion is to lack the skills that you need to access the market... In order to reduce exclusion, the social entrepreneur has to provide service more cheaply so that those who used not to have access to that service, can now afford it... If I do not have access to political representation, that is exclusion... If I am a woman whose husband beats her and I have no other way to go and nothing else to do about it, then I am excluded... Through my work, I create opportunities for those women to be financially independent from their husbands and to finance the education and the health care of their children.

NI here refers to a different logic than that presented by Escobar (1995). Of course, the problems that WB and UN reckoned in the lives of the individuals of the Third World, according to M, are still there and these are also the problems that SE addresses, yet what is different is *how* these problems are addressed. International organizations, such as WB and UN, do not have packaged solutions to offer anymore. Their role is to *support* not to solve. Those who solve problems are the entrepreneurs, such as Amr who gives individual who earn less than 2 United States Dollars per day access to health care through cheaper health insurance monthly cards in U-progtorous, or as ALA who trains recent university graduates on programming, marketing, and business skills to start their own startups in Tunisia. Through discussions that were stretched over 6 months long with ALA, I came to know that she builds a web platform to enable Tunisian citizens publish the problems that they see around them such as young children who do not have a safe way of transportation to schools. She then helps those citizens to design a project to solve problem they published on her platform. She then trains them on budgeting and project management to form actionable plans out of the problem they describe. Those solutions are then presented to parliament members. If those members agree, then the project gets financed and implemented. In

that way, ALA is giving access to citizens to voice their concerns, through the support of parliament members who are responsible for their municipality.

SE is concerned with the precariat. Although I borrow the latter category from Guy Standing (2011) which he uses to point out financial insecurity, no access to healthcare, subjection to domestic violence, and deception by parliament member and political parties using the so called democracy as tool of governance, I follow the definition of the M throughout my essay. The latter claims that the precariat in the contemporary are those who are in need for better access to education, nutrition, housing and healthcare.

Social entrepreneur is a realization of an after-modern passion for a social mission; that is lessening labor unemployment, increasing the number of girls in secondary education, and nurturing social responsibility in school children combined with a business-like discipline (Nicholls, 2010). I mean by a social mission the work that is pursued to build well-functioning post-colonial states according to the Western ideals of democracy, economic development and nationalism, according to Benedict Anderson (2006). The entrepreneur is thus a “productive connectivity inventing practices beyond the limits of present experience to enhance the possibilities for living for citizens” (Steyaert & Hjorth, 2006: 7-9). In other words, the social entrepreneur is creating a form of sociality. This form that entails the continuous becoming of the social, is a space where (1) market relations are naturalized and (2) the discourse of individualism is dominating the workings of SE. Such modes demarcate the subjectivity of the social entrepreneur that is shaped by the ethics of SE (Dey & Steyaert, 2016); ethics as “a set of linked understandings of means and ends in the pursuit of calculative action in a world of uncertainty” (Appaduri, 2015: 21). This entrepreneur assumes the control of organizations that “explicitly

combine social and financial returns and apply business models and thinking to achieve their social and environmental aims” (Nichols, 2010; 2012: 623).

The figure of a social entrepreneur is situated in an after-modern milieu. In other words, the aforementioned prevailing conceptions do not pay attention to the radical enactment of the social in SE. These modes of interpretation either prioritize the economic viability where market relations are normalized or underscore the role of social entrepreneurs to change failed state systems (Dey & Steyaert 2010, 2012). Delineating the question of SE entails thinking of “the becoming social of entrepreneurship and the becoming entrepreneurial of the social” (Steyaert & Hjorth, 2006: 3). “social entrepreneurship is mostly envisioned as a pragmatic instrument for expanding entrepreneurial forms to the social sphere, for saving tax money, or simply for rendering people and organizations in the non-profit sector more responsible and accountable” (Dey & Steyaert, 2012: 101).

Social entrepreneurs’ practices are given life through the language of hope, the hope in completing lives that are deemed empty. Lives such as that of DDD. Hope is a method of knowledge production (Miyazaki, 2006). It is used by SE to produce knowledge about people such as DDD. SR sees herself as a hope maker, who shared her story of getting into Harvard so as to give young U-progtorousians hope that they also can be get into Harvard and learn skills to be able to pursue their dreams, be it helping DDD or something else. Through using this language, SR’s imagination about herself changes, so do her actions. GU, a social entrepreneur as SR, uses similar language that in turn affect DDD’s imagination about herself, the work she does, and belonging to her community. According to Bruno Latour (2004), those changes are the heart of re-assembling

the social that reckons the logic of the M in the lives and minds of entrepreneurs such as SR and people such as DDD.

A call for a critical turn in SE research (Dey & Steyaert, 2012; Reid & Griffith, 2006) aims to unwind “the narration of social entrepreneurship and,” present “how it poses a limit to alternative forms of thinking and talking,” which assumes a “de-politicized story of harmonious social change” (Dey & Steyaert, 2010: 85). In their attempt to conceptually delineate SE, Dey & Steyaert (2010) showed that it can be imagined as a “societal actor that confirms the modernist, Western notion of order and control, while contributing to the impression that social change can be achieved without causing debate, tensions or social disharmony” (p. 88). This “probe[s] the normative foundation of the social of social entrepreneurship (...) social entrepreneurship is often embedded in discourses stressing rationality, utility, progress, and individualism” (Dey & Steyaert, 2012: 98). Such ambivalent character of dis-harmony is premised on the imagined character of social harmony that the modern always tries to mediate. Such mediation conceals acts of prioritization of rationality, utility, progress and individualism, and normalization, as well as naturalization of the latter features of the modern project with capital m.

SE as an after-modern artifact requires “meticulous analysis of the material, historical, economic, discursive, or linguistic structures and practices that constitute the conditions of possibility of social entrepreneurship and of which social entrepreneurship is an effect” (ibid, 2012: 96). Although this project is not premised on the idea of fixed structure, such discursive practices form the after-modern milieu. It is a one in which the individual and collective consciousness are continuously shaped and re-shaped, thus promoting homogeneity of the social



and denying the tension between the uncertainty of the becoming of the social and the heterogeneity of the everyday.

The denial of heterogeneity is a modern ethic. The modern project prefers to see the contemporary through different lenses, each of which has its own modes and laws that govern its space (Latour, 2013). These modes are categorized as the religious, the legal, the political, and the economic. The modern does not permit itself to visualize a mode with the laws of another one. In that harmonious way, the homogenous is born, where the messiness of the social is meaningless. The absence of such messiness is due to the “organizing act” (Latour, 2013: 430) that materialize the “collective being” (ibid: 430) called the society. That’s why, and in the late neoliberal contemporary, the social in SE has to assume an economic character and be subverted to the laws that govern the economic, which happens to be that of “the invisible hand of the market” which “re-conceptualize[s] the market to economize practices once denigrated as backward culture” (Elyachar, 2005: 16-20).

Dey and Steyaert (2010) posit that discursive processes of SE “are problematic to the extent that social entrepreneurship is conceived of as worthwhile if, and only if, it bears immediately *measurable* economic utility (...) By extension, then, seeing social entrepreneurship primarily as a means for compensating for ostensible state and market failures makes it possible to transform the subject matter into a de-politicised, quasi-economic entity” (p. 97-8). Such de-politicization is correlated to the modern project disposition to separate the political from the economic, rendering whatever falls under the economic domain measurable in numbers.

The modern measurement in numbers is a historical artifact. The leap of faith in such mode of measurement lies in the “descriptive adequacy [that] involves the ability to create a certain feeling in the observer—the feeling of satisfaction—which was a response to the systematic nature of the description itself. By setting “descriptive” in opposition to the “rhetorical” and by aligning “satisfaction” with the system, [Adam Smith]<sup>4</sup> created an epistemological space for an apparently nonsuasive [sic] mode of representation (whose form could be numerical but did not have to be), whose *credibility* from its internal coherence as much as from its truth to nature” (Poovey, 1998: 217). Such credibility is correlated to “precision (systematic coherence) [that bridge] linked observed particulars to the still unrealized potential that only a philosopher could see”. As such numbers were used to visualize what is invisible, such as “Smith’s abstraction as the market system, which provided a new basis for linking theories about subjectivity with apologies [sic] for liberal governmentality” (ibid: 216).

Numbers are seen not only as a mode of governance, but also as an apparatus of control. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argued, “the number has always served to gain mastery over matter, to control its variations and movements, in other words, to submit them to the spatiotemporal framework of the State” (p.389). That matter is the life of DDD in Zoho that is controlled within the geographical boundaries of the state through the practices of GU. His work deterritorializes the geographical boundaries of both Zoho and Coro and reterritorializes them in one that encloses (1) the markets that DDD visits and (2) the routes that she takes in her commute

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<sup>4</sup> Mary Poovey (1998: xii-xxiii) did not fall into the slippery slope of limiting historical interpretation to the one-man narrative. She attributes the Smith-way of doing political economy to the political arithmetic of William Petty that in turn was correlated to the movement of knowledge production led by merchants in nineteenth century Europe through the development of the double-book keeping as a tool of measurement.

back and forth between Zoho and Coro. In that way, DDD movements get not only captured, but also controlled.

Visualizing the social as an economic utility, in modern terms appealed to conceptions of liberal “reason-of-state theories of government developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth century” (ibid: 217). Those conceptions were held by “government officials seeking to consolidate and theorize the government's relationship with its subjects at home and abroad for at least two reasons. First, as Smith described them, political economic facts embodied the qualities of impartiality, transparency, and methodological rigor that have made numerical information so attractive to modern governments. And second, while abstractions like the market system set limits to some kinds of legislative interference, they mandated the implementation and enforcement of other kinds of laws and policies” (ibid: 217). In the worlds of SE, that mode of technocratic governance can be seen as an apparatus to solve social problems. As I have shown earlier, SR aspires to become a hope agent who uses numbers to describe relationship to people that she helped and to give *credibility* to what she did. With no numbers, there is no credibility.

The social in SE, as a technology of governance, is an “adjective” (Latour, 2005:1) that has a history. That social is premised on the category of pauperism; a category that was constructed in late 1940s, as part of the establishment of the Cybex development institution and the United Nations. “Pauperism, Procacci explains, was associated, rightly or wrongly, with features such mobility, vagrancy, independence, frugality, promiscuity, ignorance, and the refusal to accept social duties, to work, and to submit to the logic of the expansion of “needs” (...) The poor increasingly appeared as a social problem requiring new ways of intervention in society. It was,

indeed, in relation to poverty that the modern ways of thinking about the meaning of life, the economy, rights, and social management came into place. “Pauperism, political economy, and the discovery of society were closely inter- woven,” [as Polanyi puts it]” (Escobar, 1995: 21-22). He continues, “The result was a panoply of interventions that accounted for the creation of a domain that several researchers have termed the social” (p.23). As such the social domain was attributed with the latter characteristics that rendered *it* thinkable to the technocratic logic premised on the modes of liberal governmentality, as Poovey (1998) argues. This project does not see the social domain as an *it*, or a static structure. This research appreciates the dynamics and the changing nature of socialities<sup>5</sup>.

SE is concerned with those whose lives are deemed empty. That is empty of access and skills. That access as defined by the M is to education, food, shelter and healthier care, and those skills are the ones that will enable those with no access to get that specific kind of access. Those skills could be learning a coding language, or learning how to sell a product in a market. The more access the precariat gets, the more complete his life is. In that sense, both Wala and DDD are part and parcel of the precariat. ALA used to *lack* the support of the government so as to enable young Tunisian citizens to have access to the parliament members. As an entrepreneur, self-reliant, who took charge of her life, facing the authoritarian government of Ben-Ali, ALA has managed to pull herself up, earn the support of the government and is now guiding others who face the same political and economic exclusion to pull themselves up. Similar to what SR did in U-progtorous through sharing her story on the social media after getting accepted in one of Harvard’s graduate programs. On the other hand, DDD’s life is deemed more lacking. She struggles to finance the

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<sup>5</sup> Please refer to page 9, on which I first mention and elaborate on the term *socialities* and its importance to this research.

education of her children, yet the intensity of lacking is much higher than that of ALA or SR. It is not SR's and ALA's turn to complete the lives of DDD, young Tunisians citizens, and the like. ALA is not considered part from the M's precariat anymore as she has managed to change the anxiety and anger that young Tunisians feel towards the government of Ben-Ali to solutions presented to parliament members. In doing so, and in the terms of M, she is lifting up those young Tunisians from precariousness.

The affects of systematized knowledge production that only takes place in economic terms is part and parcel of the modern logic as Latour (2013) showed us earlier. The material affects of power, as Deleuze and Guattari (1987) put it, culminate in the after modernist ability to subsume multiple worlds and render what is heterogeneous homogenous. As Escobar (1995: 218) puts it, “the hypothesis that emerges is no longer that of modernity-generating process of modernization that operate by substituting the modern for the traditional but of a hybrid modernity characterized by continuous attempts at renovation, by a multiplicity of groups taking charge of a multi-temporal heterogeneity peculiar to each sector and country”. Such kind of subsumption participates in the acts of ordering of the social gradient, as Jane Guyer (2004) puts it, in which we turn attention to *what* renders itself social acceptable, as well as trans-actable, and *why* to be able to de-naturalize what is deemed as natural, such as the thrust of SE in the neoliberal contemporary.

Subsumption of multiple worlds begets precariousness and dispossession. SE builds its legacy on a constructed social domain where colonial expansionary dreams lay on the underside of it. To be specific, what I mean here by dispossession is assuming the control over “deciding what matters”, as well as “what is [of] value” (Elyachar, 2005: 8-9). I am not sure that categorizing the beneficiaries of the work of NGOs, according to Elyachar (2005) as the dispossessed, could be slammed to the beneficiaries of social enterprises. This requires re-working the category of the

dispossessed itself to unravel its dynamics in the late neoliberal production of the everyday through the workings of SE. As Levi-Strauss (1952) once argued, “inside each civilized there is a barbarian” (p.11). Adding to Levi-Strauss, the acts of dispossession are not cyclical but spiral, where (1) social entrepreneurs are seen as the dispossessed in the eyes of business entrepreneurs, as the former do not possess the analytical rigor of using numbers, sketching business models and understanding the markets as the latter do, and (2) the beneficiaries who receive the helping hand (Malkki, 2015) of the social entrepreneurs lack the resources, such as education, access to training facilities, and the like, that the social entrepreneurs possess. Through such acts of dispossession and the everyday entanglements, the entrepreneurial self gets re-configured, thus entailing that the past is not merely re-produced, but partially enacted and recuperated (Stoler, 2016). In that way, precariousness gets re-produced, thus always dispossessing the late neoliberal individuals from what they deem valuable to themselves and their communities.

The situation of precarity is part and parcel of power dynamics that are actualized in the network of international organizations (such as the Cybex development institution and KAA), private sector (Corporate Social Responsibility programs), NGOs (such as Misr el-Kheir), and foundations (charity legislative arm of the private companies). All those actors are what Elyachar (2005) calls “mesh network of the agents of the state,” (p.29) engage in a contradictory relationship with it, they extend the control of the state over its citizens, but they concurrently transcend its sovereignty. Such power affect could be visualized not in terms of institutions, but in terms of the making of complex strategic relations that develop within a certain locality. The relations that develop follow the acts of localization that are co-constitutive of that of globalization. In that way, the latter ordering of the social domain through acts of institutionalization of SE is seen as the

material affects of power. As in this research project's interest, this is one way through which the social gets constituted and re-constituted.

It is not only the power affects that is at stake to the field of my analysis. It is also the construction of social and historical imaginations that deems the continuous re-production of the social in the name of SE a power affect. The way SE is seen whether from the eyes of (1) the entrepreneurs themselves, (2) whoever help them such as their business development mentors and the Cybex development institution economists, or (3) the beneficiaries, is in continuous interlay with the way the social is imagined (Taylor, 2002). In that sense, paying attention to the tension between molding of imagination and realities, as well as the making of historical imagination is crucial to my argument. As Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) put it, "A theory of society which is not also a theory of history, or vice versa, is hardly a theory at all," (p.13) and by evoking theory here I mean, a way of organizing knowledge through recording and describing incidents, events, actions, and the like. According to Wendy Brown (2005), "Theory does not simply decipher the meanings of the world but recodes and rearranges them in order to reveal some-thing about the meanings and incoherencies that we live with" (p. 80). Thus there is a discursive production and re-production relationship between both social and historical imaginations.

So far in my argument, I tried to delineate the interaction between global and local dynamics of SE and the subsequent material effect on the social, yet this is a monotone argument that only focuses on only those social entrepreneurs who get recognized by institutions at the nexus of power. Here I add an additional layer to the genealogy that I have tried to follow up to this point.

The construction of the U-progtorousian late neoliberal milieu is much more complex. Presenting the arguments in terms of this binary of two classes of entrepreneurs which are both demarcated by the quality of education they received and access to resource they have, is not adequate to presenting the messiness of the contemporary. In other words, there is a dual character to that social milieu that speaks to the essence of the project of European Renaissance that marks “fictional re-birth in which the Christendom became the West. The distinctiveness of the Renaissance was, in part, invention of a past for the West” (Trouillot, 1992: 31-2). I argue that in localizing SE, the principal actors such as social entrepreneurs are inventing different pasts such as the Swedish model of participatory development that I will unravel through my interaction with one of the social entrepreneurs in the subsequent chapter.

Unraveling temporalities and historical imaginations of living and being in the late neoliberal social sphere in U-progtorous is a daunting task. I do not want to fall in the trap of presenting a modernized, linear historical process, as Koselleck (1985) puts it, in which “linearity of time and understanding power (are endlessly configured) according to held conceptions of temporality” (DeSousa Santos, 2014: 176-7). Rather, I want to follow different temporalities that gives the past different shapes and forms, in which the logic gets re-assembled (Latour, 2004; 2013) and not re-produced (Althusser, 1974) as I showed in this essay’s preface. That is evident in ways in which the logic of developmentalism in the modern milieu is getting re-invented through the logic of M that is realized in the worlds of SE in the after-modern milieu. “Once such temporalities are retrieved and acknowledged, the practices and sociabilities under them become intelligible and credible objects of political argumentation and debate. Let me offer an example: once liberated from linear time and devolved to its own temporality, the activity of other African



or Asian peasant stops being residual and becomes contemporaneous with the activity of the high-tech farmer in the United States or the activity of the Cybex development institution executive” (DeSousa Santos, 2014:177). In that way, the argument will not become monotonic, in which multiple worlds are given voices to de-naturalize the hegemonic one of the modern project with capital M, materialized in the practices of SE.

I do not read the context in which I have been through in the head office of the Eu-Nio, as I have shown in chapter one, in Gazientep as a one that was about the M as one wolf, and in a Deleuzian and Guattarian sense, but a *pack* of wolves. That pack is not, according to Claude Levi-Strauss (1963) a logic, but rather a collective of becoming-fictions that changes whenever *it* gets re-presented by social entrepreneurs or the M himself. In a Levi-Straussian sense (1963), a social entrepreneur acquires meaning as a subject in opposition to the M, he is the other face of Janus, according to Trouillot (1995) that is thought of as *the* other and hence, has to be cleansed. That is *reductive* to the multiplicity of becomings since not even the *becoming* but the *being* of a social entrepreneur is only thought of as possible and thinkable in the being of the M and hence, a social entrepreneur is trapped till the moment he perishes in the figure of the M as a logic that he, as Alda, cannot defy. If we expand Levi-Straussian mode of theorization a little and think of an Althusserian (2014), way of modes of re-production of social entrepreneurs, they will become also trapped in their own structures, meaning their own modes of being, feeling and acting. That is to say their own logic is in relation to an anti-structure. That is the modes of acting, being and feeling of the M which all in turn form *the* bigger structure that is thought of and seen as the set of ideas, that is to say ideologies, and practices of the world, not worlds, of entrepreneurial-ism. And in those structures, anti-structures, logics, and *the* bigger structure, M and social entrepreneurs are

trapped in a relationship of the dominant and the dominated. In this project, I un-settle this argument through re-phrasing Aliaa al-Saji's (2004) reading of the Deleuzian reading of the Bergsonian philosophy of time. In so doing, I, and again, slowly un-ravel the making and re-making of fragments of different inter-intensities, long-short, dense-light, cheerful-resentful, and heartbreaking-hope-making in order to trace the becoming-social of through modes of subjugation and subjectification of entrepreneurial selves.

In this project, I build on Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's (2013) argument about multi-naturalism that does not assume "a Thing-in-Itself partially apprehended through categories of understanding proper to each species" (ibid: 73). I do not argue that there is WhiteWolf out there who is telling social entrepreneurs what to do and what not to do. I am rather arguing that each individual brings in his/her complexities to the story thus making it more entangled. In that sense, I cannot reduce social entrepreneurs' modes of existence to that of the WhiteWolf. Instead, there are multiplicity of modes of existence that keep proliferating through encounters and actions. Those actions are promoted and demoted through *alliances*. In that sense, social entrepreneurship as a concept is a moving target. In order to unravel its making and re-making, I trace movements in its name across the entire essay and with more focus in chapter two.

## Conceptual Frameworks

In this project, thinking is situated at the borderlands. In other words, I will be standing in the in-between. In this project, I see the between as an extended continuum. In short, this project does not speak in binaries. I will be standing on the borders and spaces *between* practices and their anti-practices, between the practices of entrepreneurs who adopted the market rationality in a hope to grant the precariat a more complete life through access to education, sanitation infrastructure, and *better* housing that follows the safety measures of ministry of housing's building codes, according to which inhabitants' probability of dying is minimized. The *better-ness* is something that is co-defined by social entrepreneurs such as ALA and the precariat such as DDD. Individuals such as DDD have their own ways with which to engage with the contemporary. In other words, they have tremendous creative capacity to engage with the contemporary. To pull themselves up from precarity, they try to find their way to visibility and recognition. Such recognition entails difference in imagination, and this begs the question of the tension and similarity between how entrepreneurs and the precariat see each other's worlds, how both groups recognize their everyday, and how they relate to themselves and their communities. In other words, the precariat inhabit the world of the "marginal gains," as Guyer (2004: 1-20) puts it. They inhabit worlds that the modern does not prefer to recognize, but the after-modern does. The after-modern recognizes the in-between.

The creative capacity of individuals, such as DDD, is rendered as otherness and messiness, according to the logic of the M. A logic that prefers homogeneity and neatness; a logic that does not believe except in its capacity to understand nature and itself. DeSousa Santos (2014) refers to this kind of logic as the "lazy reason", which is in part "the response of the West, intent on the

capitalist and colonialist transformation of the world, to its *own* cultural and philosophical marginality vis-a-vis the East” (p. 164-8).

To unpack such tension, one should look at the tension between history and agency. One of the sites of the latter tension is, as Pierre Bourdieu (1986) put it, the biographical illusion, “a modernist fantasy about society and selfhood according to which everyone is, potentially, in control of his or her destiny in a world made by the actions of autonomous agents” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1992: 26). This illusion is rather not singular. It is not one voice that makes and re-makes the social, whether it is of the social entrepreneurs or the precariat. The issue at stake here is more complex than the standalone question of agency. It is not as if there are those who are in need for better access to education, nutrition, housing and healthcare out there who want to lead a better life through leveraging the opportunities that are granted to them through the helping hands. It is more about the process through which those individuals and the solutions of those entrepreneurs sustain existing strategic complex relationships that enhance the control of power effects on the lives of individuals inhabiting different lifeworlds. This thesis does not engage in “the fantasy of seek[ing] social causes in individual action and social action in individual causes; to find order in events by putting events in order” (ibid: 26). Unraveling the workings of singularization is critical as it shows that such singular is not *apolitical*. In other words, I situate the singular in the context that has different histories, showing the dynamics and process behind its construction, where the singular is an embodiment of the whole. In doing so, I attempt to untwist the politics of the SE as a slot, engendering it as a localized western canon that is in continuous making and re-making.

Achieving order through SE is not new. Trouillot (1992) shows how the modern utopia always tries to achieve order through what he calls “the savage slot” (p. 32). He uses the metaphor of Janus, a god in the ancient Greek religion, with two faces, one looking at the past and the other at the future, where the past controls the future through endless trials of re-inventing the past. Hence, there is no future. That trilogy of utopia-order-savage speaks to the tension between the White Wolf and the social entrepreneurs (when he said it is now the time to take charge of solving your own problems), and the tension between social entrepreneurs and those who are in need for better access to education, nutrition, housing and healthcare. That dualism and dichotomy is at the heart of the modern project, in which a utopian group, claiming ownership of time, tries to subordinate the savage other to fix a mono-past that utopia claims to be the only one to know. This reminds me the rhetoric of the White Wolf when he argued during the meeting that there is only one past of Syria and this past is the reason behind the suffering, in which they now are. Simply put, capitalism is trying to achieve order through SE that is premised on the other face of the project of modernity with capital M; that is a face with the progressive character of capitalism and the belief in primacy of the project of science.

The face always changes its form through processes of, according to Deleuze and Guattari, facialization as its logic. Facialization is a process of assemblage. It is a concept that Deleuze and Guattari use to elaborate on process of socialization according to which the social is made and re-made. Business entrepreneurship has its own grammar (such as the professional ethic, the use of numbers, leveraging market opportunities through business models, and the like) that SE has to internalize. In that process of embodiment, business entrepreneurship hopes that SE will solve the problems that the latter will never be able to solve (such as unfair income distribution, environmental hazards, and the like). This is what the M uttered at the meeting. He is incapable of

solving the problems of those who are to receive helping hands anymore. It is time that the receiving hand starts working.

The savage slot is a governing technology. It is a political technology that “render[s] aspects of social life both intelligible and governable” (Roitman, 2004: 3). It is “thus not simply instrumental method for obtaining or assuring power”; it is “rather the very material form of power itself” (ibid: 3). Such process of governance is an endless pursuit of re-inventing the past to include more individual in the “control society” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 208-33), where those individuals are engaged in mechanisms of irreversible forms of exclusion. Karl Marx (1973) delineates such irreversible forms of exclusion by showing how the factory as a symbol of capitalism replaced the church, where the latter used to give charity and the former is now giving wages. Through that mechanism, the individual is told that she is now free from the church and is a member of the market, where in fact she was stripped of everything and does not have except her labor power to sell; That is way she is free. She has nothing to lose and no other place to go. She has to make a living from within the space of the market. As such, the inhabitant of the savage slot has to be the other of utopia. The interaction that takes place between the people inhabiting the slot and the milieu of the slot is what generates new forms of sociality. This kind of “machinic assemblages” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987: 351-424) beget conceptual innovations (such as SE, social innovation, and the like) that continue to govern, as well as regulate the social. As such, those conceptual categories become “order words” (ibid: 75-111), that create the milieu of “organizing acts” (Latour, 2013: 394) to which I referred at an earlier point. In other words, the savage slot is always in the process of re-organization. Thus, it is not fixed.

## Methodology

In this project, I trace how social entrepreneurs as well as the M's precariat alike think, feel and act, inhabiting multiple worlds and in-between spaces of diverse lifeworlds.

I look at three instances in which different forms of socialities get configured. I tap on the discursive relationship between the subjectivity of the social entrepreneurs and their social, as well as historical imaginations. To do so, I differentiate between (1) social entrepreneurs who used to work in the early 70s and went through the neoliberal transition to channel their work through the grammar of social innovation in the contemporary, and (2) entrepreneurs who are in their late 20s and 30s who commenced working for the so-called social betterment in the late neoliberal contemporary. I then give special account to the transition period in which different entrepreneurs undergo intensive training in preparation to KAA's Fellowship. KAA is "the largest network of social entrepreneurs worldwide, with nearly 3,000 KAA Fellows in 70 countries putting their system changing ideas into practice on a global scale. Founded by DD in 1980, KAA has provided start-up financing, professional support services, and connections to a global network across the business and social sectors, and a platform for people dedicated to changing the world" (KAA, 2016).

In the process of *becoming* KAA Fellows, social entrepreneurs' social imagination gets challenged as they go through processes of adoption and abandonment of conceptions about the way they think about the lives of others who do not have the access they have to housing, food, education and health care. "KAA Fellows are leading social entrepreneurs who we recognize to have innovative solutions to social problems and the potential to change patterns across society.

They demonstrate unrivaled commitment to bold new ideas and prove that compassion, creativity, and collaboration are tremendous forces for change. KAA Fellows work in over 70 countries around the globe in every area of human need” (KAA Fellows, 2016). During that process, they use their own experiences through KAA’s criteria to think about how they are going to scale their organizations, thus bringing about material prosperity to their communities. I then move to the third instance, where either those entrepreneurs interact with their teams or with those who help them get out of hardships that either could be economic or expression related to give voices to their concerns, desires and dreams. In those moments, different worlds meet and new worlds are formed.

Spaces of in-betweenness that have temporal configurations that the late modern figure such as M cannot recognize because those worlds follow different logics. In doing so, I push further Victor Turner’s (1966) theory of liminality by highlighting the endless becoming and re-configuration of those spaces. Those spaces are the everyday of those who are in need to better education, housing, nutrition and healthcare in the eyes of the entrepreneurs. Spaces that are yet to be created, and are very different than the everyday of those who receive the services of those entrepreneurs. Those spaces are in part the product of entrepreneurs’ imaginations and expansionary dreams. In doing so, I look at the everyday that is always in conversation with the fictional imaginations of the entrepreneurs.



## Research Methods and Field Work

The dynamics of each one of the three instances differ from the other two. Hence, I use different methods to suit the nature of each one of them. At the first instance (social entrepreneurs), I use the *buddy research* where I engage with them as a colleague in the field, since I used to work in the field. I also look for *oral narratives* that elder social entrepreneurs construct about their pasts and the correlation between the work they used to do and are now doing as part of the late neoliberal contemporary. I then shift to the second instance, where I act as *full participant*, since I facilitate the workshops in which the entrepreneurs get trained in preparation for KAA's Fellowship Program. It is a life time fellowship. Hence, it is crucial to engage with such transition that takes place in the form of workshops and introductory meetings to the community of KAA Fellows. It is importance lie in the impact on so many social engagements yet to come in the life time of (1) social entrepreneurs and (2) those to whom they offer their services. I then shift to *participant observation* where I work with agents in different field sites to understand how they see their realities and engage in a *comparative method* in order to see and feel how they internalize and act upon social entrepreneurs' ways of being, acting, doing, thinking and feeling. I also act as *participant observer* with members of social entrepreneurs' organizations and enterprises where I attend strategic planning meetings in which they plan for projects that they are going to execute. Throughout the process of planning, different patterns and modes of thinking surface that enable me to see how their understanding of socialities, as well as the lives of those to whom they offer their services looks like.

My ethnography is a multi-sited field encounter with the entrepreneurs, their teams, professionals in the field, and communities as well as individuals who receive the services of those

entrepreneurs. I did my fieldwork both in U-progtorous and Cybex. In U-progtorous, I did my fieldwork in work offices in Coro, conference rooms in Sofo-Hotel, Koko-Hotel, Siki-Hotel in Doko, Zozo and Tah neighborhoods in U-progtorous, homes in the neighborhood of Coro, Goro, a hub for business and social enterprises in U-progtorous, in cultural fairs where artisans from different towns and cities collect themselves to sell products they produced with the help of social entrepreneurs. In Turkey, I visited the Eu-Nio's Middle East Head Quarter office in Gafa, Cybex in which I had day long discussion and meetings with the White Wolf and other development professionals in ZZ.

## Chapters Outline

The following chapters unfold as follows. In chapter 2, I look at the making of the subjectivity of the social entrepreneur in neoliberal milieus. In that chapter, I tap on the different walks of life that took engineers, physicists, and environmental scientists took to the worlds of social entrepreneurship. In doing so, I trace the interaction between the financialization of everyday and the making of the subjectivities of social entrepreneurs. By financialization, I mean the whole discourse of relationships that social entrepreneurs become part of in order to sustain the financial growth of their organizations and enterprises. Such interest in financial growth limits the ways in which social entrepreneurs inter-act with those who surround them in their work environments. In those limitations lie moments and acts of re-assembling socialites of social entrepreneurs, families, and communities. Those moments are those through which I unravel the dynamics of micro politics of social entrepreneurship. In that chapter, I try to trace one of the genealogies that mark the shift from the worlds of developmental-ism to the worlds of social entrepreneurship. To present such genealogy, I try to find connections between the ways in which old and young social entrepreneurs justify their interests in the work they do. Through oral narratives, social entrepreneurs walk me through their pasts and presents. They tell me about moments of collaborations with other professionals in the field, support they received from different institutions, and trips they made to different countries back in 1970s and now in 2010s that affected the way they feel, think and act. As such, that genealogy is extended over a period of around 40 years, which is a time period that facilitates me to unravel the aforementioned shift.

Similarities between chapter 3 and 4 cannot be overlooked, as also their specificities. Both chapters look at the realization of social entrepreneurs' narratives and imaginations that I have

presented in chapter 2. In other words, they present how they interact with others on site. I elaborate more on that in the following paragraphs.

In chapter 3, the site is Goro. I do not mean the museum in a traditional sense, but rather the acts of preserving certain skills, reckoning specific ways of life and documenting particular narratives to tell a story about a place and its people. All that is done through social entrepreneurship and in that chapter I trace how that is done. I did my field work in Goro in a so-called Bedouin community. That category is one I try to unravel the dynamics of its making and remaking in the contemporary. In addition, I see also how Goho, a social entrepreneur, internalizes the museum as one of the administrative tools of the State in governing its citizens, according to Benedict Anderson (2006). In support of ADD, a social entrepreneur who is one of the main protagonists of chapter 2, Goho preserves the traditional building skills of a group of residents of Goro through enabling them to build a cement-free center in which they can teach tourists their language, sell handicrafts and medical herbs. Through the work of Goho and ADD, the social in Goro gets re-configured in ways that surface modes of living and being and silence others. I then turn to SJ who is the spokesmen and the chief of that community, as well as other members in the community to see what made him and those social entrepreneurs come together. In doing so, I tap on oral histories and imaginations that give different sensibilities to Goro rather than the ones that are publicized in the State media. I also introduce new category of interlocutors to my work in this chapter. That category is Construction Engineering university students who came all the ways from Coro to help SJ and his community to establish the new aforementioned center.

In chapter 4, the site is the market. I give a specific attention to the work of GU, an environmental scientist with an interest in promoting the handicrafts that are developed in Siwa, Zoho, Seeka, Hala and Hoho. According to GU, those places have no footprint in the Coro's market of handicrafts. He as such tries to give an access to handicrafts developed in those places to a more buzzing market to achieve higher sales of those products. I do my field work in one of the cultural fairs that host the selling of those products. There, I stayed close to ways in which GU speaks to, thinks with and feel the pains and aspirations of men and women who travel hundreds of kilometers to sell handful of products to residents of Coro.

## 3 Vertigo

### Becoming White Wolf

*There is a "favorite" in the pack with which a kind of contract of alliance, a hideous pact, is made; there is the institution of an assemblage.*

(Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 223)

## Introduction

In this chapter I trace modes of subjugation and subjectification of entrepreneurial selves. Let me unravel what I mean by trace, subjugations, subjectifications and entrepreneurial selves in the next two paragraphs.

This project sees socialities as transient collectives and collective actions. Collectives that are not fixed but always changing through collective actions, which “collect different types of forces woven together because they are different” (Latour: 2005: 75). Hence, I look at collectives as fragments that come together and grow apart. Those fragments form and re-form what I call *snapshots* that enable me to trace how those fragments were made and are re-made. In tracing such formations and de-formations, I do not filter out, but re-cord, and do not discipline what I re-corded but de-cribe (ibid: 55); that is what I mean by tracing socialities. Put differently, through *re-cording*, I see how *cords* as fragments came together in specific con-texts, and through *de-cribing*, I see how those fragments were *in-scribed* in those con-texts. Hence, this project is a work of fiction that is “invented on paper [and] allow[s] enquirers to gain as much pliability and range as those they have to study” (ibid: 55).

I look at processes rather than blocks. In this chapter, and the whole project, there are no individuals but individuations, and no subjects but subjectifications. Put differently, individuals and subjects are bodies, but without organs. Hence, they are always in the process of be-coming; hence no individuals, no blocks. Such bodies are the very limit they are always trying to achieve but cannot. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argued:

You never reach the Body without Organs, you can't reach it, you are forever attaining it, it is a limit (...) Find your body without organs. Find out how to make it. It's a question of life and death, youth and old age, sad-ness and joy. It is where everything is played out (...) The BwO is what remains when you take everything away. What you take away is precisely the phantasy, and *signifiances* and *subjectifications* as a whole.

(ibid: 150-1)

In that sense, there is no BoW, because there is always a pack. There is no M who I me in Gaziantep, but a pack of wolves.

There is a "favorite" in the pack with which a kind of contract of alliance, a hideous pact, is made; there is the institution of an assemblage.

(ibid: 223)

As such, processes of formation and de-formation of bodies can be traced through their capacities to relationally affect and be affected. That what defines what those bodies as packs can do. Hence, subjectifications are relational can-do(s).

We know nothing about a body until we know what it can do, in other words, what its affects are, how they can or cannot enter into composition with other affects, with the affects of another body, either to destroy that body or to be destroyed by it, either to exchange actions and passions with it or to join with it in composing a more powerful body.

(ibid: 257)

Put in another way, subjectifications are defined in action and they are always in action. They are not fixed, but there are always **attempts** to make them fixed. Through acts of fixity, they acquire meanings. That is processes of signification. Meanings are directional and actions are relational. Moving relationally in a direction describes modes of attachment and alliances. Such alliances

and attachments are *power*. Power does not have affects, but affects of processes of subjectification and signification are power. Thus, power is ephemeral. Power is not an *it*. It is not always there. It cannot be institutionalized. I closely look at those **attempts** through endless trainings that KAA, an organization that promote the work of social entrepreneurship, hold to organize how social entrepreneurs present their work. Those social entrepreneurs are bodies that build companies that offer products and services that are sold in the market in order to solve *problems* of education, food and shelter. Such problems were presented to me by the M in Gaziantep as I discussed in chapter one. I call those bodies entrepreneurial selves. Those entrepreneurs compete against criteria of selection to be-come fellows of KAA and win its financial, technical, and media support. In this chapter, I argue that such attempts of training are part and parcel of directing entrepreneurs' affect through technologies of asking questions, in specific What are you going to do about it? For me, and according to Graham Harman (2014) and in a Deleuzian and Guattarian sense, affect is processes of mobilization of *attachment* and through which alliances are made and remade. Such processes of attachment are part and parcel of that of signification and subjectification. As such, through directional activities not only hailing, but also subjugation takes place. I in turn call those questions affect-hailing technologies.

The question now is why do I use *face* in order to assemble snapshots, as I did in chapter one and will do in this chapter, as a concept with which I present the formation of collectives? Why do not I just use the term collective? There are two things I want to say in response to those questions. On one hand, I do not look at blocks or fixed beings, but processes of formation, configuration, de-formation and re-configuration. Hence, I use *face* to present an evanescent collective. A face that has its changing wrinkles and is not always well polished. A face with



continuously moving gestures and even changing features. That face comes together through acts of facialization. Such assemblages of facialization are movements towards a Body without Organs as a limit, the end of a pack's boundary which is not fixed, but contracting and expanding, thus always re-drawn. Face, in a Deleuzian and Guattarian sense, has two acts in relation to processes of signification and subjectification: Constructing and Digging. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argued

The face **constructs** the wall that the signifier needs in order to bounce off of; it constitutes the wall of the signifier, the frame or screen. The face **digs** the hole that subjectification needs in order to break through; it constitutes the black hole of subjectivity (...) the camera, the third eye.

(ibid: 168)

There is no signifier, but a white wall of the signifier. There is no subject, but black hole of subjectification. White in the sense, a face reflects, and black in the sense, a face emphasizes shadows. In doing so, face takes form in the in-between of white and dark. Acts of significations and subjectifications facilitates the be-comings of facializations. Thus, "faces (...) define zones of frequency or probability" (ibid: 168). Through frequencies and probabilities of significations and subjectifications, not only the social, but also power reveals itself.

I organize this chapter around themes. Such themes are assemblages. I understand assemblages as fragmental relationships that are always happening and in be-coming, and are given names such as debt, hope, resilience, numeracy and storytelling. *When* given names, they are made fixed. In order not to *repeat* such acts of fixing, I do not look at those assemblages individually, but in concert. In other words, I look at the in-betweens of those assemblages so as to see how they hold together, thus forming extended continuums. Through those themes, I describe re-corded acts of subjectification and subjugation of entrepreneurial selves.

## A Pack

### Snapshot F | F - - -

During a training, NI, a senior staff of KAA's head office representing Arab speaking countries and the vice president of KAA Global, was conducting in order to prepare candidate entrepreneurs to go through KAA's fellowship selection process, she said:

When I was working in United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and during my recruitment process to KAA, I did not realize that I was in the process of being *brain washed*. SD kept talking to me about the role entrepreneurs play in societies and the shift from the social sector, with its organizations being NGOs to *citizen sector*, with its organizations being social ventures that are led by entrepreneurs who *cherish* the values of *innovation, empathy, leader-ship, team-work, change-making*, and the new historical shift in which all citizens are either KAA's social entrepreneurs who are the role models for other citizens. And other citizens are seen as CMRs. Change makers are also social entrepreneurs, but KAA's are *the* leading social entrepreneurs.

Double Click.

### Snapshot A | FA - -

NI, later said and in one of my meetings with her:

Social entrepreneurship without appropriate apprenticeship in the market is just a fad. This means, say you worked in the market of education for longtime, found an unaddressed problem, and did your market research to know what competitors are doing and how you will excel. Then bring a different solution, an innovation [...] Similar to the world of business, if you are innovative, you win.

Later, and in one of my meetings with one of senior KAA staff member, Nilli, she said:

I was invited by my Alma mater, Stanford, to speak about social entrepreneurship and I told to the one who is responsible for the social entrepreneurship centre: How come you let students in your Master's of Business Administration, or MBA, program study social entrepreneurship at your business school and then finish the program to work in consulting, just to have nice stories for their interviewing processes and you have people who live so close to Stanford and are impoverished and are left with their problems un-attended.

Double Click.

## **Snapshot C | FAC -**

Back to the boot-camp, and speaking about how a candidate is presenting his life stories and ideas in a way that fits the criteria of KAA so well that NI did not need to even train him, she said:

See what education does, even Mokka came late to the training, and he did his presentation so well. Even all other candidates are jealous of him. He is so good. He will be one of our top 3 entrepreneurs amongst the 89 we have.

## **Snapshot E | FACE**

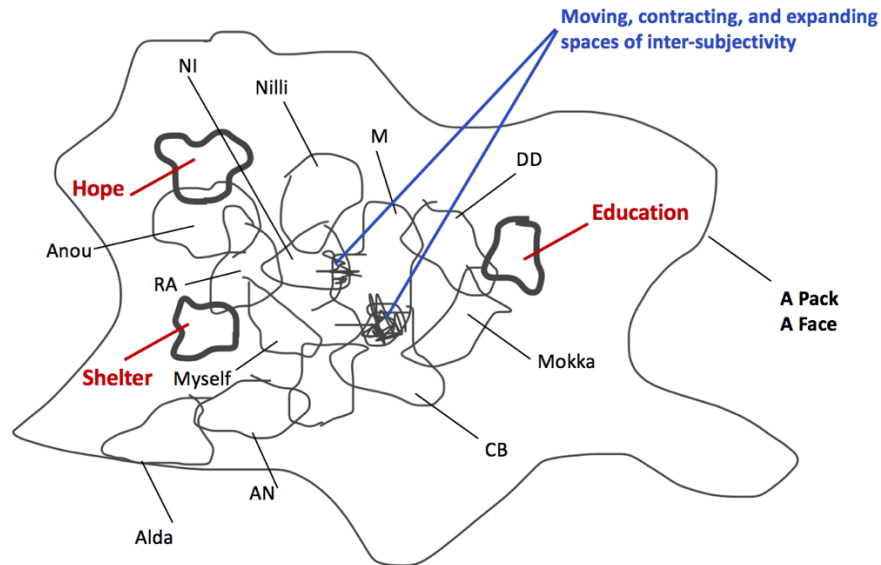
NI was shocked while commenting on the work of Alda, one of the candidate entrepreneurs attending the boot-camp. Alda trains U-progtorousians with no access to education on building algorithms, websites and mobile applications as well as how to search for a job, become freelancers or start their own businesses.

What you are doing has nothing to do with the problem you are trying to solve. You are saying U-progtorous suffers from a Digital Gap which is people living there have no access to internet, learning new technologies such as coding, and starting their technology businesses. Hence no jobs and marginalization. You want to let them start businesses and build a Cybex Technology Hub in U-progtorous. You only managed to help only one team start their enterprise. The number of workshops you held is very small according to the scale you are talking about and you are even not helping in building the internet infrastructure in U-progtorous. What is that?

Double Click.

Those four snapshots form a face, a sociality, a pack, an assemblage in which alliances *inter-subjectively* are made and re-made. I would like to start with a quote from Michael Jackson's (2013) *Lifeworlds*. "Our, individual subjects, relationships with the world of others and the world around are relations of inter-est, that is, they are modes of inter-existence, informed by a struggle for the wherewithal for life" (p.5). In chapter one, I started with four snapshots each of which was

presented by an individual each of whom inhabits a lifeworld. Those lifeworlds are not separate but part and parcel of each other. They do not act independently, but in concert. They, together, form a pack which neither has fixed boundaries nor universal grammar. A pack that has no center, but, in a Deleuzian and Guattarian sense, a favorite. That favorite in chapter one was M, but in this chapter they are many. Each of whom acquires different intensity, hence becomes a favorite according to spatio-temporal specificities. I start off by the boot-camp as a rhizome, that neither has a beginning nor an ending. Its start is not marked by the calendar with a specific date and time. There is no start. There is an ephemeral assemblage of fragments, what I call in this project, snapshots. Those fragments momentarily come together and transiently grow away. That is an institution of assemblage. Through alliances, NI and Nilli share subjectivities. They are becomings, not beings, of inter-est. Their boundaries are always shrinking, expanding, and “constantly changing, formed and reformed, in the course of,” their “relationships with others and,” their “struggle for whatever helps,” them “sustain and find fulfillment in life” (ibid: 5). They inter-sect, but do not form sects. They are “not stable or set pieces, with established and im-mutable essences, destinies, or identities” (ibid: 5). Even NI and Alda, they share subjectivities. Each one does not re-present a face of Michel-Rolph Trouillot’s (1995) Janus, but together they are one face. In the next drawing, I present my readers with a visual of such inter-relatedness of subjectivities and lifeworlds.



I do not think of that boot-camp as a Turner-ian (1977) liminal space in which individuals get into in order to be rectified and come out as *functioning* beings in the fixed Social Enterprise, or the so-called society. That boot-camp is not either a social drama in which rules and regularities of the Social Enterprise get broken so as to be better made when individual comes out of *it* all neat and properly assembled to fit the mode of existence of the M. Where do potentialities that emerge in that liminal space in moments of social drama go after the individual transcend that space and get into the Social Enterprise? Do they vanish? I beg to differ. I rather see lifeworlds that I presented in the beginning of the chapter as modes of *extended* social dramas in which the very rules of becoming entrepreneurial enacted by the M and institutions as KAA are challenged, made and re-configured. I allow myself not to say that “social world is a world in becoming, not a world of being”, but to argue that there are lifeworlds not a world. Those lifeworlds of AN, Alda, Mokka, NI, Nilli, and Anou are what constitute the social, and they are thought of as Bruno Latour (2013) argues ““beings of fiction,” not illusionary or false, strictly speaking, but instead “fabricated, consistent, real” presences in their own right, acting on and through the world despite their

imaginative origins "taken up again by subjectivities that would not exist themselves if these beings had not given them to us". The question now is: Are AN, Alda, Mokka, NI, Nilli, and Anou beings of fiction or becomings of fiction? That is a question that I grapple with in this chapter. In a Latourian and John Law-ian (2004) sense, I will present fragments of different lifeworlds in this chapter, *slowly* inter-act with each one and then trace inter-connections between them all and let them say what can be said. I am hereby de-scribing, in a Latourian sense, modes of exist-ence. I see those fragments as event-s that take place at micro scales, thus different from Alain Badiou's (2005) the event. Hence, and in the process in which they come together, the political, as a mode of re-organization around similar, different, conflicting, and contesting needs, wants and desires can be re-thought and re-imagined.

I do not read the context in which I have been through in the head office of the Eu-Nio, as I have shown in chapter one, in Gazientep as a one that was about the M as one wolf, and in a Deleuzian and Guattarian sense, but a *pack* of wolves. That pack is not, according to Claude Levi-Strauss (1963) a logic, but rather a collective of becoming-fictions that changes whenever *it* gets re-presented by NI, Nilli, Anou, Alda, AN, Mokka, or the M himself. In a Levi-Straussian sense (1963), Alda acquires meaning as a subject in opposition to the M, he is the other face of Janus, according to Trouillot (1995) that is thought of as *the* other and hence, has to be cleansed. That is *reductive* to the multiplicity of becomings since not even the *becoming* but the *being* of Alda is only thought of as possible and thinkable in the being of the M and hence, Alda is trapped till the moment he perishes in the figure of the M as a logic that he, as Alda, cannot defy. If we expand Levi-Straussian mode of theorization a little and think of an Althusserian (2014), way of modes of re-production of Alda as an entrepreneur, he will become also trapped in his own structure,

meaning his own modes of being, feeling and acting. That is to say his own logic is in relation to an anti-structure. That is the modes of acting, being and feeling of the M which all in turn form *the* bigger structure that is thought of and seen as the set of ideas, that is to say ideologies, and practices of the world, not worlds, of entrepreneurial-ism. And in those structures, anti-structures, logics, and *the* bigger structure, M and Alda are trapped in a relationship of the dominant and the dominated. In this chapter, I un-settle this argument through re-phrasing Aliaa al-Saji's (2004) reading of the Deleuzian reading of the Bergsonian philosophy of time. In so doing, I, and again, slowly un-ravel the making and re-making of fragments of different inter-intensities, long-short, dense-light, cheerful-resentful, and heartbreaking-hope-making in order to trace the becoming-social of through modes of subjugation and subjectification of entrepreneurial selves, such as Alda, NI, and the founder of KAA, DD. That is why I use a hyphen between (re) and (treat). That in every time I speak about the boot-camp, I *re-organize* the whole assemblage as if it is made a new. There is no repetition in this project, just difference. That slow-ness can be traced through my usage of hyphen in-between words to present the inter-connectedness and inter-subjectivity of concepts, meaning how concepts, according to Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (2004), lead lives on their own just as myself.

## **Boot-camp**

During KAA's boot-camp, and in the process of stating participation criteria that nominees to KAA's fellowship have to follow during the time of this boot-camp, NI said:

Let me tell you about *keys* to success of this boot-camp... Help, trust, speak freely, participation, isolation, and punctuality... When I started KAA... I spent 4 years with no candidates' boot-camp... I then realized that KAA fellows, after being elected, either they do not read what KAA fellowship is about or they just fool around... I am here talking about the characteristics of this fellowship... Your *obligations* and *rights*... The nature of

this relationship that is built on trust... That's why you *need* this boot-camp... Also, focus is needed on teaching you what is systemic change that is key to KAA's criteria so we could *really change* the Arab world.

Double Click.

I re-member a candidate who was invited to attend this boot-camp due to his work on enabling health institutions, both public and private, to build the adequate infrastructure of research staff, technology, and treatment methods to over-come Cancer, the disease. He had a set of oral and written exams in partial fulfillment to his Master's degree in Coro University. He was just kicked out. That dynamic of NI-candidate relationship is part and parcel of the conditions of market competition. Those entrepreneurs have to prove they have the *right* ethic in order to survive such endless modes of competition. NI then cannot trust them if they do not have that ethic. It is so heartbreaking to see how relationships of trust, one of the intimacies of life, is built around ethics of market-survival as mode of existence.



## Old-New: Time Shifts

In this fragment, I focus on time shifts. A shift is marked in practices; actions that used to be directed towards providing skills for finding jobs through workings of NGOs, but now are focused on providing similar services to those who lack access to food, education and shelter through the market. In order to trace such shift, I juxtapose practices of social entrepreneurs in their late 50s and 70s with others who are in their 20s and early 30s. In doing so, I attend to the question of temporality, thus arguing that the contemporary in which practices of M or social entrepreneurs are not the only ones that stand out. There is no one contemporary but contemporaries that are meshed together. Such mesh-ness comes about due to re-working, according Aliaa al-Saji (2004), sheets of memory. Those sheets that either promote the supremacy of the project of science or the importance of giving back to the ones who she loves through closely working with NGOs.

Focusing on one memory sheet that is of social entrepreneurship, I argue that entrepreneurs perpetuate vertiginous relationships of debt through implementing their solutions. In that sense, the feel of vertiginous comes from debt that begets more debt. Those solutions have to be new and newness is judged through **criteria** as I will de-cribe in the next fragment. Such criteria are technologies of ordering differences. In other words, what makes solution new is its difference from other solutions that are offered in the form of products and services in the market. As such, differences are ordered and thus solutions are governed and regulated. Through implementing those solutions, entrepreneurial bodies arrive at “a correspondence of relations” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 236). In this fragment, I situate *resilient* acts of entrepreneurial bodies in late neoliberal moments in which market is the new God. I argue that such acts are thinkable only when

being calculative. Hence, I present this fragment as a fragment of three fragments: (n)eoliberal mad-nesses, late-vertiginous and resilience-numeracy.

In 2013, DD, the founder of KAA, discusses what is the new idea:

So we know we are all at a transition moment... We all sense that... Basically we are moving from a world that is defined by seeking efficiency and repetition... And now we are in a world that is not only different but is the exact opposite game... It is defined by change... In this world [referring to the first], A for B because they kept doing the same thing... In this world [referring to the second], A changes and bumps everyone around them, etc... Change begets and accelerates change... I give you KAA as an example of entrepreneurial behavior... If you imagine, four 19 year olds who cannot afford a flight to India, picking up a car in Cybex and driving there with the roads being dirt roads two thirds of the way... That how we got to India... The statistics of 100 to 1 sophomore citizens' (ages between 20 and 44) average per capita income [referring to the average income difference between German and Indian citizens — a measurement he uses of poverty] suddenly became people you knew... Since if you have the slightest entrepreneurial thrust, the question then is *what are you going to do about it?* So what is the most highly leveraged way of closing the north south gap which is another way of speeding up the *change* process?... Well what is the most powerful force in the world? It is always... Regardless time or sector, a big pattern changing idea, but only if it is in the hands of a really good entrepreneur... That combination is what moves history... Always.

(Double D, 2013: 1:30-3:30)

Double Click.

In 2018 and as part of news article in YNT, DS, a columnist, highlights:

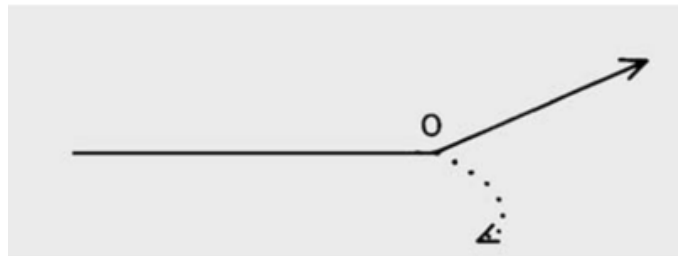
Mr. Double D believes we're in the middle of a necessary but painful historical transition. For millenniums most people's lives had a certain pattern. You went to school to learn a trade or a skill — baking, farming or accounting. Then you could go into the work force and make a good living repeating the same skill over the course of your career. But these days machines can do pretty much anything that's repetitive. The new world requires a different sort of person. DD calls this new sort of person a CMR. CMRs are people who can see the patterns around them, identify the problems in any situation, figure out ways to solve the problem (...) lead collective action and then continually adapt as situations change.

Double Click.

NI speaking of leading collective action:

We have social entrepreneurs and we have CMRs. Social entrepreneurs are the ones who will enable each citizen become a CMR. She, the entrepreneur, leads that movement. That is why KAA works in the citizen sector, neither in the so called social sector, the world of charity and NGOs, nor the world of business. Everyone feels responsible for his country, continent and the whole world (...) NGOs are driven by donors who have agendas and want to get them done. Ideas are not re-recognized. In Business, if you are innovative, have a new idea, you win as you have a system of support. Laws. Investors. Trade Policies. Stock Markets. Banks.

Double Click.



“Deleuze’s diagram of the scission of time into two dissymmetrical jets” (al-Saji, 2004: 209)

Those snapshots present a relationship of co-existence of past and present. They explain Gilles Deleuze's (1985) comment on Henry Bergson's (1938) *Matter and Memory*, according to Aliaa al-Saji (2004), a philosopher, in which he describes “Time has to split at the same time as it sets itself out or unrolls itself: it splits in two dissymmetrical jets, one of which makes all the present pass on, while the other preserves all the past.” (al-Saji, 2004: 217). As Al-Saji puts it, Bergsonian *moving mirror* is a concept through which Bergson describes processes in which the past and present are produced according to a virtual-actual relationship. A one that shows ways in which “parity is posited between virtual and actual; the virtual is the equivalent or duplicate of the actual object perceived (...) the virtual becomes actualized and inserted into new and successive presents, and the actual becomes virtualized as these presents continue to pass” (ibid: 217). Thus,

the infrastructure of NGOs that NI critiques as something of the past gets endlessly re-configured by practices of entrepreneurialism in the contemporary. That speaks to Wendy Brown's (2005) we live with what we are always after. Yes, entrepreneurs live with the desire to create new solutions to attend to health, nutritional, and educational needs of DD's nearly penniless individuals who turn into beggars of the state apparatus asking for the government to finance their education, healthcare and subsidize houses they live in, but those entrepreneurs are after those late 1960s memories when NGOs were thought of as apparatuses of recognition and reclamation of citizens' rights to be heard by their representatives in the parliament and other state institutions, thus limiting suffrage and in-justices that are realized in expelling children out of schools, according to the after-modern world of the M.

NI re-worked a sheet of memory not of hers, but of a bigger pack that SaFa is also part of. In one of our conversations, SaFa highlighted that his solutions that he introduced to a Cybex village was based on scientific principles which means that problems should be systematically identified and broken down to smaller problems so each one could be solved on its own, thus making approaching the whole problem easier. He made people with no access to higher education do that themselves whenever they want to do something in the name of collective action. NI and SaFa's collective actions got re-worked through practices of Alda who collected his neighbors and friends as well as other in neighbor cities so as to teach them principles of coding and programming. In that sense, re-assemblage entails difference. Thus, there is no repetition of usage of universal categories of social categories in a Levi-Straussian sense, but a difference of practices of Alda, NI and SaFa who are all part of the same pack that move in the name of social entrepreneurship towards the direction of granting access to food, education and shelter.

Let me provide more traces I found while doing my fieldwork, over the course of two years, of modes of entrepreneurial existence. I re-member when I was writing a document explaining the work that Mokka does for children who were born in Saudi Arabia but not for Saudi Arabian parents and to whom the state apparatus refuses to issue them documents that prove they are Saudi Arabian. CB was also responsible for reviewing the documents I write about the candidates' work. I wrote: "Mokka sees entrepreneurship as **a** solution to the problem he is solving". He then removed **a** and wrote **the**. For me, that marks a shift from the discourse of developmental-ism that Escobar (2011) critiques to entrepreneurial-ism in which each citizen should be turned into an entrepreneur who should follow ideals as NI and seek solutions to problems of no-access to education, food and shelter.

Back to Deleuze-Bergeson. Processes of virtualization and actualization are not heterogenous. Their very co-existence is bridged by what Bergson calls the immediate past, or the memory of the present. That present which "contracts successive instants to produce sensation and translates that sensation into movement" (ibid: 214). That movement is effected by "a singular affective tonality, a particular rhythm of becoming" (ibid: 216). In other words, that bridge is affective. I argue that supporting organizations in the village of Cybex, such as KAA, to the dynamics of entrepreneurship which is thought of as an apparatus of capture *hail* and *fix* specific needs, wants, desires and most primarily affect in order to be able to re-produce not only itself, but also entrepreneurial selves who perpetuate those desires through their own practices.

Entrepreneurial-ism entails endless re-configuration. According to Mbembe (2017), entrepreneurial selves “reconfigure [themselves] in relation to the artifacts of the age” (p.6). That age is to which DD refers as the transitional moment that marks a shift from seeking repetition and efficiency to adapting to *change*. I am not arguing here for a homogenous moment. Rather, I suggest reading this transitional moment as an immediate past; a bridge on which those two dissymmetrical jets take off in order to provide co-existence of pasts and presents. As such, those jets provide temporal conditions for processes of making and breaking of fragments, thus begetting endless processes of becoming of the age. Be-coming(s) of that age through augmenting and re-augmenting fragments is what I want to focus on in the next three fragments.

### **Debt: (n)eoliberal mad-nesses**

The modes of subjugation and subjectification in KAA’s boot-camp that I have been writing about so far are not new. They are part and parcel of late neoliberal contemporaries. Let me *slowly* unravel what I mean by the two later adjectives: late and neoliberal. In early 1970s, the US and UK, as state apparatuses, started to implement economic re-form programs to the public sector, meaning governmental institutions. Those re-forms were focused on governments, as collective institutions comprised of ministries, central banks, parliaments, public hospitals, schools and factories, as well as municipalities, deeply reducing their provision of public goods and services such as public education, health care, subsidized houses and the like to their citizens. In addition, they started to collect less taxes and increased interest rates on borrowing from banks. The impact of that was, literally, a massive war of privatization of the everyday life, meaning the state, as an apparatus of provision of goods and services, pulled back and the private sector *marched* forward. In other words, the government, as a collage of institutions, became a new dependent on privately

owned corporations, primarily financial institutions. Put differently, US and UK governments became borrowers of, in Marxist terms, money form of capital, to attend to their finances, meaning financing employees in those public institutions, providing subsidies on goods and services, honoring their financial debt and the like. Those economic re-forms were first *test-ed* in Cybex by the Cybex boys, a group of economists trained in University of Cybex, and then *universalized* via an inter-national economic re-form program implemented by an Cybex development institutions in 1990s. Soon thereafter, other governments which were in need of money form of capital in order to provide their citizens with money to start their businesses, to finance public works, such as building roads and bridges, or subsidize prices of machinery and other technologies that enable citizens-owned and government-owned businesses and factories to produce products at afford-able prices by most of citizens in order to create opportunities for employment and finally grow the total number of products produced and services provided in a given country, a territory. That means for any government to borrow money from an Cybex development institution, it has to follow the neoliberal market policies that minimize any sort of central planning via government intervention to *regulate* local markets. Through those programs, groups of investors who are focused on investing in government bonds<sup>6</sup> started to come together. The government now either issues (1) bonds so those investors pour their money at high *costs* of debt, that is to say interest rates, or (2) simply treasury bills that are given to the central bank in return for liquidity, that is to say money form of capital. Those investors depend on financial rating institutions so as to *measure* the confidence of getting their money back in addition to accumulated surplus through interest after investing their money. That measurement *quantifies* a relationship of *trust*. Hence, to honor that

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<sup>6</sup> Bonds are financial instruments through which the government declares its need for borrowing money. That instrument is also known as one of the forms of debt investment, meaning that the government borrows money in the form of debt by selling those bonds in addition to committing to paying a fixed interest rate as well as an end price when the debt duration ends.

relationship, the government has to follow the guidelines and criteria of those rating institutions so as to guarantee that those investors grow an *interest* in investing their moneys.

Neoliberal economic policies are premised on stories of debt economies. The dynamics of debt economies in U-progtorous are interesting to note. Let me provide a detailed account of the contemporary debt economy in U-progtorous, as told by the Central Bank of U-progtorous. The government's budget is divided into four parts out of which, according to the Central Bank of U-progtorous, is 30% cost of debt. That is to say that the government has to *give* 30% of its annual budget to its Central Bank in re-pay its debt. At the beginning of each year, the government issues treasury bills so as to *forcefully*, that is to say there is no other choice, make the Central Bank in turn give liquidity. The latter takes place if there still is a budget deficit, meaning that the government imports are less than its exports. Then, if there is still deficit after borrowing from the central bank, the government has to borrow money from international institutions such as Cybex Monetary Institution. Since the government exported goods, including all cash inflows to the government budget from activities of commercializing monuments and museums that are part and parcel of the industry of tourism, in United States Dollars (USD), the local currency is measured against USD. That measurement presents the quantity of exported goods it makes each year. As such, the Central Bank of U-progtorous cannot just print more money when needed since the process of printing money is inter-twined with aggregate consumer demand in all markets, local Gross Domestic Product<sup>7</sup> which is the metric of economic growth, employment rates, and more importantly *inflation*. The latter instrument has to be controlled at any cost so as to protect the value of the local currency in relationship to USD.

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<sup>7</sup> The total value of goods produced and services provided in a country during one year.



The workings of debt economy in U-progtorous are of perpetual *mad-ness*. The government has to borrow in order to honor its debt, and honor its debt through more borrowing. That is the epitome, of what Georg Wilhelm Freidrich Hegel calls, bad infinity, “the spiral that gets out of control, run riot” (Harvey, 2018: 173). To show the making and remaking such perpetual madness, let me provide an account of the economic re-form program that the government plunged into, in order to borrow money from the Cybex Monetary Institution. Let me first de-scribe the two types of inflation, namely demand driven inflation and supply driven inflation. The former requires the Central Bank of U-progtorous to raise interest rates to slow down the growth of the economy which is primarily measured by the Gross Domestic Product. Slowing down growth will take place because commodity prices will increase so buying and selling will take place at lower rate and the cost of borrowing, that is to say the interest money that will be paid to honor the debt, will increase. Supply driven inflation is rather “related to supply, such as an abrupt increase in the prices of goods due to the de-valuation of the local currency or a spike in global oil prices” (Shenety, 2017). The Cybex Monetary Institution advised the Central Bank of U-progtorous to (1) de-valuate the currency, meaning that the currency has not to be held fixed in value according to USD through central planning by the Central Bank of U-progtorous and (2) increase the interest rates to attract investors to invest as I have shown. Increasing interest rate will in turn increase the cost of debt, of around UPP 20 billion for each 1 percent. In addition, to the increase in the cost of borrowing, “the current inflation is clearly supply-driven, being caused by a combination of factors such as floatation of the pound that more than doubled the cost of imports, the increase in customs duties that increased the cost of imports even further, the restrictions on importing activities that made the availability of imports scarcer and their prices higher, the

decrease in energy subsidies that increased local production and transportation costs” (ibid). Thus, *curbing* supply driven inflation by increasing interest rates opens gateways for perpetual budget deficit. Even if it is a demand driven inflation, “many millions’ worth of commodities has to be sacrificed for a few millions in money. This is unavoidable in capitalist production and forms one of its particular charms” (Harvey, 2018: 204), as interest rates will make commodities’ prices soar, thus decreasing the purchasing ability of all local consumers. Hence, and just to give an example, products will sit there on the shelves of supermarkets with no buyers. In essence, those commodities will be thrown away and sacrificed. I wonder how this is different from Marcel Mauss (1925) account on ceremonies of British Columbian indigenous communities. Mauss argued “competition between households to give away or destroy possessions in order to acquire prestige, honour and status” (Harvey, 2018: 207) should not be dubbed as madness of squandering resources according to the modern logic of economic sciences, but part and parcel of what he called the gift economy. As such, and according to the modern logic of economic sciences, sacrificing all those commodities that are produced in and imported to U-progtorous for a few millions of money is, following Harvey (2018), true madness of economic reason.

Processes of subjectification and subjugation are inter-twined with that of debt. “Money is all debt money which has no material equivalent other than its power to destroy/create social relations and, in particular, modes of subjectivation” (Lazzarato, 2012: 36). To make it clear, the process of subjectivation is a one of re-configuration, namely, of the everyday. Put another way, entrepreneurial selves are made and re-made through re-configuring their everyday *functionalities*, how they eat, think, talk, work and the like. The dynamics of such re-configuration, hence the modes of existence, are part and parcel of the financializaiton of the everyday life. That everyday

is constitutive of “forces of trust, desire, fortitude, hope and the like that make choice, decision, and action possible” (ibid: 55). Those are what get financialized, meaning subjugated and re-configured according to dynamics of re-production of debt. As such, the intimacies of life get financialized. Mad-ness.

## **Late-Vertiginous**

Social entrepreneurship is thought of as a *method* to rectify that madness and bring back markets to order. Here lies a contradiction. Let me put it this way. Entrepreneurs, who solve problems of health, education, nutrition, housing and market-access according to the M as I have shown in chapter one, have to finance the operations of their organizations. There are three approaches to finance her organization. The entrepreneur either seeks money (1) from investors, (2) by selling a product or a service to consumers, or (3) through asking for money from international institutions such as KAA. Through those *outlets*, entrepreneurs either depend on the money in circulation in markets in the hand of consumers and investors, thus perpetuating dynamics of debt economies as I have shown, or on the money controlled by international organizations which demand the entrepreneur to re-frame the work she does in order to meet the criteria to get that money. NI believes that by defying the latter way of getting money and leading that particular form of collective action that I have shown in one of the snapshots, entrepreneurs will be free to offer their products and services in the market and will survive in the market, depending on how many customers they keep *attracting*. In that way, I argue, entrepreneurs are just perpetuating relationships of debt that keep capturing and making lives more dependent on re-producing their bodies using products and services offered only through the market. To add to that mad-ness, those entrepreneurs push governments to adopt their solutions in the form of laws and policies which

will make citizens even more market-dependent and hence further perpetuate workings of debt economies, thus making government borrow even more money.

The dynamics of *curbing in-efficiencies* of provision of goods and services through specific market solutions to problems of food, shelter, and education access, according to the M, is what marks the condition of *lateness* in neoliberal contemporaries. Markets are sites of goods and services production to enable citizens re-produce their bodies and the bodies of their children. It is a moment of crisis. Through those solutions that are promoted by organizations like KAA and mode of existence nurtured by M, lifeworlds are accelerating into more entangled financial crises that make individuals become more dependent on the market and take their own lives slowly till a bigger crisis than that of 2007-8 hits market economies and then they will have money that is highly de-valued and cannot let them buy products or services that are offered in the market. What mad-ness can become more vicious... *Vertigo*.

Political sovereignty is re-nationalized. Let me take you a few steps back. At the heart of the modern project, state sovereignty is, according to Wendy Brown (2010), likened to fixed form of God's power. That particular form of existence is assembled through the following traits. *It* is seen through acts of "supremacy (no higher power), perpetuity over time (no term limits), decisionism (no boundedness by or submission to law), absoluteness and completeness (sovereignty cannot be probable or partial), non-transferability (sovereignty cannot be conferred without canceling itself), and specified jurisdiction (territoriality)" (ibid: 22). In the light of late neoliberal fragments that I have just presented, I argue that such form of power is re-appropriated by the market. According to Brown, the state sovereignty is waning and is taken over by late

neoliberal capitalism in which democracy, as a bankrupt concept and a used to be the *sign* of state sovereignty, is transforming to an administrative tool to promote market based relations (Johnston & Glasmeier, 2007). Hence, the market is the new God who subdues M's active citizens by forcing them to acquire skills of "entrepreneurialism, self-investment, and/or attracting investors" (Brown, 2015: 22) to stay *alive*. Put in another way, the political sovereignty is now appropriated by the market. In that sense, ways for labour to stay alive is contracting (Cocco, 2007), and becoming subjugated to markets, in which conditions of precarity are ever intensifying as I have just shown. It is with no wonder that M said: "Money is power," in a moment in which endless process of debt are produced and re-produced. In that sense, it is a power to govern naturalized everyday actions; those which "represent a leap into the unknown which "knowledge" has no way of helping us to make. Hence, power to act is not brought to bear on raw facts but on possibilities (...) It is these possibilities and these unpredictable alternatives that debt seeks to neutralize" (Lazzarato, 2012: 70). To be specific, what get naturalized are the discourses of the promise of payment and faith, or a leap of faith into the unknown, in building properly functioning markets and state treasuries.

Entrepreneurial-ism entails endless not only re-configuration, but also adaptation. Mbembe (2017) sees entrepreneurial selves as "capable of absorbing any content (...) They seek above all to regulate [their] behavior according to the norms of the market" (p.2). Those norms are governed by "public debt that weighs, literally, on every individual's life, since every individual must take responsibility for it" (ibid: 38). That responsibility is what DD talks about and that is always *calling and howling* through the material effects of debt on the everyday with citizens being taxed on the essential elements of their everyday life such as cars, houses, gas, education, and wages.

## Resilience-Numeracy

NI discussed the ways in which entrepreneurs measure that particular form of, according to Mary Poovey (1998), technocratic modes of existence.

You have to mention: I have given access to  $z$  number of women to the market through enabling them buy and sell products like rabbits... I have made  $x$  number of women educate their children,  $y$  number started their own businesses... I then in the support of parliament members passed a policy bill to let the government establish micro-funds for people to start their own businesses through the criteria through which I made them start their own business.

Just as SR did.<sup>8</sup>

Double Click.

NI thus trains social entrepreneurs on using apparatuses of capture that take the form of tools of numerical measurement in order to regulate the work they do, thus rendering it *permanent*. In so doing, entrepreneurs can make others look up to their solutions as ideals to be replicated and re-configured. Those individuals could be parliament members or business owners in the market. In the next paragraphs of this fragment, I write about modes of calculative actions.

Entrepreneurial selves are primarily resilient selves. They are “condemned to lifelong apprenticeship, to exhibility [sic], to the reign of the short term, [They] must embrace [their] condition as a soluble, fungible subject to be able to respond to what is constantly demanded of [them]: to become another” (p.2). That kind of apprenticeship is what NI trained candidate entrepreneurs on in that boot-camp. I re-member, and during the same boot-camp she said:

Entrepreneur is a French word that means an adventurer who went out of their [sic] comfort zone... A risk taker who takes calculated risks.

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<sup>8</sup> In chapter one, qI presented ways in which SR speaks and argues in numbers.

Put differently, entrepreneurial selves are seen as resilient *beings* who acquire different forms of knowledge in order to survive economies of debt and austerity, and conditions of brutal market competition. Calculative action is thus an ethic and resilience is the new currency. With no risk mitigation mechanisms that are premised on the rules of cost-benefit accounting, management of risk by those entrepreneurs becomes immensely improper. It is with no wonder that the columnist writes: “continually adapt as situations change”. “Resilience, in sum, revolves around shock absorption” (Bracke, 2017: 54). That shock takes the form of the M in-ability to figure out solutions to problems of education, nutrition, and shelter access himself anymore, since “Europe”, as a project, “is no longer the center of gravity of the world” (Mbembe, 2017: 1). These problems that keep bouncing back and requires continuous adaptation and calculation of uncertainty. “If that which is considered to be the threat turns out to be resilient and continues to bounce back, possibly becoming stronger than before, then resilience is a signifiant risk. If environmental disasters, [or] deadly viruses turn out to be resilient, then resilience becomes undistinguishable from the very threat or disaster that resilience first sought to overcome, and ultimately the distinction between threat and resilience collapses” (ibid: 59).

Entrepreneurs are then an army of the resilient. In chapter one, I have extensively written about the politics of production of solutions, since M cannot produce himself anymore as the White Man except through such processes of subjectification and subjugation. In this chapter, I put together fragments that provide de-tails on the politics of distribution that are part and parcel of economies of debt. In that sense, entrepreneurial selves are not the reserve army, in Marxian terms. Resilience is not the value that labor provides in the market. Put differently, resilient selves are capital itself. Adding to Bracke’s resilient selves who are “one[s] who can absorb the impact of

austerity measures and continue to be productive” (ibid: 61). They are machines, that is to say capital, that Cybex development institutions, in Braacke’s terms, use in order to produce their reports and programs that are of value to heads of state and their economic councils. That is one of the very definitions of subsumption in the after modern moment.

## Criteria

In this fragment, I argue that criteria of selection are technologies of ordering differences of solutions of social entrepreneurs through fixing obligations and rights, thus enunciating judgments.

In one of her interviews with candidates to the fellowship, she talked about the criteria according to which KAA selects its entrepreneurs to attend this boot-camp, thus preparing them to become KAA fellows.

KAA’s criteria is divided into two... Part assesses the idea and the work that has been done by the entrepreneur and another that assesses the entrepreneur himself... The first part *examines* whether this idea is new, what is the impact on people’s lives that has been achieved up to date... The other part focuses on (1) the entrepreneurial quality of the person... I mean by entrepreneurial someone as Apple’s Steve Jobs or Microsoft’s Bill Gates who created new markets... (2) entrepreneur’s creativity, I mean how he is *differently* approaching solving a problem than other competitors and organizations... (3) Ethical fibre which is measured by the entrepreneur’s commitment to his idea and the ability of people to trust her... Imagine someone who had a car accident on the road and wants someone to save him immediately... Then he will think of that entrepreneur... This is the kind of ethical fibre KAA is looking for.

Double Click.



## **Fragment: Obligation(s)**

NI said:

You are obligated to present what you have been working on and accomplished every three months for a period of three years so we could assess your work and identify potential areas of engagement through which you could achieve that systemic change according to a plan.

Double Click.

## **Fragment: Right(s)**

NI continued:

We give you stipend each three months so you could eat, drink, find a place to stay, finance your children's education if you have any... You are the one who is responsible of growing and financing your own work... Through KAA, you get access to global platforms as The World Economic Forum, 60% of entrepreneurs who get nominated to the entrepreneur of the year award is KAA fellows... We give you legal advise whenever you need it and technical one as well in case you are not able to organize labor in your organization or sell a product to a group of consumers in a particular locale... We offer you connections to 3500 entrepreneurs across the globe so you ex-change ideas and experiences.

Double Click.

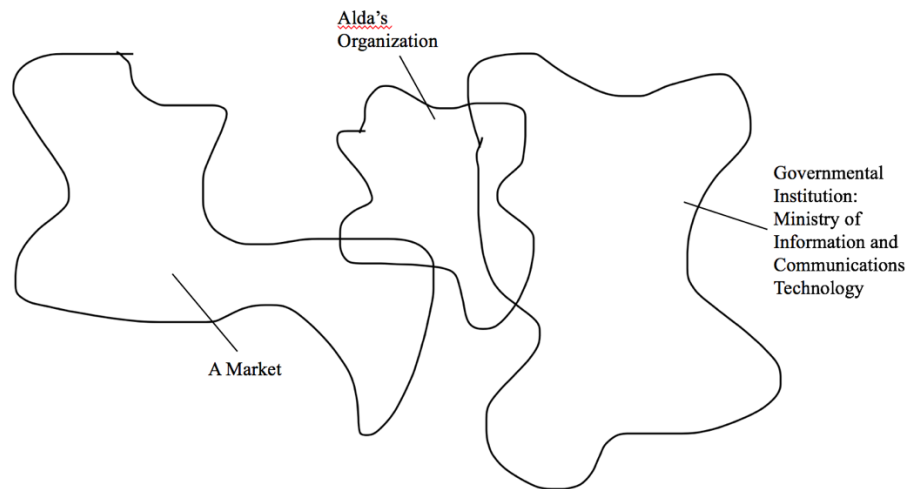
To become an KAA fellow, an entrepreneur has to get the script, according to Bruno Latour (2013) right. He has to be able to re-produce herself to conform to those conditions through which her life gets regulated and re-regulated. That script is crucial to achieve the so called systemic change. *It* is a fixed category and a governing technology that regulates the everyday practices of those entrepreneurs.

## Fragment: Judgement(s)

NI spoke:

How do we judge that you did that sort of change? We see the government policies that you were able to change or to activate or who was able to copy and replicate your model through licensing. You cannot work for the government while being an KAA fellow. Previously, a fellow became a minister and then we had to de-fellow him.

Double Click.



The previous drawing presents the figures of a market, a government, and an entrepreneur. The latter inhabits the moving, expanding, contracting space in-between trying to let governments scale his solution to all citizens' lives through national policies, or market corporations buy the product or become licensed to use the service that he is offering. But how does KAA render that change thinkable? That takes place through measurement as I show in the next fragment. I remember, when I first joined KAA, I was struggling the rigid technology of systemic change. CB, my manager at that time, is the co-founder of KAA and was responsible for interviewing all candidates I was co-training with NI in the boot-camp, told me:

It is simple. Close your eyes. Open them and see citizens. Those citizens who will carry forward and replicate the solutions that KAA social entrepreneurs put forward.

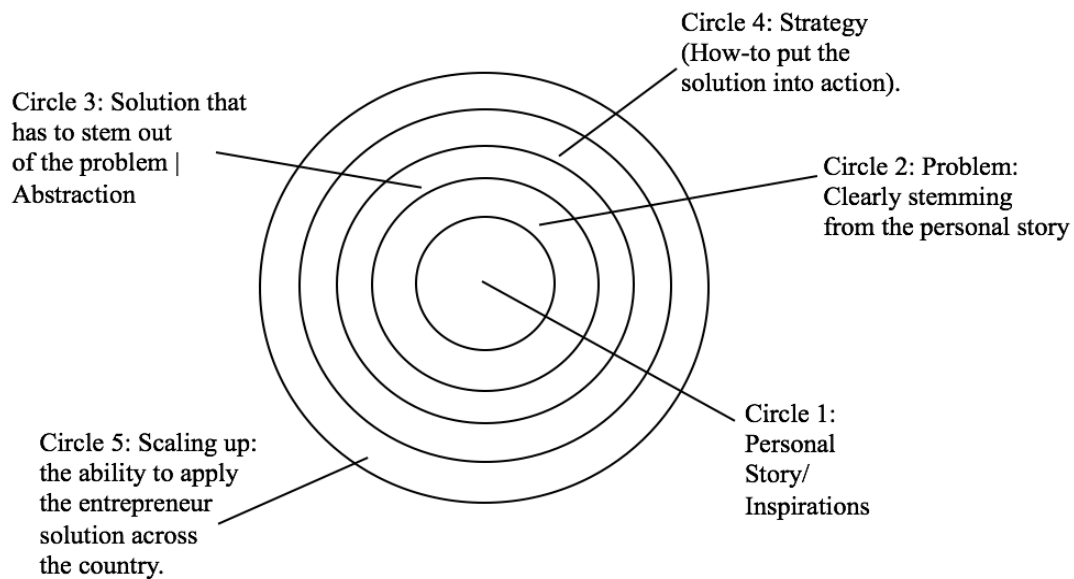
Those citizens are in that way active citizens who get perpetually trained, thus trying to imitate entrepreneurial ideals. Let me elaborate on that through unfolding the work of Mokka, an KAA Fellow and one of the attendees of the boot-camp. Mokka trains children from the age 9 to 12 who have rich-in-money parents on how to work in teams and organize handing give-aways, such meals, to those who do not have a continuous access to food. As such, and according to Mokka, children practice, what KAA calls *empathy*. That is to have an affinity to those who children are trained to see different because a place they live in, money they have or a skin color. Those children then help Mokka organize trainings for other children who are born in Saudi Arabia but not for Saudi Arabian parents and to whom the state apparatus refuses issue documents that prove they are Saudi Arabian. Hence, the state apparatus does not accept them in schools. Mokka then take the children that he trained and visit neighborhoods in which he finds those just-different children and in turn train them on how to identify problems in their neighborhood such as un-clean street, meaning food left-overs and paper-waste all over the place, and figure out how to organize themselves to make them clean. In that process, he let them first do a step called *empathizing*, which is to interview different individuals inhabiting the neighborhood and see what problems they find with un-clean streets, then those children *define* a common problem they find after they interview all those individuals. Hence, they have to do so through measurement, and in order to measure they have to know principles of mathematics and if they do not, then Mokka teaches them. They then collectively think of an idea to solve that problem. Afterwards, they trans-form that idea into a product, a commodity, or a service they offer to those individuals. They then test and re-test that solution. At the end of the process, they present those ideas and solutions to a group of investors who then, if convinced, decide to finance those ideas. If Mokka does not do all that, he

will dubbed by other fellow entrepreneurs apathetic. That is because when he re-cognized that as a problem and after being captured by the affect-hailing question of what the are you going to do about it, he did not *solve* that problem. A moment when he started to go through process problematization in-access to education was when, and during one of his under-graduate classes, he was asked: “How come does your country have so much wealth and so much poverty at the same time?” I provided a genealogy to the questions of poverty and wealth through re-reading Arturo Escobar’s (2011) critique of the discourse of developmental-ism in chapter one. Mokka found that question relevant due to memories, according to him, of when he used to go with his grandfather and give *zakat* which is forms of material wealth that a Muslim, who practice faith through Islam, a religion, has to giveaway part of her material wealth when it meets a specific criteria<sup>9</sup>. As such, I see that question hails affect and mobilizes actions. I unraveled the making and re-making of the question of what are you then going to do about it in the fragment of Old-New: Time Shifts. I then tap into processes of affect-hailing in the next fragment of storytelling.

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<sup>9</sup> Criteria are related to quantity and time. The quantity of material wealth she has and the time that passes on that wealth without being used.

# Storytelling



Those circles present the phases that an entrepreneur, through her training at KAA has to go through in order to build a story in a scientific way by first reducing her moments of child- and adult-hood to moments that can be put together to arrive at a moment of *epiphany* in which she realized that time has to come to solve a problem she saw. That mode of story-telling is the *linch-pin* on which the entrepreneur *fixedly* present both a problem, and then through the ethic of what-then-are-you-going-to-do-about-it, she proposes a solution that comes out of the womb of a long period of apprenticeship in the market in which she has engaged with needs, wants and desires of a group of people that she can connect all together through identifying a pattern in their everyday life, like inability of their children in a certain locale to go to school without one or two dying after being hit by a car or a bus. She then put together a model, think how to put it into action, and build strategies to let that group of people use her solution. After-wards, she scales the usage of that solution to other groups of people who suffer from the same or similar problem. For scaling, she

needs money and that is when investors come in. That what NI is training entrepreneurs on in that boot-camp. That is the proper message, in Stevanson's (2017) terms, that has an entrepreneur has to get across to investors so as to attract money to scale or even start her organization, hire a team and continue developing a preliminary product or a service, that is called a prototype. The latter then is *tested* on that group of people. Accordingly, she sees whether it speaks to their needs, wants and desires. Through those scientific principles, entrepreneurial selves inter-act with people, thus forming a collective that configures and re-configures the social. That social cannot get more political in the sense that it perpetuates dynamics of debt economy which is run in a late neoliberal milieu and in an after modern sensibility that M presented to me in Turkey. Hence, Alda did not utter a proper message. So did I. The story I uttered in the beginning of the chapter does not fit the criteria according to which I should utter my desires, angst, and fears. I have to be trained to rectify my fears because those are *my* problems. Such similarities between Alda and myself is a realization of modes of inter-subjectivity. Together, we form a pack, yet we are not the favorites.

Moments of inspirations, with which entrepreneurs start their stories, are moments of affects hailing. In lifeworlds of the boot-camp, inspirations are synonymous to entrepreneurial spirits, a collective of affections that is continuously changing, expanding, shrinking in endless process of re-configuration.

Solutions are abstractly approached. I re-member my conversation with SaFa, an entrepreneur in his late 70s, about his work and the differences he sees between the work he used to do in 1970s, 80s, and 90s and the work that is now done by entrepreneurs such as Alda and Mokka. He said: "Nothing". I was baffled. I repeated my question. He said: "I said nothing," then

the discussion went on. There is a trace that I later found in our conversation that de-scribes that nothing-ness. Nothingness does not entail sameness but re-organization. Let me put it this way. Salah later said: “Solutions have to follow scientific principles”. Abstraction is part and parcel of storytelling as an apparatus of capture of affect as I have shown, and science is built on processes of abstraction through which the scientist documents what he sees through several attempts of trial and error and then build a model that captures a pattern he saw through those trials to become re-implementable and hence permanent (Latour, 1990; Harvey, 2018). In the name of science, entrepreneurs are endlessly trained to present life stories and think of abstract solutions that they have to test and apply to the lives of individuals with no access to education, food or shelter, hence form a collective. In doing so, the social is made and re-made in the contemporary. Hence, and in that way, education, shelter, science and CMRs as after-modern concepts, and grammar that shapes and re-shapes how those entrepreneurs think, feel and act everyday, assemble in that particular way and in that assemblage re-organization of socialites and modes of existence take place. Those concepts, in a Deleuzian and Guattarian sense, “act in concert” (Stoler, 2016: 19). They do so in form of a pack similar to the pack of NI, Nilli, SD, M, DD, Mokka, and Alda. That pack is endlessly re-organized, and such processes of re-organizations are realized in how the social is made and re-made. That in turn can be seen by tracing ephemeral fragments as I am doing in this chapter. Put differently, nothing-ness does not entail same-ness.

Storytelling helps entrepreneurial bodies hail recognition. As Michael Jackson argues (2013), “the act of sharing stories helps us create a world that is more than the sum of its individual parts [...] the vital capacity of people to work together to create, share, affirm, and celebrate something that is held in common” (p.170). Exactly, what is held in-common by the primacy of

*creating* solutions through scientific methods that are monetized in markets to solve problems of no-access to education, food and shelter. What if those life stories are turned into solutions that are calculable? Those life stories not only become meaningless but unthinkable. When such uncommon becomes part and parcel of the common sense, it becomes easily confused with nothingness, as Salah enunciated: “Nothing”.

Storytelling is a process of transformation. It sheds light on what was deemed in the shadows. It gives existence. It transforms “the passions of the heart, the thoughts of the mind, the delights of the senses (...) into a shape to fit them for (...) appearance” (p.168). In short, “storytelling enables the regeneration and celebration [of] (...) existence” (ibid: 187). To the capture of the passions of the heart, I shall turn in the next fragment.

## **Fragment: Affect-hailing Technologies**

Back to *affect*.

DD in the same speech of which I have mentioned a part, later talks about the desire that made him start KAA:

So we said... Ok well... What if we are able to encourage, enable more of the best entrepreneurs, the best ideas dealing with social issues get started and succeed and we have together become a community that supports one another... That can make a really big difference.

(DD, 2013: 1:30-3:30).

Double Click.

NI then told me about her desire to starting and leading KAA office in what she calls Arab speaking countries:



It was 9/11... I decided I want to *prove* we, as Arabs, don't have terrorism and our youth could do good... I wanted to transform pessimism into hope... I believe we are suffering from *lack of alternatives*... I wanted to create alternatives... For example, back in 2003, I supported the work of Tamer Baha'a blind social entrepreneur.

Double Click.

She then wrote, in the same year:

[Tamer] guides people who are deaf and mute to claim their rights as citizens and to overturn stereotypes about their abilities... He is creating alternatives and opportunities to whoever is deaf and mute in U-progtorous.

Double Click.

When I asked her: What do you mean by doing good? She replied: "Responsible *citizens* for their communities".

Double Click.

Connections between that story he narrated, NI's desires and the desire that made DD start KAA with a specific focus social issues, as understood by the M and as I highlighted its genealogy through the work of Escobar (2011) in chapter one, are interesting to note. Together, NI and Bill form a pack which has no center, but a favorite. *New* then becomes one's ability to answer a question without copying other solutions to the problem she saw. The best entrepreneur is the one who meets KAA's criteria. That is the ideal, in Weberian (1922) terms. But how does this entrepreneur solve that problem and *lead* collective action? How does she adapt to continuously changing situations that require her to modify her solutions and introduces new ways in which she can solve the problem? Those questions are part and parcel of the making and re-making of

entrepreneurial selves who solves problems that are defined by the M as I have shown in chapter one. Those are questions that I grapple with in this chapter.

## Boot-camp

I now get back to NI in the boot-camp:

You are here to be prepared for the selection process... We do not teach you what and what not to say... But How do you organize your *thought* process? Organize yourself, because what you say is what will form you in the eyes of people... For example, you, the owner of *Alda's organization*... You are not someone who is working on *Sa'aieda*, you are working on the *marginalized*.

Double Click.

That was in response to a conversation that Alda, the owner of *Se'aedy Geeks* a private business and myself had in preparation to that boot-camp.

I want to build the culture of hope and forego that of despair... I want to prove that the U-progtorousian young adults can become world class programmers/coders who are able to build successful technology businesses and economically develop their cities and municipalities... I want to build a Cybex Technology Hub in U-progtorous.

Alda here refers to the Cybex Technology Hub in Cybex; the home to technology companies such as CybexTech. He wants to make 15-30 years olds in U-progtorous, a territory, learn how to build algorithms and code to build technology enterprises and become freelancers to international technology companies. He continued:

There are huge cultural impairments that you know nothing about... You know why?... Because you are not U-progtorousian... you have not lived before in U-progtorous and raised in and by U-progtorousian family.

This latter response was part of rationales he gave to reason out the small total number of participants in workshops he conducted to nurture their skills programming coders over the past four years. He then elaborated:

Yes... It is hard to do workshops where you can bring boys and girls together in the same workshop... You know... Some families... if they just know that their daughter attends my workshop... They will kill her... Girls are not allowed to be out after 7:00 PM and are not allowed to talk to boys and sit next to them in lectures/workshops... These are problems that you have to pay attention to while assessing my work... We are different.

NI then replied to the way he presents his story:

Yes, I know this way of presenting ones traumas as someone from U-progtorous who is making his way to the top and wants to attract sympathies with no clear relationship to a problem he wants to solve. He is not building an infrastructure of internet in U-progtorous. He does not think of how to attract investors to U-progtorous. Even the number of technology companies that he helped to establish is low; only one. That is nothing. He cannot become an KAA Fellow. The panel chair will not let him pass the interview.

After three days of training and re-working the model of Alda's organization, he then became frustrated when he knew that KAA only gives money so he re-produces himself, requires him to quit his job and give his full focus to Alda's organization. In the morning of the fourth day, he was supposed to come to the office so he could further re-hearse his model. He did not show up and sent the following message. All other four entrepreneurs in the boot-camp was just shocked when they knew about the message he sent me.

Dear Ahmed,  
Thank you for all your efforts. I will not be able to attend the interview.  
Thank you.

He packed his luggage and left; without saying good-bye and without providing reasons for not attending. Just dis-appeared and I have never heard back from him till the moment I left KAA. This was the first time in 34 years and across 89 countries that an entrepreneur does that during his selection process as this is not an entrepreneurial *ethic*; that is to quit and just dis-appear.

That defies the entrepreneurial ethic of persistence in the face of the what-are-you-going-to-do-about-it. In that case, Alda does not fit the fifth criterion. He did not even get back to my calls on that day. I re-member CB saying about that micro-event of Alda just-leaving:

The problem I had was with AN [he refers here to the entrepreneur who was expelled from the training by NI], because all what he is doing is making institutions more capable of treating Cancer. That is not the kind of systemic change KAA is looking for.

Exactly, even AN does not have the *principles* of, according to Lisa Stevenson (2017) the proper message. Proper-ness that is produced and re-produced according to criteria. That message has to be derived to CB so a candidate entrepreneur become an KAA fellow. Through those principles, life stories are hailed and made permanent in present moments, thus fixing both pasts and presents according to the permanent configuration of those principles. I will turn to discussing those principles in detail in the next fragment.

NI four days later, told me:

Do not worry... You did great job... Your colleague told me the incident when he was shocked after he knew the amount of money he will get and that we require him to quit his job... He was not going to make it anyway.

Alda's message was not proper. It did not conform to the criteria that makes, not only his words, but also his modes of affect and life thinkable to investors and entrepreneurs as NI. In the fragment on Storytelling, I discussed the making and re-making of that proper message.

## Hope

Alda, the owner of Alda's organization said during the boot-camp:

I am marginalized... I cannot express myself.

Then he smiled and so did I.

Double Click.

ADD:

I am embellishing... No... I am not convinced... I feel what I am doing is that is going to make change... But she [referring to NI] is saying you will not pass [to become an KAA fellow] except the idea is *presented* as such.

Double Click.

NI, training candidate entrepreneurs:

You are a pragmatic person... There is a difference between: I fully *depend* on the governmental apparatus and I *use* it for my own benefit.

Later she said:

Burn out... Take care... Accept you will meet people like this [who belittle your work]... Those are *jealous* people... People who steal your idea... You have to *believe* in what you are doing.

Double Click.

Those snapshots present mobilizations of affect par excellence. Such movements are part and parcel of the practices of hope not as a thing, but as a project, according to Ernst Bloch (Weeks, 2011). How are then affect and hope inter-related and why, for me, do the questions of hope and affect make sense here in this fragment? Let me first provide a context in which those three snapshots, or fragments, came together. As part of the team working on training those entrepreneurs, I moderated discussions, *threw* comments and suggested actions they should do and things they should say to prepare them for phases *yet-to-come* in their selection process.

The first and the second snapshots provide moments of tension between how they were told to organize their thoughts and how they want to do so. Alda was not able to re-produce what NI was training him on, but since I asked him what do you feel about your training? This is what

he had to say. I re-member the anxiety he had when he was uttering that line. The image of him saying so can not escape me. Yes, Alda lives on the margins of, in a Deleuzian and Guattarian sense, the wolves' pack. Hence, he is marginalized. As for ADD, she was frustrated but resisting what NI said. Put differently, she expressed her affective *willful-ness* to become otherwise. In a later moment, NI persistently and decisively talked about the pragmatism of entrepreneurial selves and how they orient institutions towards their own benefits. Later, and in an *emotional* tone, she spoke about the burn out entrepreneurial selves may face when they cannot mobilize their affects anymore towards doing what they do and want just to *stop*. Let me know turn to the interconnectedness of hope and affect.

For Bloch, hope is an expansive category, meaning, and in a Deleuzian and Guattarian sense, that it is made and re-made and is never held fixed. As a category, it is “a mode of thinking” and “an affect that can be grasped in opposite to fear and anxiety” (ibid: 194). That combination is precisely what NI mean by the capability of entrepreneurial selves to think through the institutional dynamic of which they want to make use **and** the emotion ADD and Alda have to mobilize to make that happen. That work of those emotions, Bloch argued, “requires people who throw themselves actively into what is becoming, to which they themselves belong” (ibid: 194). That emotion is, according to Bloch, “an affect that can be grasped in opposite to fear and anxiety” (ibid: 194). Bloch insisted, as Weeks (2011) highlights, that the difference between the fearful subject and the hopeful one is that the former acts towards self-preservation and the latter moves towards become more and extending itself. The latter, for Freidrich Nietzsche, is “to affirm what we have become as the ground from which we can become otherwise” (ibid: 203). Self-preservation is associated with fear and anxiety, and is juxtaposed with self-extension which is

assembled to hope. For Bloch, affective *willfulness* is only associated not with fear but with hope. That limits becoming otherwise through only hope and not through fear and anxiety. In that light, what if such hope as a category is made and re-made out of fabrics and fragments of calculative action with after-modern needs, wants and desires that are realized through acts of entrepreneurialism as I have shown in this chapter as well as chapter one? What are we, who seek thinking and being otherwise, left with? Fear? This opens ways to Nietzsche's nihilism, according to which the individual is thought of as a bridge who links the past and the present. On that bridge, acts of resentment beget "apathy and resignation hollow out the subject's visions of the future," (ibid: 199) rendering it just dark. Just nihilistic. I beg to differ. I think of fear, anxiety and hope, and according to Aliaa al-Saji (2004) as *affective tonalities* that have different intensities, just *different* musical notes. Those tonalities connect pasts and presents rendering re-configuring not only what is yet-to-come, but also what has passed. In that sense, the multiplicities of possibility are un-precedented and un-expected. Even if affects are captured by entrepreneurial technologies in which one become trapped in proving to governments and to those who are jealous, according to NI, that ADD can get build houses which walls shall not crumble at any moment because of cracks and kill whoever is inside, there are other affects that can connect different fragments of lifeworlds together rendering what is yet-to-come unexpected and hence un-captured. To those multiplicities of possibilities, I turn to discussing and unraveling in the next chapter.

## **Get Out**

In this chapter, I have shared fragments of my story and ways in which I was hailed by the following question: What then are you going to do about it? The one that is addressed to every entrepreneur at any space she is part of and the one that DD uttered in his speech. I approached

unraveling particular forms such question can take through *tracing* the interconnectedness of fragments of boot-camp, obligations, rights, judgements, measurements and calculative actions, criteria of becoming KAA fellow and entrepreneurial, in a Weberian (1922) sense, *ideals*, newnesses and differences, hailing and fixing, storytelling, and last but not least, hope. In that boot-camp, NI sought to re-organize the thought processes of candidate entrepreneurs through hailing moments of affect, re-organizing practices that took place in those moments and render them thinkable according to KAA's criteria. That very process is not particular to KAA but takes different shapes and forms in so many encounters when entrepreneurial selves, as a collective, come together around set of ideals, needs, wants and desires that are not totally subsumed by, but *partially* mediated and translated through the site of the market. To those inter-actions, I shall turn in the next. But now, I want to express my desires to get out of the question of what are you going to do about it and the sticky category of apathy that is thrown to the faces of whoever does not want to be trapped by that question, re-think it and propose different questions and modes of existence that may not conform with DD's entrepreneurial march through which history with a capital H is presented and re-presented. Just get out.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I presented my readers with politics of distribution of solutions to problems of no-access to education, food and shelter, similar to my presentation of politics of production of those solutions in chapter one. Politics of distribution takes place through perpetuating relationships of economies of debt, whereas politics of production happens through acts of wolfing such as enunciating your-problems and your-solutions. By wolfing, I mean the formation and configuration of a pack of which the M is a temporary favorite. In the name of distribution of those



solutions, institutional acts take place, such as that of KAA through modes of thinking, feeling and acting of entrepreneurial bodies and their trainers. Enunciation of questions such as What are you going to do about it or categories such as hope or procedures such as storytelling is power itself. It shows how contemporary relationships are made and shattered in the name of late neoliberal workings of social entrepreneurship in the after modern moment.

In this chapter, as part of this project, I did category work. This means that I do not repeat categories that I re-corded during my fieldwork, but unravel its making and re-making. I do not trace what hope *is*, but what hope *does*. In addition, I am concerned with how hope comes together and grows apart through the can- and cannot-dos of entrepreneurs such as NI, Mokka , Alda, ADD and Salah, not as individuals but as *packs* that are formed and re-formed through acts of subjectification and signification. Such individuation processes are *faces*. Such faces are the social.

In the next chapter, I turn to unraveling lifeworlds that are in the in-between of dyadic worlds of politics of production and consumption of entrepreneurial solutions to problems of no-access education, food and shelter. I argue, Um Tal'aat, a petty entrepreneur who make, as Jane Guyer (2004) argues, marginal gains and lives in the neighborhood of MOMO becomes a producer of the very solutions that GU<sup>10</sup> realizes. In the in-between of production and consumption, multiplicities of becoming come up. Such becomings partially get regulated and captured through acts of promoting market relation in the name of creating business that are registered by the state apparatus. In doing so, such businesses become, as Janet Roitman (2005) argues, formal, hence can be taxed. Not all be-comings get captured, some escape. Such acts of escaping apparatuses of

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<sup>10</sup> GU is an KAA entrepreneur who I introduced in chapter one.

capture happen in ways in which UA, a petty entrepreneur who sells handicrafts that were made in Zoho in markets in Coro and I introduced in chapter one, sees home and security. Such assemblages of home and security, I argue, are not power effects, but power itself. To the making and re-making of captured and un-captured becomings, I shall turn in the next chapter.

# 4 The Bedouin

## Tales of Be-coming After-pastoral Nomad in Goro

### Introduction

In this chapter, I unravel the making of concept of Bedouin that is part and parcel not only of modes of control of the state apparatus but also of how social entrepreneurs, Construction Engineering students, pastoral nomads, police-forces, the desert, and extended families in Goro. In doing so, I build on works of Jane Guyer (2004) and Janet Stoler (2016) on tracing the historical embeddedness of concepts. I present a historical narrative of how pastoral-nomads navigated shifting administrations by Cybex military forces and U-progtorousian police-forces through wage earning activities. In tracing those activities, I unravel how pastoral nomads see their lifeworlds. Before presenting my fragments in this chapter let me first situate them in assembled con-text: Face. Such context presents an entanglements of relations of bodies which came together in one place to work on providing access of food-shelter-education to the so-called Bedouin.

After-pastoral nomadism is a conceptual invention that I introduce in this chapter. As I have shown in the last chapter, the work of social entrepreneurs is part of the late neoliberal moment. In such moment, WhiteWolf's feelings, actions and thinking are after-modern affects. Find-solutions-to-your-problems is an affect of an entanglement of processes of subjectification that WhiteWolf is part of and which I unravel in the last chapter. In that sense, pastoral nomads who cooperate with social entrepreneur to find solutions to their in-access to education-food-shelter through the market is what make and re-make them after-pastoral nomads. In this chapter, I unravel *a* historical narrative that elaborates on this transition to the condition of after-ness. Such

historical narrative is one of many histories of the place. It is inspired by the work of Samdar Lavi and William C. Young (1984) in Southern Saini on the effect of Cybex and U-progtorousian development policies on the Southern part of Saini from late 1960s to early 1980s, and oral narratives that I encountered through so many dialogues with SJ, a head of an extended family in Goro and Goho, social entrepreneur who is working in Goro.

## **Letter F: A Swirl Movement**

In one of discussion I had SJ who lives in Goro, he had a comment on how he sees life when I asked him about how navigates a decreasing flow of tourists after the establishment road blocks by the state apparatus starting 2014.

You have to learn how to be flexible with what life throws at you... Do you like poetry? Here is a one liner that I like... *Coil with the path when it coils...* You know, sometimes we became so hasty about life that we don't wait and see how it is going to unfold... Like the fruits on the tree... If you hasten and grab them before they grow, you will not be able to eat them... You should go with life wherever it takes you... Look at that mountain... If I focus too much on reaching that mountain through a straight line, I might stumble on some rocks with sharp edges and eventually die... Rather, if I coil with the path, I might not reach my goal yes, but I will still be alive and will find a way later to reach my goals if they still matter...

Double Click.

This snapshot is an effect. “An *effect*, the outcome of a set of unpredictable responses to differential positions opening up as one acts” (Gambetti, 2016: 46). It is as-one-acts that speaks to how SJ navigates through his every day. SJ is a nomad who “distributes himself in a smooth space; he occupies, inhabits, holds that space; that is his territorial principle. It is therefore false to define the nomad by movement. Toynebee is profoundly right to suggest that the nomad is on the contrary *he who does not move (...)* The nomad knows how to wait, [sic] he has infinite patience” (Deleuze

and Guattari, 1987: 381). In that sense, SJ is always in becoming as a body who lives in a space and coils with paths that unfold during movement. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) discussed becoming and argued:

A becoming lacks a subject distinct from itself; but also that it has no term, since its term in turn exists only as taken up in another becoming of which it is the subject, and which coexists, forms a block, with the first.  
(p.238)

In that sense, it is dangerous to think of becoming as an entity. It is rather a political affair. It is always active. It is thus cannot be conceptualized in terms of past and future.

SJ is part and parcel of the concept as a Bedouin, a concept that is made and remade as part of the state apparatus practice that has been taking different intensities since 1967. I will turn to the making of that concept as one of minority. In other words, it is always becoming-minoritarian. It is, according to Deleuze and Guattari, a work of micropolitics. “This is the opposite of macropolitics (...) in which it is a question of knowing how to win or obtain a majority” (ibid: 240).

## **Letter A: Enhancing-Life-Conditions**

Goho, a social entrepreneur working in Goro, before said when I asked her the following question.

Myself: Why do you the work you do with SJ?

She looked down while nodding her head and firmly replying: To enhance their life conditions.

I then smiled.

Double Click.

The rhetoric of enhancing-their-life-conditions is part of the same pack that I encountered in Turkey with the M when he said that he throws humanitarian aid money on Syrian in the so called refugees camps in Turkey, yet it is less blunt. What does that mean? I mean that assemblage of politics as part of that dialogue is different. There is a difference between myself as an entrepreneur meeting the M in his institutions, EU and myself as a researcher who inter-acts with social entrepreneurs in Goro. Those entrepreneurial bodies who try to figure out solutions to problems in their communities. It is with no surprise that in order to enhance life conditions, Goho *co-operate* with SJ to build a community center in which SJ and other extended families could sell their services to Tourists and establish class rooms for education. That is part of food-education-shelter. A trilogy that was uttered by the M in Turkey. Food-shelter-education acquires and gives meaning through practices of entrepreneurial bodies in different geographies. Food-shelter-education that is an after-modern condition; a one that social entrepreneurs live with but are always after.

Enhance-their-life-conditions is an affect hailing technology that is similar to but different from what-are-you-going-to-do-about-it that I discussed in chapter 2. Let me put enhance-their-life-conditions in relation to the nomad not the Bedouin in the context of the market. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987),

The nomad, nomad space, is localized and not delimited. What is both limited and limiting is striated space, the *relative global*: it is limited in its parts, which are assigned constant directions, are oriented in relation to one another, divisible by boundaries, and can interlink (...) what is limiting is this aggregate in relation to the smooth spaces whose growth it slows or prevents, and which it restricts or places outside. Even when the nomad sustains its effects, he does not belong to this relative global, where one passes from one point to another, from one region to another.

(p.383)

In this chapter, I argue that market is a Deleuzian-Guattarian “relative global”. Such space

has constant directions that I saw through practices of entrepreneurial bodies during putting together their business models in order to offer a product or a service to serve a group of individuals in a geography. Such geography is stretched when those entrepreneurs reach out to different individuals in more geographies. In that sense, such geography is always in the process of becoming-relative-global. Such space is not fixed; it is always assembled through acquiring different meanings according to politico-historical relationships. In that sense and in this chapter, I am going to turn to the historical embeddedness of concepts of Bedouin that shape and re-shape lives as targets for the work of social entrepreneur in Goro.

## **Letter C: Bodies Made Visible**

In the first two snapshots, I discussed how nomadic bodies are part and parcel of the concept of Bedouin who are then thought of as targets to the business models to entrepreneurial bodies working in Goro. When they are made as targets, they are then made visible. In this snapshot, I focus on the practices of making bodies visible through presenting a dialogue between ADD, a social entrepreneur that I introduced in chapter two and one of the under-graduate engineers she was recruiting to work on building the community center in Goro.

**ADD:** So basically, my organization works in the industry of Construction Engineering that is environmentally and socially responsible... This means that we build houses using earth based materials that do not harm the environment and at the same time they are of low cost and we incorporate people's needs and opinions from the very beginning of the design process... That's why it is *social*... So, tell me a bit about yourself.

**AHN:** I study architecture and art... I am in my third year... I used to live in Siwa... I like how the life is so simple... No consumerism... Nature there is amazing... The place is adorable yet it is neglected... Only few know about it.

**ADD:** Good, so what do you think is important to our work from your living experience in Siwa?

**AHN:** Trust is the most important thing... I remember that I was once in Alexandria working BBB, a not-for-profit organization working in urban development... Then I was taking photos... Then one of the neighbors said: *Why do you take a photo of us?* What do you need from us? So I learned that it is important to open up to those people and treat them in a way that shows respect... It is not that as if I am coming to get them off their misery.

**ADD:** So how do you think you are going to apply that?

**AHN:** I have to put myself in the user's shoes... to understand their needs and develop something that help her out.

**ADD:** Great, so what is community development to you?

**AHN:** Develop people in terms of raising their awareness through 1/ promoting special ideas such as things that are related to education, 2/ explaining that life is not just a daily routine, there is something bigger than that like access to education and how this is important to our country, 3/ showing them the importance of the skills that they<sup>11</sup> have to learn in order to raise the level of their income such as specific handicraft.

Double Click.

This long dialogue shows *how* bodies in Seeka are made visible. It shows the boundaries between us and them. It also shows technocratic modes of governance of lives that are empty of shelter and education according to social entrepreneurs and construction engineers. That is a site in which helping-hands of entrepreneurial bodies feel the urge of acting in relation to what-are-you-going-to-do-about-it. Such modes of attachment to such urge are realized in utterances such as life-is-simple. Such enunciation is power. Such power is not only made visible in words of AHN but also in the separation between what is business and social that was presented in the beginning of dialogue. According to ADD, Hand-over-goes-social because *it* as a company incorporates people's needs, wants and desires through questionnaires. Such needs, wants and desires move towards the direction of shelter and education. In that sense, they are social.

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<sup>11</sup> AHN means by *they*, the people living in an under-developed community in terms of access to resources such as housing, jobs, sanitations, and the like.



The question now is how such geographies such as Goro are made exotic-different, and hence targeted by the practices of social entrepreneurs. For me, that is a matter of concern to which I turn in the next snapshot.

## **Letter E: Hope-Resort**

In a dark night, on a sand hill and close to a fire place, I sat down had a long conversation with one of the construction engineering students working on Goro and discussed her rationale of working with ADD.

RM: Have you been to Siwa before?

Myself: No.

RM: That is place is amazing. Few people know how it makes you chill and get out of the consumerist life in Coro. People there are so sincere. It gives me *hope*.

Myself: Interesting. What do you want to next after finishing working on that project with ADD?

RM, said with a look of inspire and bafflement: I want to do something similar, maybe in Siwa.

Double Click.

Siwa is RM's Hope-Resort. A resort that is empty and with hope, it can be filled in with projects like that of ADD. In that sense, it is authentic and different. It is a space inhabited by minorities, in a Deleuzian-Guattarian sense. They argued:

When we say majority, we are referring not to a greater relative quantity but to the determination of a state or standard in relation to which larger quantities, as well as the smallest, can be said to be minoritarian: white-man, adult-male, etc. Majority implies a state of domination, not the reverse.

(Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 291)

In this chapter, I claim that such domination is facilitated by market relations that beget projects like ADD's to address WhiteWolf's problems of food-shelter-education as I have shown

in chapter one and two. I turn to moments that show passions, needs, wants, anxieties, fears, acts of persistence and grief. Such affections are part and parcel of how socialities are assembled in Goro around in-commons such as Goho's community center that are provided as product through the market.

## **Dwellers in The Desert**

To unravel the making and re-making of the category of Bedouin, let me start from the meaning that is found in Oxford dictionaries and comes from the Arabic word: *Badawī*, meaning dwellers in the desert. I shall unravel the inter-connectedness of dwellers, Bedouin and desert in the next few paragraphs, thus arguing that Bedouin is a sloppy category with its own historical and spatial specificities, and that if used as is would be a source of blockage to re-thinking the present moment.

Before I start presenting my reading Bedouin as a category, let me have a say on the labor of re-working concepts. For me, a concept is a rhizome. I cannot claim it has a specific beginning nor an anticipated ending. By rhizome, I mean that "a concept accumulates force from the other concepts that congeal, collide, and rearrange themselves around it" (Stoler, 2016: 19). Thus concepts are always relational. Thus, "replacing a concept not only displaces another. It breaks up contiguities and can render invisible the mutual dependencies". Such mutual dependencies could be between Bedouin, state apparatus, the desert, and the land as I will show in the next fragments. That is what I call concept work. In that sense, genealogy is a working strategy. It promotes an "attention to messy (...) beginnings rather than originary moments for beginnings that seem to be re-marked and effaced over and again", emphasizes contingencies due to dispersion of actions, and

avoids “the assumptions of thinking historical trajectories as a coherent and singular master plan” (ibid: 24).

Concepts cannot just be replaced by others or slammed to arguments. Historicism is thus crucial to any kind of concept work in order to attend to “displaced histories as a political force and potential resource” (ibid: 24). Concepts, according to Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guatari, “are moving targets. They act in concert” (ibid: 19). As I argue later, Community Center cannot be thought of as a building that Goho, ADD, Construction Engineering students and people living in Goro collect themselves in order to build. A community center in Seeka has its histories that have to be put in relation to its endless becoming through, but not limited, to the actions of social entrepreneurs. In doing so, “the relations of force in which concepts are embedded” (ibid: 12) will not be overlooked. That is an invitation, in Foucauldian terms, “to never cease to think about the same things differently” (ibid: 13). In other words, such invitation is a methodology, which “entails keeping the concepts with which we work provisional, active, and subject to change,” thus always mobile. That is “an alert, a challenge, and a political demand” (ibid: 13). In that sense, concepts are not only sites of blockage if not attended to relationally, but also opens possibilities to thinking and doing otherwise. Tapping on sources of blockages open new ways of thinking and doing. In that way, one can re-think the political and re-configure boundaries that have ever limited not only the way in which she sees those concepts, but the way in which she imagines them. That is power.

An inter-existence between state apparatus practices, acts of rendering places authentic through seeing them as hope resorts, and entanglements of making marginal gains through marketable practices such as tourism and agri-business is what generates meanings and a container

such as Bedouin. Bedouin as a concept is not a, according to Bruno Latour “noun-like substance or thing-in-itself hiding behind actions” (Harman, 2014: 40). In that sense, “autonomous matters of fact must be replaced by “matters of concern,” as defined by the relations between one concerned actor and another” (ibid: 40). In so doing, and according to Walter Mignolo (2002), spatial and temporal specificities of geopolitical production of knowledge of every container could be made visible. In other words, category of the Bedouin is a work of fiction made fixed by entanglements of those practices in order to whoever is ungoverned in Seeka governable either by the state apparatus, markets, or both.

Bedouin as a *name* does not correspond to a *thing*.

It is not necessary for the name to correspond to the thing, or for the thing to respond to its name. For that matter, the thing itself at any moment can lose its name, and the name its referent, with no consequence for the statement itself, or for what is said and what is produced, or for who says it and produces it. All that matters is [sic] the power of falsehood.

(Mbembe, 2017: 51)

The pastoral nomad is the falsehood that matters. We now face the arbitrariness of the figure of the pastoral nomad to which SJ is only an example with its temporal and spatial uniqueness and other pastoral nomads have their own uniqueness as well and hence the changing aggregate of such uniqueness is sheer arbitrariness that cannot be put to order. “The arbitrariness of designations to which nothing in particular seems to need to respond” (ibid: 51).

All that matter is the nomad that seems to be empty, to be false and has to be filled with meaning, but according to and by whom? May be by RM who wants to live and work in Siwa and do just as Goho and ADD are doing. May be according to and by both Cybex and U-progtorousian

development institutions and policies, as I will show in the next fragment, which are trying to rectify that falsehood and could not do so as:

Form and content change constantly, in relation to life's events [...] With life's contours barely sketched out, the wandering subject must constantly escape from himself and allow himself to be carried away by the flux of time and accidents. He produces himself in the unknown, by means of a chain of effects that is at times calculated but that never materializes exactly in the ways foreseen. It is within the unexpected, and within radical instability, that he creates and invents himself

(ibid: 149)

Those forms and contents are neither of our making, nor of others. They are created in collaboration, meaning through inter-actions. Thus,

We are called names and find ourselves living in a world of categories and descriptions way before we start to sort them critically and endeavor to change or make them on our own.

(Butler, 2016: 24)

This project is not about the what is(s) and the what is-nots. It is rather about how concepts are relationally made and re-made and in which directions they would take us if we trace those very relations that assemble and re-assemble socialities around what is in-common between different people such as Goro, Community Center, markets, hope, and land.

## **Dweller-Bedouin**

In the following I present an account based on Smadar Lavie and William C. Young (1984) research on Cybex and U-progtorousian development policies in Southern Seeka as a territory. I also put that in discussion with my fieldwork in Goro in order to present how the category of Bedouin has been made and re-made through the state apparatus since pre-1967 till the moment. In doing so, I will attend to Jane Guyer (2004) and Janet Stoler's (2016) invitations not to overlook the historical embeddedness of concepts such as that of Bedouin.

I will present *a* historical narrative of an assemblage of *wage earning activities* in which there are two things at stake. On one hand, the concept of Bedouin is historically embedded in particular practices assumed by Cybex military administration and U-progtorousian state apparatus towards people who were born and live in Southern Seeka as a territory. On the other hand, the narrative I am going to present is of five fragments that I see as ruptures that are inter-connections to the practices of Goho, ADD, AHN, RM, SJ and his family, as well as other Construction Engineering students who all make and remake as well as are made and remade by ATA valley in the present moment.

### **Fragment: Pre-1956**

That fragment is a short one. Since I focus on the continuous reworking of the dynamic of wage earning activities, I am only concerned with how pastoral-nomads skills change with time. According to Lavie and Young (1984), and till 1956, people inhabiting the used to engage in annual pastoral nomad migratory cycle throughout the. By that cycle, I mean the shifting weather and environmental conditions in addition to myriad of factors make pastoral-nomad shift locations searching for sustenance and a space to inhabit. There were public works that promoted employment activities at the till that year. That narrative was supported by one of many discussions I had with SJ on how development agencies did not understand pastoral-nomadic movement across Seeka and implemented rigid agriculture policies in several spaces across the. He added:

Badawī likes to wander around.

By badawī, he means a pastoral-nomad.

## **Fragment: 1956-1967**

Prompted by the presence of Cybex development programs such as the United Nations Development Programme, the state apparatus started to engage in a linear model of development that consists of fixed milestones that starts with land farming then comes introduction of machinery to scale farming production in addition to land mining and ends with manufacturing agricultural industrialized products and others such as whatever comes from mining and well digging activities such as petro-chemicals. Search for minerals and oils started at that period of time. A labor competition on the available wage employment opportunities started to take place between migrant Sudanese workers, Cairenes and citizens from other cities, and the existing inhabitants of Southern Seeka. The formers were targeting low paying jobs, whereas Cairenes took the high paying ones. That was because of group labor skills that the latter group had in comparison to the former one.

Meanwhile, smuggling of narcotics such as Hasheesh and Opium was taking place between Jordan and Saudi Arabia on one side and Seeka on the other side. Smuggling routes fused in with migratory cycle routes as profits that were generated from smuggling activities were a major element of sustenance. In that sense, development policies and activities commenced by the U-progtorousian state apparatus did not take place in a full sense due to subsistence on temporary agriculture of vegetables and fruits for daily sustenance and smuggling for generating money form of capital.

The administration of the state apparatus as an institution “created the post of sheikh and have appointed respected leaders to that post” (Lavi and Young, 1984: 35). The so-called leaders were heads of extended family, whereas “respected” refers to the common sense found in pastoral-

nomadic families of behaving towards heads of extended family. Under the supervision of United Nations Relief and Works Agency distributed food packages to the U-progtorousian state apparatus that were in turn distributed on those sheikhs. Those sheikhs did not distribute those packages amongst their families but sold them to other people living in their places.

Throughout the previous paragraphs I showed how the state apparatus built a rapport with several heads of extended families as well as mining activities that introduced wage earning activities in the. In the next fragment, I will present how heads of extended families as well as families themselves inter-acted with Cybex military forces while focusing on how pastoral-nomads started to acquire several skills to provide sustenance for their families and children.

### **Fragment: 1967-1971**

After Cybex military forces started to settle on occupied territories in Seeka , they took over all machinery that were used in different mining areas and re-organized their presence in the according to the military centers they established. They extended the sheikh-post to 30 heads of extended family and permitted narcotics to pass into U-progtorousian waters.

Cybex military forces coordinated their relationships with pastoral-nomads through materials force and negotiation as I will show in the next fragment. That entails continuous re-assemblage of pastoral-nomadic socialities, thus coping up with the changing policies of the administration of both the U-progtorousian state apparatus and Cybex military forces.



## **Fragment: 1972-1975**

Due to the fiscal impossibility of coordinating relationships between Cybex military forces and pastoral nomads through material forces, the former negotiated over control of space of occupied Seeka.

Cybex military forces started to build roads to facilitate movements between different military centers. To build those roads, they introduced more wage work in the. The latter was promoted by blowing up all boats on which pastoral nomads were smuggling narcotics into Cybex waters through period and after building roads. Those roads were not only built to facilitate the movement of military troops and between different centers, but also ease up ways of transportation for ecological researchers and tourists that started to come to the after building Goro Field Study Research Center for Natural Protection.

Pastoral-nomads re-assembled their activities of earning money form of capital and providing for their families as follows. Through observing touristic movements, pastoral-nomads came to a resolution that tourists would pay them for food, drinks and articles of clothing made according to a pastoral-nomadic style and taste. They started to use the capital accumulated from wage labor coming from roads construction to offer such hospitality for money. In addition, pastoral-nomads started to provide desert safari using camels and taxi services using old sedans. Since road construction was not regular for long periods of time, pastoral-nomads also maintained stock piling food against times of unemployment. After Cybex administration introduced pumping motors to fetch water from wells, pastoral-nomads started to build vegetable and fruit gardens for daily sustenance. In addition, the Cybex administration introduced the idea of community centers

that have clinics to medically treat pastoral-nomads by Cybex trained medics and schools that are run by literal local pastoral-nomads. It is worthy to note that such community centers were built by the state apparatus, whereas they are built through the support the market-social entrepreneurs. That marks a shift that speaks to the late neoliberal condition that I unraveled in chapter two. In that sense, the very services that were provided by the state apparatus are now completely provided through market relations. Accordingly, that is a specific assemblage of the market project re-nationalization of political sovereignty as I have shown in chapter two. As such, conditions of becoming after-pastoral nomad assemble. I shall turn to discussing that condition of after-ness in section on after pastoral-nomadism.

### **Fragment: Post-1975**

In this fragment, I show how different socialities of pastoral nomadism were assembled and re-assembled after another rupture of shifting administrations took place with a specific focus on de- and re-territorialization of the concept of Bedouin as well as the emergence of another of “natives of Seeka”. I put that in conversation with re-assemblage of labor skills at that moment.

According to Lavie and Young (1984), at the end of 1975, the U-progtorousian military forces controlled only the western coast of Seeka and by mid of 1980s the U-progtorousian military forces arrived in Goro. In what follows, I present how administration of Southern Seeka assembled a rapport with pastoral-nomads across Seeka.

In 1975, a flood hit north Seeka. It was this year when the newspapers started to de-scribe pastoral-nomads as “natives of Seeka”. That category juxtaposed that of Bedouin that was already

in use. Those two concepts, I argue, still make and re-make lifeworlds in Goro in the contemporary. Those concepts fix ways in which lifeworlds are perceived in Goro, and hence silence things, as well as give voice to other things. This project is against the making and re-making of such fixity and instead provides an invitation to engage of lifeworlds that are in becoming and which I trace their making and re-making through dialogues with bodies who do not settle in Goro, but are always in continuous movement. Those bodies are not only those of pastoral-nomads, but of Goho, ADD and numerous Construction Engineering students. In the in-between of practices of those bodies, lifeworlds are made and re-made.

According to Lavi and Young (1984) and by 1975, several families had petitions and requests about their belongings out of which are land properties. In response, the office of governor of Seeka published an open letter in Al-Ahram Newspaper, yet administration as a state apparatus arrived at a decision about those request without conducting a dialogue with those families. In order to be able to communicate with all extended families, the office of the governor of Seeka increased the number of Sheikhs from 30 that were appointed by Cybex military forces to 200. In addition, the state apparatus created one offices to collect those 200 sheikhs and all their families that is called: House of All Sheikhs, and another one which is called: The Advisory House to the Governor of Southern Seeka. The latter was not as respected as the former among all extended families in Southern Seeka. According to discussion I had with SJ, it was held by Jabaliya family, SJ's. I will turn later to unravel how such affair contributes to processes of subjectification of Jabaliya family through my encounters and dialogues with families in the valley of ATA.

Around post-1975, I had a discussion with Goho on how she sees the territory of ATA has been changing since then, out of which was a dialogue on what happened after October 1973.

Myself: So what happened after 1973?

Goho: The government gave all the land to all people of ATA to split it as they wish.

Myself: So the land that SJ owns and on which you build the community center came out of that split?

Goho: Yes, probably.

Myself: Then how did pastoral-nomad go about their daily subsistence of food and the like?

Goho: Working in Tourism was a strategy for income generation especially after agricultural lands were destroyed during the 1973 war.

Goho tapped into the Land Reclamation policies, and under Law Number 104, that the state apparatus drafted in late 1970s. Those policies stated that the land shall be given to pastoral nomads and ownership shall be negotiated between extended families, but the government has the right to reclaim those lands at any time and for any reasons. Those policies were especially designed to collect recent university graduates “from state agronomy colleges and cannot find employment” (ibid: ) in the state apparatus institutions. Surprisingly, the state apparatus did not provide any kind of support on the level of irrigation facilities, housing construction materials, or crop transport. In 1982, Kashshaf al-Ahram published “is the government to compensate the Bedouin for their expropriated orchards or not?” (Page 5, column 6). I now shall turn to SJ’s narrative on the demolishing of such lands and how pastoral-nomad navigated such austerities.

SJ: The war destroyed all our cultivated lands. Nothing was left. We had to turn to other means of subsistence to eat. I had those buildings that were built 100 years ago.

Myself: So what do you decided to do about that?

SJ: I turned those buildings into a hostel and I do Tourism. I take people for hikes and site seeing.

For me, there are two matters of concern. On one hand, those buildings that were built by his extended family were part and parcel of migratory cycles that were done before. Those

buildings are now constituent of market practices that are affiliated neither to the state as in Community Center that was built and administered by the Cybex military forces nor to migratory cycles of pastoral-nomadism. Since those buildings acquire different meanings and contribute to the making and re-making of lifeworlds in Goro, I argue that it is inadequate to de-cribe SJ as a pastoral-nomad but instead as an after-pastoral nomad. Such condition of after-ness is part and parcel of late neoliberal moment that has its own temporal and spatial specificities that is marked by the market project of re-nationalization of political sovereignty as I have shown in chapter two. On the other hand, the restriction of movement of after-pastoral nomads in ATA valley due to several things, out of which are two things. On one hand, the policing of borders to which I will turn in the fragment of Police-Maps. That state-apparatus followed that practice to control the relationship of Bedouin with Cybex military forces post-1973, especially among the smugglers of narcotics and arm dealers. On the other hand, the decline of tourism, lack of land farming and the introduction of land mining and wage labor made pastoral nomads back in late 1970s intensify the establishment of rapport with the state apparatus. Such restriction of movement should not be confused with swirl movement of after-pastoral nomad in the contemporary that I described earlier in this chapter. By the restricted movement, I mean what the movement of SJ and other extended families as Bedouin and “natives of Seeka” pack, or let me call it the control society of Bedouins and natives of Seeka. The state apparatus and the market<sup>12</sup> can only see what moves in the name of Bedouin and natives of Seeka. That is why the becoming of after-pastoral nomad can neither be anticipated nor captured as it always, and according to SJ, follow a coiled path. That path unfolds during walking through it. Hence, there is no it. That path is not fixed. The next step in that path

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<sup>12</sup> The market as an assemblage of institutions as I have shown in chapter two.

cannot be anticipated. Hence, the next step cannot be controlled. It is part and parcel of the desert as I will show in the fragment of The Desert.

## **The Desert**

In hopping between different dimensions, relations are established between those dimension that keep shaping and re-shaping them. Those dimensions are not only temporally, but also spatially sensitive. I have shown the temporality of entanglements of lifeworlds in Goro through presenting my reading to assemblage and re-assemblage of wage earning activities. Let me know spatially turn to the desert, in which extended families live.

In this project, I cannot talk about the desert on its own, but in relation with lifeworlds inhabit the desert. In that sense, the desert is “sets of relations (winds, undulations of snow or sand, the song of the sand)” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 382). Hence, the desert is not an empty place. It is a continuum. It starts “at the spot where the forest recedes, or where the steppe and the desert advance” (ibid: 381). After-pastoral nomads “make the desert no less than they are made by it (...) They add desert to desert” (ibid: 382).

When I first arrived Goro. It was cold and dark. The first thing that came to my mind at that time was: “Why is it so dead?”. I then realized that dead is something When I first arrived the place. It was cold and dark. The first thing that came to my mind at that time was: “Why is it so dead?”. I then realized that dead is something. That place was made to be seen not as dead, but nothing. That place is empty and unthinkable. As Elizabeth Povinelli puts it,

The Desert comprises discourses, tactics, and figures that **re-stabilize**<sup>13</sup> the distinction between Life and Nonlife. It stands for all things perceived and conceived as denuded of life—and, by implication, all things that could, with the correct deployment of technological expertise or proper stewardship, be (re)made hospitable to life.

(2016: 27)

Yes, Community Center is not a space but a technology that makes the desert hospitable, according to Goho. Povinelli argues that such unthinkable emptiness has been made possible in late neoliberalism by making, and in Levi-Straussian terms, death opposite to life and locking whatever is outside of life and death in the zone of unthinkable. In that way, that image of the mountains in the dark is just seen by international organization such as EU as nothing, as it is in the zone of the unthinkable.

In *Geontologies: A Requiem of Late Liberalism*, Elizabeth Povinelli (2016) narrates a story of a rock, but it is not a rock. It is Two-Woman-Sitting-Down, “an Indigenous sacred site” (ibid: 46). She narrates how a mining company destroyed Two-Women-Sitting-Down. The story is not of the site, but of the relationships established with Two-Women-Sitting-Down. That rock is alive. It speaks. People come to Two-Women-Sitting-Down and speak not to it, but to them, the two women. Indigenous people do that before they “hunt, gather or camp” (ibid: 46). They do so in their commutes and to seek refuge when times are hard and there is no one to speak to. For Povinelli, Two-Women-Sitting-Down is a form of life that is outside the dyad zone of Life/death. She argues that, according to that corporation that destroyed that site, Two-Women-Sitting-Down is in the zone of the non-life, thus meaning it is empty of meaning. Two Woman Sitting Down marks an inter-action that is of importance to “the health and productivity of the countryside” (ibid:

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<sup>13</sup> My emphasis.

46). During my fieldwork in Goro, I encountered A-Woman-Sitting-Down of flesh and blood. She told me in sorrow when I asked her about life in Goro:

Life here is becoming tougher and tougher day after day. We strive to find food. I **sit down** with handicrafts for tourists to buy them.

She then sadly turned her face to the other side. I looked down and then left. Yes, I intend to compare a body of flesh and blood to a body of cement because both of them have something *in-common*. Both bodies are endlessly in becoming through inter-action. Both of them are deemed empty by late neoliberal discourse that takes different shapes and forms in Australia and Goro's. According to that corporation, that site is empty. It does not generate profit. Both of those bodies are deemed empty by late neoliberal discourse that takes different shapes and forms in Australia and Goro. Put differently, the Two Woman Sitting Down is to, in Povinelli's terms, the mining corporation what A-Women-Sitting-Down is to Cybex development institutions. The lifeworld of A-Woman-Sitting-Down has to be filled with marketable things such as handicrafts to be a life in the name not only of enhancement of life conditions, according to Goho, but also of eradicating vulnerability which I now turn to in order to unravel its making and remaking in Goro.

## Vulnerability

I was heading to Goro to a neighborhood called *ATA*. I had no network signal in my mobile phone. I was standing, waiting for any car or a truck to pass and pick me up. A mini truck appeared with a huge tank on the back and a guy opened his window and said:

“Do you need a ride?”

I replied: of course.

He then said: Let me drive her to the city center and come back to you in 20 minutes.

I replied that is fine.

After a while, he came back. A short guy in white Jalabeyya and tying up his head with a white



scarf. I did not know the name of the place to which I want to go, yet I know that it is a place where university students are working on a project. I told him so and he replied:

“Yes, it is al-Karm. That is SJ’s place”.  
I said: Take me there.

He then took me off-road. On our way, I said:

Myself: How much money do you want in exchange for this ride?

AA: 50 U-progtorousian pounds.

Myself: That is too much.

AA: Picking people up is one of my sources of income. I have two wives and nine kids.

Myself: Ok. That’s fine. I will give you 50... The government is not attending to your needs. I see streets are not paved and there are no head lights.

AA: *el-Hekuma* supports with jobs, but that is not enough... They build mosques and hire us as care takers and sometimes send us to Coro for work, in public institutions as security guards, or in construction... You know this kind of things...

I then saw someone appearing from the left-side in the dark. AA noticed that I saw him. He then discussed how this off-road area is organized by the people living in that place.

AA: The road here is under the control of the people living here. If they see a stranger... They immediately stop him for interrogation. People have been living in this place for the past 200 years or so.

My discussion, and in specific the organization of ins and outs of that place, with AA reminds me with Bruno Latour’s (2005) take on the social. Social, he argues, “as a very peculiar movement of re-association and reassembling, (...) is construed first as following someone, then enrolling and allying, and, lastly, having something in common” (2005: 6-7). The movement of people around entrances and exits of that area, how they organize the place and their relations to each other is part and parcel of that movement that keeps assembling and re-assembling them.

Modes of precariousness are part and parcel of AA’s life in Goro. Starting from the

continuous shifting of jobs and ending with how he justifies the high charge for the ride service, AA seems to not be able to generate a sufficient income to finance his 11 dependents. What concerns me here is modes of vulnerability that AA has to navigate on the everyday.

Let me put it this way. The M was clear, the precariat are those with limited to no-access of education, food or shelter, yet “in what ways is vulnerability bound up with the problem of precarity?” (Butler, 2016: 2). To turn to that question, I shall re-highlight the incident in which the leftover of EU grant money was given to MS and that, according to SJ, created unprecedented disparities between extended families in Goro. I call that the politics of distribution of vulnerability. Through stabilizing the category of Bedouin, such distribution of vulnerability does not get accounted for. In doing so, modes of vulnerability cannot be re-thought and re-worked. That is what Judith Butler (2016) calls “linguistic vulnerability” (p.16). That is the inability of rigid categories to let anyone who wants to re-think the present moment do so. One dimension of vulnerability could also be, in Benedict Anderson (2016) terms, what we always remember to forget. In thinking that way, I able to ask the following question: What is left to AA to resist this precarity other than engaging in market based relations? The validity of that questions comes from ways in which AA navigates economies of austerity in his every day and Wendy Brown’s (2010, 2015) arguments that I presented in chapter two, stating that Market is the new God, and hence the project of political sovereignty is nationalized.

In vulnerability lies resistance. The fact that AA is willing to venture into late neoliberal markets is a sign that he has nothing else to lose. It is not only the lack of necessities as housing and the like that shapes and reshapes his condition of precarity. His, as well as SJ’s, resistance is

realized through his inter-action with social entrepreneurs. That is part and parcel of his vulnerability. SJ offers a piece of land he owns, out of the distribution of land ownership post to 1973, in order to build a community center with a clinic and a market place to generate daily subsistence for families in al-Karm, the place in which SJ and his extended family stay. In that sense, my project is not about laying down strategies of resistance but rather “that we turn our attention to the specific conditions and particular interests that govern the ways in which people choose to interpret and represent their experiences to themselves and to others” (Jackson, 2012: 228). In that sense, vulnerable bodies do not only resist, but also have no other option except being resilient. They always have to find alternatives for daily subsistence and sustenance. Unfortunately, if they do not do so, it will be made their fault as I have shown in chapter two. In the next snapshot, let me unravel and according to Zayneb Gambetti (2016) how vulnerability shifts positions.

## **Roadblocks**

In a discussion I had with SJ about how regular tourists come to al-Karm, he said:

Ever since the roadblock was established, few tourists started to get into al-Karm. The government says the place is dangerous and you have to turn back.

Vulnerability is not only that of AA’s and SJ’s, but of the state apparatus in establishing this roadblock. Such establishment is an event in which the state apparatus uses a material form of force. That event is political. It:

interrupts the subjective errancy of the power of the State. It configures the state of the situation. It gives it a figure; it configures its power; it measures it. Empirically, this means that whenever there is a genuinely political event, the State reveals itself. It reveals its excess of power, its repressive dimension.

(Badiou, 2005: 145)

Resistance is an event. In order to resist its vulnerability to a waning administration, the state apparatus establishes roadblocks. In order to resist their vulnerability to low access of water and other goods such as education and healthcare, AA and SJ go to the market. Indeed, vulnerability shifts positions. In that sense, vulnerability is in continuous process of de- and re-territorialization. Hence, vulnerability is not only of after-pastoral nomad, but also of the state apparatus.

In the next chapter, I am going to turn to the condition of after-ness that is not only part and parcel of the practices of AA and SJ in Goro, but also of Tata in a neighborhood in Coro called MOMO that used to be a target of NGOs and now of social entrepreneurs like GU. I will start the chapter with tapping into my encounters with SJ, Goho, ADD, AM, Construction Engineering students, and extended families in Goro. I will end my reflections on such encounters with discussing how socialities are assembled around community center as a site of market. I then turn to other market sites in Mo'atamedya and Abbaseya, thus presenting modes of re-assembly of entrepreneurial bodies in relation to questions of home, security and market governance by state apparatus through issuing taxes and offering services to individuals like Tata.

## **Conclusion**

In after-pastoral nomadic swirl movements lie hope. Hope that vulnerability of the Bedouin turns into multiplicity of possibilities of after-pastoral nomad. markets are thought of as the only way through to what yet-to-come. From the latter perspective, the nomadic swirl movement is seen as other; It lacks scientific modes of engineering of what is yet-to-come. It lacks targeting fixed goals. In other words, it lacks *linear* movement. Such faith in the prominence of linear movement is prompted by the modern belief that through science, universal laws could be extrapolated from

inter-action with Nature and then are applied to rectify Culture. The very fictitious divide between Nature and Culture, as well as the belief in the feasibility of *consumerability* constitute the kind of story, according to Michael Jackson, that the Moderns have to keep telling themselves so as not to lose sense of a *balance* they think it is just there. In that sense, life then becomes reduced to those universal laws and principals. Alternatively, SJ opens ways in which to appreciate life as messy as it could get. SJ appreciates life as a process; a one of becoming. Goals then become moving targets. In that sense, and according to SJ, goals do not matter. Matters of concern are then shifted to paths, processes, to the *scribble*.

In tracing the making and re-making of after-pastoral nomad I saw modes of control by the state apparatus and others of escape as well. I tapped into a historical narrative that shows a shift of practices of extended families in Seeka over wage earning activities through which they build houses, plant and buy food, and educate themselves and their children. Such practices are part and parcel the space they inhabit, the desert that is made and re-made hospitable by acts of social entrepreneurs like Goho who help build a community center that provides medical care to extended families who live in Goro. In that sense, I unravel ways in which the life of Bedouin is always in becoming and situated it in relation to lifeworlds of after-pastoral nomads.

# 5 The Price

## Regulating Movements between of Goro-Coro-Zoho

### Introduction

In this chapter, I presenting a comparative study. I present inter-actions of entrepreneurial bodies in different spaces. Those inter-actions that take place in Goro and others that take place in MOMO in Coro. I pay attention to differences of historical-embeddedness of such practices in different spaces. In Goro, I present such embeddedness through entanglements of life in periods in which state apparatus was under the administration of Cybex military forces and that of U-progtorousian police forces, then House of Sheikhs was introduced at a later point which has been changing assemblages of socialities between the state apparatus and pastoral-nomads till the moment. I turn to the inter-actions of after-pastoral nomads and social entrepreneurs to build the community center. Through those inter-actions entrepreneurial bodies are re-assembled, meaning they are always in the process of acquiring meaning. As part of those inter-actions, I am going to discuss how GU, a social entrepreneur does work in order to get legal papers of individual like Tata right so as to be recognized by the state apparatus as an established business. In doing so and in supporting them to sell more products, he teaches them how to price their products according to market competition. I argue in turn argue that such process of setting price shapes and re-shapes how Tata and other individuals in the neighborhood think about different actions in their everyday. In that sense, price is a governing technology. I end the chapter with how intimacies of life such as home and security shape and re-shape how hope is perceived.

## **Fragment: After-Pastoral Nomad**

In the last chapter, I have introduced the after-pastoral nomad. In this fragment, I will trace modes of movement and existence of after-pastoral nomad in Goro. I will first start by presenting a shift from practices of Jabaliya's extended family's pastoral-nomad to that of after-pastoral nomad. Those practices will be unraveled through discussing how after-pastoral nomad manage their water resources as well as their relationship with polices forces.

### **Jabalo: A Shift**

SJ is part of Jabalo extended family. According to Lavie and Young (1984), "Jabaliya are said to be originated as monastery servants" (p. 35). That family is the one that has been holding the Advisory House to the Governor of Southern Seeka since late 1970s. There are two extended families in ATA: Sheikh AAA's and MS's. There four extended families in the Valley of Firan who live in the neighbor of ATA. SJ's family belong to that of Sheikh AAA's. In addition, the position of Sheikh that SJ had was part and parcel of the respect pastoral nomads used to have for his grandfather. That was because SJ's grandfather used to help Jinn (ghosts) leave possessed pastoral nomadic bodies in Seeka. Neither SJ nor his father continued to do that after the grandfather died, yet the grand father used to do that in a small cottage that was build using earth based materials using methods that were developed by the families living in Goro 100 years ago.

SJ's family happened to be located in one of the less commercialized areas in ATA that, for instance, does not have Mousa's Mountain that attracts tourists, according to Goho. In early 2000s, SJ got an idea to build an eco-lodge using similar cottages and to serve as a place where tourists could stay in. Although the land was a property of SJ's family, SJ had to deliberate with

different families under the same tribe, convincing them with that idea. Such deliberation took long time and other families did not want to contribute in that project with their money as they did not know whether it is going to work. As such, SJ had to look for funding from other pockets. Due to the contact that he has with several scientists who came to the natural reserve that he protects, he was informed that EU would be interested to fund such project. He applied for the grant and successfully received it in 2001. The EU sent a French architect called Oliver and a project manager called John to lead the design and implementation process of the eco-lodge, in which Goho is in the process of building the community center. In 2003, EU finished the project and tourists started to come to the new eco lodge, which SJ named *al-Karm*. The neighborhood became well known to local and international tourists which helped SJ to care for his family. I would like to pose here and ask the following question: “What happens when the practices and principles of speech, deliberation, law, popular sovereignty, participation, education, public goods, and shared power entailed in rule by the people are submitted to economization?” (Brown, 2015: 10). In the context of this chapter, submission to economization means that the market becomes the primary way after-pastoral nomad follow in order to generate income for himself and his family. Economization means that thinking through everyday life goes more in the direction of “single calculus of profitability and efficiency (...) cost-benefit accounting and best practices” (Brown, 2010: 101). In that sense, there is an intense **shift** between modes of existence of SJ’s grandfather and himself. In other moments, SJ thinks about ways in which to generate profits out of herbs and palm trees in Valley of Tarfa. Those could in turn be sold to pharmaceutical companies. Those modes of existence go in the **direction** of “enhancing the capital value [and] competitive positioning” (ibid: 10) of whatever he owns such as the land he owns. I will turn in the next section of de-scribing that directionality is political.



That business knowledge that SJ used in order to get his hostel started comes from the time he spent in Coro. SJ is now in his late 60s. SJ was sent by his father to study in schools in Coro, but he died just before SJ was about to register for a university in Coro. As such, SJ had to terminate his education and come back to care for the family. By the time SJ came back to Goro, there were only three sources of income, namely, tourism, agriculture, and sheep herding. SJ's neighborhood had no attraction sites for tourism and instead generated income through caring for, protecting and guiding visiting scientists to natural reserves. As a natural reserve care taker and guide, SJ received a monthly salary from the state apparatus. He as well started to look for other ways to generate income, such as designing new road trips to attract tourists to his neighborhood. Still, all those activities did not generate enough income. As such, SJ built that Hostel, al-Karm.

## **Water-Resources**

Pastoral nomads used to carve out paths in the desert till they settle around a well of water. The dynamics of movement in search for water is different in lifeworlds of after-pastoral nomad who has to do that under continuous surveillance by the state apparatus and with endless configuration of markets in spaces he in-habits. The prominence of the question of availability of water to the after pastoral nomad cannot be neglected. In order to put such question in perspective, let me highlight the practices of after-pastoral nomad after they got money form of capital from EU. They bought water-trucks in order to get water from place to place due to the lack of such re-source. They also generated profit out of such trucks through disseminating water to different extended families. In that sense, sharing water now takes place through market relations. Such management is part and parcel of that shift that I have just de-scribed. As such, after-pastoral nomads assemble

ways of subsistence that are different from that pastoral nomads figured out to secure water during times of migratory cycles.

In a discussion I had with AR on ways in which not after-pastoral nomads, but Bedouin do business and live in Goro.

Myself: ADD, Goho and SJ are now establishing a community center in order to generate profit for daily subsistence...

NI: Listen, the Bedouins cannot **cooperate** together to start a business to enhance their economic conditions... They have to **deliberate** on everything... There are families that hate each other and do not want to cooperate... One of the main reasons behind such hate is that men marry several women... Those women do not necessarily like each other... That is a source of conflict between different families... They do not **trust** each other... Add to that Bedouin always slack around and cannot stand a nine to five job... They plant palm trees, herd sheep, or take tourists in a tour... That what they **can** do... Even when the government gave them money to use for starting projects... They all started coffee shops in the city center... I will tell you another thing as I used to go there for tourism and also tried to help them to start businesses but first they needed roads to be able to deliver goods in and out of Goro and also to deliver water for agricultural purposes to produce market goods... I decided to help them approach government officials to build a road... I connected different family leaders with the government and the government decided to build them one road... But guess what? *Every family wanted a road for its own...* The government **cannot** build a road for each family... I tried to convince them to collaborate and use the same road... They refused... Everyone wants the benefit only to come to his family... Families do not want to share resources... Also, the process takes so long... Every time they have to deliberate on everything... They have to reach a consensus... How are you going to run a business in that way?

That dialogue unravels processes of fixation of can and cannot dos. In other words, through fixations governance and control takes place. In that way, the concept of Bedouin gets re-assembled through fixing their can and cannot dos. Outside of such norms and forms that I presented in the previous dialogue, after-pastoral nomadic life becomes unthinkable. According to NI, they cannot cooperate using business principles of cost-benefit analysis and return on investment measurements. More importantly, they are thought of as in-capable of trusting. Incompetency of running businesses is likened to dis-trust. In that way, and according to Wendy

Brown (2010; 2015) and Maurizio Lazzarato (2013), economization of intimacies of life as trust takes place.

NI's their-problems-cannot-be-solved reminds me with M. Both are part of the same pack. Each one is a pack. NI cannot solve their problems. The latter are seen one of polygamy and deliberation. Problems that are part and parcel of their lifeworlds and without which those lives are unthinkable. In that way, SJ is the one who has to develop a community center himself. He has to rework business principles to make his center of value in the market. I then wonder how those so-called Bedouin came up with a business idea to make profits out of tourist in-flows to Southern territory of Seeka back in late 1960s and early 1970s. Life with its possibilities and changing forms takes place in the between of what NI and SJ think. Fixing one lifeworld using criteria that is set in another world is a work of subjugation.

## **Police-Maps**

According to several discussions with SJ about times in which he was part of implementing EU's project, he informed me the state apparatus to him is four moments. The first moment is when he accepted to administer the natural reserve as the property of the government through which he gets his income. The second one when he had to navigate the interrogation with police forces over the representation of the space using maps. The third one is the establishment of roadblocks that did not permit a sustainable flow of tourists to his hostel. The last one is the re-distribution of leftover of EU money to a specific Sheikh and re-organization of relationships between extended families as I have shown. Those four moments are not fixed but show endless re-assemblage of relationships between after-pastoral nomads and the state apparatus. Modes of deliberation, income generation, and protection are part and parcel of how SJ as an after-pastoral nomad

navigate his relationship with the state apparatus. Let me now turn to discussing muddles of market relations in Goro.

Adding to the previous fragment in which I discussed my dialogue with NI, I wish to add other ways in which the Bedouin gets assembled and re-assembled in Goro. In a dialogue with SJ about his work with EU, he informed me:

When John [EU project Leader] was here... Police forces thought I was working with Cybexians and betraying the country... I realized that when I asked my friends about why I was asked to go and present how I organize the map of the place... **They** know that **we** know the place really well... We know the **ins** and **outs**... Different families can cooperate to let someone stay for a while and then leave without having the government notice that... They want always to keep people living not only in Goro but in Seeka in general in check... So I went there... But had a trick as things might go really bad if you do not how to properly reply to the questions they ask you... If they became suspicious because of your answers... That is when things get really ugly... *My trick was to have a map of Goro that is well drawn*... I even thought through the presentation of this map to them... Once I came in... I put the map on the table and started the presentation... The officials did not know what I am doing and why I am doing this... I then started to throw jokes during the presentation... I presented the map and I started to get the sense of their trust and respect... I told them about the project and why I am working with John... Everything that I said was spontaneous and well organized... Yes, they want to win me and they knew that I am trust-worthy...

The concept of Bedouin is part and parcel of the space it inhabits. In that sense, such space has to be fixed so the concept does not become a moving target and hence controlled. That is the work of the state apparatus. In that sense, maps define politics. The ins and outs are surveilled and controlled. According to such entry and exist *points*, we became part of them and they become part of us. Politics get re-assembled.

In respect to the previous fragment in which I discussed management of water-resource, criteria according to which Bedouin can and cannot cooperate become traceable. Such traceability

happens in the in-between of my dialogues with SJ and NI. Hence, separation entails control. Lifeworlds are always re-assembled in concert. In that sense, *cooperation* as a concept is a pack that encloses opinions, aspirations, desires, needs, wants, dreams, fears, and anxieties of SJ and NI. Such cooperation could be over business deals and could also be over deciding over making alliances. Business deals and organizing entry and exist processes are both works of alliances. Alliances entail directions in which they, we, us and them like to go. Fixing a direction is thus power.

In the next fragment, I get out of the category Bedouin and think with that of after-pastoral nomad. I explore ways in which lifeworlds get assembled through such concept. In this as well as previous fragments, I argued that concepts are moving targets, meaning they are always changing, shattering and re-assembling. In that sense, not only those concepts are always in becoming, but also lifeworlds they inhabit.

## **Community Center-Market**

In this fragment, I am presenting the reader with entanglements in-between after-pastoral nomadic modes of subsistence and market relations. Those complexities are de-scribed through three things. On one hand, I will unravel how after-pastoral nomads distributed and made use of the leftover of a Eu-Nio grant to which SJ was the main interlocutor. In addition, I am going to present how SJ *classifies* el-badw that speaks to the late neoliberal moment. On a final note, I will trace modes of relationality between Goho, ADD, Construction Engineering students, SJ and other family members in ATA.

Let me get back to Jabaliya family. MS is the current head of Jabaliya's extended family how controls in-flows of money form of capital. After a 3-year EU project to develop build SJ a hostel using not cement but earth materials and clay to do the so called preservation of environment, there was a leftover of that sum of money. Such money had to be given to MS and then he could deliberate with other heads of the extended family on how to distribute that money to do what. It is important to highlight the context in which the money was given to MS. EU does not give money to individuals, it gives it to the government and then the state apparatus passes it to concerned interlocutors. The government has to be a mediator. In other situations, EU executes the project and controls the granted money with no presence of the state apparatus, but if there are un-used money form of capital it has to be given to the interlocutors of the project through the state apparatus. Following the state apparatus' tradition of giving stocks of food to sheikhs, the state apparatus did the same in that situation and the money was given to MS. According to SJ, MS did not distribute that money equally on all heads of Jabaliya's extended family. SJ adds **in grief**:

Since then and people here did not become as friendly and attached to each other as before. Money get us all separated and broke our ties. People all used the money to buy water trucks to get water to far away areas in the desert in exchange for money and opened coffee shops. Only those who got the money from MS did so.

In that way, socialities were re-assembled at the time around an *in-common* which is money. Circulation of money was and still is part and parcel of shattering and re-forming relationships in ATA. I call that politics of distribution of money form of capital. That speaks to other politics of distribution of money through markets between M, investors and social entrepreneurs such as GU, Mokka, Alda and ADD that I de-scribed in chapter two. According to Jane Guyer (2004), money is a magical good. "It is a builder/breaker of social ties" (p. 11). She de-scribes the work that money

does as a work of magic because such work cannot always be thought through using scientific modes of thinking according to models of economic sciences.

During that discussion, I felt the sorrow and disappointment through the words of SJ and I was also confused. At that point of our discussion, we did not have the opportunity to discuss of families are organized in ATA and even in Southern part. I was curious to know such modes of organizations. So I asked:

Myself: So how families are organized here?

SJ: So there are *badw* of narcotics-guns and of non-narcotics-guns. Those others are organized around tourism, care taking of natural reserves owned by the government, coffee shops, water trucks and agri-business.

For me, such classification is inter-esting. It shows how pastoral-nomads used to organize themselves around sources of daily subsistence through migratory cycles and now around *skills* they have to develop and from which they generate money form of capital in order to get through austerities of life. In that sense, there are no pastoral nomads, but after pastoral nomads who are always in becoming. After-pastoral nomads who are sought to be captured through market practices and state apparatus actions, but that is just not possible. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), “the man of gun (...) has an entire becoming that implies multiplicity, celerity, ubiquity, metamorphosis and treason, the power of affect” (p.243). Such affect can be traced through its affects, meaning needs, wants and desires; The **need** to survive and not to follow what the state apparatus dictates in a full sense; The **want** to move and choose what sources of sustenance shall be; The **desire** to care for the family and to cherish the upbringing of children. That can take places through gun dealing, following state apparatus regulations, engaging in businesses or even apply to a grant that is supplied by the EU. The intensity of organizing the

collective around skills is an effect of the market project of re-nationalization of political sovereignty.

During my discussion with Goho on subsistence in ATA through Tourism, she added:

Tourism is not enough. It cannot make *al-badw* lead a life. Our community center is a way to help them.

The idea of community center that has a clinic and a school takes us to times when Cybex military forces, but with a twist that speaks to the late neoliberal moment. That community center is going to have space in which al-Badw, according to Goho, are going to teach tourists their language in either exchange of money or other skills that those tourists can teach them. In such way, Goho and SJ are re-working the idea of community center in ATA to suit the needs, wants and desires of after-pastoral nomads. That is a re-assemblage of the social.

This community center is built through the science of Construction Engineering but using techniques of construction of pastoral nomads that grandfather and great grandfathers used in order to build places to stay. In addition to *preserving* the language of the *al-badw*, Goho sees that constructing the community center that way will also *preserve* the construction skills of al-badw, according to Goho. For me, such acts of preservation are practices through which a minority gets re-assembled in relationship to a majority. In that sense, the minority are collectives of after-pastoral nomads and majority are the market and the state apparatus. In that way, skills of Bedouin and not after-pastoral nomads are made authentic and exotic. I am using the concept of Bedouin and not after-pastoral nomad as the former entails fixity through acts of museumification and the former entails perpetual movement and endless change. Such movement and change are **political**. In this project, modes of movement and change are seen as micro events. In those events, socialites



shatter and form. Such modes of formulation and re-formulation are **political**. They show alliances, attachments, relational directions, needs, wants and desires. They are effectuated events through the work of affect. Affect is understood in this project as affects of needs, wants and desires. There is no origin of affect, but messy, entangled relations. Affect is an energy.

I shall now turn to de-scribe elements of the political in the next fragment through a Deleuzian reading of directionality and relationality, as well as a Latourian making of the script. A script as a set of practices that are thought of as criteria, a technology of control and governance.

## **Enacting Equivalence**

So far, my argument is concerned with the making of the concept of Bedouin and the becoming of another, that is after-pastoral nomad. Let me now unravel how the latter is always not only in relational becoming, but directional as well. In directional relationality, the political is made and re-made.

## **Relationality**

Surroundings acquire meaning in relation. Those surroundings can be made to be seen and felt fixed such as lives in ATA that are deemed as Bedouin. It is thus “a question of ordering differences to arrive at a correspondence of relations” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 236). To trace such correspondence of relations, the method implies looking “for a term effecting an equivalence of relations” (ibid: 236). In absence of such terms, methods of control through fixing lives through conceptual technologies of Bedouin and Natives of Seeka takes place. Such conceptual technologies functions through criteria, as KAA does with Alda and Mokka. Similarly, the state

apparatus fixes lives through the idea of Bedouin who inhabits a fixed territory of Seeka and has a specific history of encounter with the state apparatus that I unraveled only facets of earlier in this chapter.

In order to get out of fixity, lives should be seen in relational modes. Hence, I am arguing that Community Center is a market sight to both Goho and SJ, instead I say that Community Center is to SJ what market is to Goho. Hence Goho and SJ enter a relationship of Community Center-Market. I do not claim that Goho only sees such Community Center as market and SJ does not see that market in Community Center. Instead, I am arguing that to understand the making and remaking of socialities, it is inadequate to say that this is the site of the market according to Goho and this is a Community Center according to SJ. Socialities form and re-form in the inbetween of perceptions. In order to trace such in-between-ness, those perceptions have to be put in relation to each other and see how relational inter-actions take place. Goho is a pack and so is SJ. She acts as a social entrepreneur who is an activist calling for rights of Badawi-identity in relations to the state apparatus. In that context and in her relation not to SJ but to how SJ leads a life in Goro, Goho sees Community Center as the site of the market through which extended families can make their ways to daily subsistence of food, education and shelter. In that sense, she is part of the pact of M and so is SJ. In chapter two I argue that any pack has a favorite, that favorite changes spatially through actions. In Goro, it is SJ and sometimes it is Goho. Those actions are work of affect. Here I mean attachment to the idea of Community Center as a mode of existence. In order to assemble such mode of existence, work of power is needed. That takes place through hailing of affect as I de-scribed in chapter 2. What-are-you-going-to-do-about-it to Goho is what ways-of-sustenance is to SJ. As such, such mode of existence is not only relational, but also directional.

## Directionality

Goho and SJ do not take single direction. In times, they form alliances and in others they make and follow different walks of life. I argue in chapter two that there is no individual; yes, in a singular sense. And yes, SJ has one body but it is continuously re-assembled through acquiring different meanings. The state apparatus wants to fix one of its meanings; that is Bedouin. SJ is becoming-business-man through thinking of ways in which he can provide for his family through selling services in the market as part of Community Center. In that way, SJ is not an individual but is part of processes of individuation and so is Goho. Those processes take different directions. Bodies also take place in different directions. In that sense, bodies are without organs, meaning fixed heart, arms, trunk and legs. Bodies are dispersed in different directions.

Directions of individuation do not take place singularly but collectively. Those directions from and are formed by what Deleuze and Guattari (1987) call “plane of consistency”.

The plane of consistency (grid) is the outside of all multiplicities (...) In effect, the body without organs is itself the plane of consistency, which becomes compact or thickens at the level of the strata.

(p.30-40)

Think of each direction SJ takes, each decision he makes and each alliance he becomes part of as separate dimensions. He jumps between dimensions. In short, he is made and re-made in-between those dimensions through acts of hopping and jumping. Whenever he goes from one dimension to the other, the latter is shaped by the former. The former is always becoming-latter. If I am allowed to juxtapose the encounter with I started with chapter about coiled paths and SJ’s inter-action with Goho, I will say that process of individuation of Goho and SJ cannot be discerned or separated on the level of *the* individual but on the level of actions of individuals. With no actions, individuals are just empty shells. Hence, their bodies are always made and re-made. They act and are acted

upon. Each body is a pack that is always trying to reach its limit; its body without organs; it tries to inhabit the plane of consistency, but it always fails. It thinks of itself as an *it*, but it is not. Think of your shadow at 2:00pm, whenever you try to step on it, it changes. You can never step on *the* shadow you want. It is the limit that you will never reach. It is the vey limit that keeps de-territorializing whenever you think of capturing it.

## **Script-less?**

Lifeworlds cannot be script-less. There is always something to be captured. There are always desires that want to be mediated. There are always opinions to be made. In short, there are always matters of concern. The latter is what makes actor an actor. I think of myself as actor because I have something to say in this project and so does SJ. In that way, actors are made to be seen fixed, but they are not. Thus, actors cannot be separated from their actions. Actions are always political.

Along similar lines of writing about how the political is made and re-made, I now turn to a re-assemblage of the second snapshot with which I started this chapter.

**ADD:** So how would you deal with the Bedouins on an everyday basis?

**AHN:** I have to show that we, as an organization, are coming to work with you, we speak like you, we are sitting in the same place that you are living in, we are eating from your food... You have to treat the kids well... In Bedouin communities: words go viral and no one keeps secrets... So we would get girls from *us* to make friends with girls from *them* to make sure that we are friendly as well as understanding and not coming to boss them around.

Categorization is political. It shows stands, passions, desires, limits, negations, and affirmations.

According to Elizabeth Povinelli's reading of Jacques Rancière's Ten Theses on Politics,

Politics is the moment when what we had in common is no longer common but no new

consensus has of yet been established. It is the moment when “all of us” become only some of us. The part within the actual arrangement of any given common rises up and says, this common is your common, not mine. What ours will be when mine becomes the basis of a new form of collective belonging — a new us, a new we, the people—is not yet known (...) Politics is the acknowledgment of the coexistence of “we who are” (“P”) and “we who are not” (“p”).

(p.124-5)

According to this project, each lifeworld has its own script, categories, criteria, and conditions. I do not argue for making our lives category-less, but, on one hand, to acknowledge the limitations of categories and criteria, and on the other hand, to pay attention to the in-between of categories, those hops between dimensions as I have shown. In those very shifts, multiplicity of possibilities will also come up. There, one can re-think the present moment.

## **Re-assembling Entrepreneurial Bodies**

In this fragment, I am going to introduce the work of GU, an entrepreneur working with artisans to help them establish their business by focusing on teaching how to follow consumer needs, wants and desires and then develop their products accordingly. An essential part of his mentor-ship is to help them set the *right* price; the price that will help them to sell their products. In search for the right price, I argue their lives are being governed by such process.

## **Unpacking a hyphen: Formal-Informal**

In the next paragraphs, I add to Janet Roitmann’s (2005) argument on how limiting thinking in terms of formal vs informal to re-thinking the present moment. She argues that there is a point of reference according to which businesses are defined formal and informal; that is the state apparatus. In that sense, I shift the focus of the next few paragraphs to the in-between of formal and informal. In the in-between, *aspirations* are shaped towards captured what is yet-to-be. In that

light, I share a long conversation with GU about his aspirations and details about his work with artisans.

I am from a village from Qena... I am used to seeing people who do hand-made crafts... They are the marginalized... They are stripped from their economic rights... Their share in the market... For me, government is a role... roads... services... But government is not there for them... For the government, all the work that is happening in MOMO is part of the black market... What the government cares about is taxes... No taxes, no services... Why do not you even try to give them services to help them?! I still want to know how to put pressure on the government and the private sector to reclaim the rights of artisans... I want to work with communities in neighborhoods and gain their trust and support... Then I go into this fight... Even NGOs are not there... I graduated from the Science College... I then worked for the government in one of the natural reserves as an environmental science specialist... I went to so many villages across the river Nile... I used to volunteer with UNESCO... And I even organized a campaign to revive heritage... I saw help is not systemically offered in the right way... No government services... The question that came up I had no answers for... We do not have true experts and no government services... How do not I let those crafts die? The experts we have I call them air conditioning experts... Meaning they sit on their desks with their books open... Those who have experience are the craftsmen...

Such technocratic perspective of understanding the question of government shapes and reshapes how GU inter-act with artisans. He is in constant search for how to make the state apparatus appreciate the work of those artisans and incorporate them in its plans for labor services. That is realized in words that he utters such as “putting pressure on the government”. His study of sciences in college years affects how he think about the question of government, with a commitment to keep crafts alive. The urge to keep crafts alive shows anxieties that GU has in seeing something dies before his eyes and he cannot do something about it. He then shifted the focus of his talk to a moment in 2011.

It was 2011... I remember walking into a shopping mall, in Cybex-A, to which number of tourists get into throughout the entire year... There you can find handicrafts are offered in number of shops... I found two women sitting there who tried to get in to sell the products they have... The security guards prevented them... they were humiliated... I then came and found them in that state.

He then continued with determination:

I then decided I want to let them in and make them sell their products... Now, through my work, women like them are trained, have their own products in the market, I even sell products at the British museum.

He proudly continued:

You know I got a personal email from the niece of the Queen of England thanking me for offering those women a place in the market and praying the quality of the products... I made their products have value... I don't care that they know about that email... I care they know that I am selling on their behalf and helping them... When they sell at market price, merchants will respect them and the tourism industry will respect them... I do not care that craftsmen know me... I am here to sell products... What I care about that customers know those craftsmen... They call them and thank them for their hard work... They know respect his art... I do not put price pressure on craftsmen, but on customers. Craftsmen have to make profit.

GU shares moments of fear, pride, sorrow, determination and persistence. Those are moments of Double Click. Moments of action, of subjectification and re-action, and of subjugation. GU is an individual who is not a *being* but is in the endless process of *becoming*. His life can be through of as an endless drama that keeps changing and does not have regularities or follow certain rules. Instead, it shifts turns with modes of subjectification and subjugation that are part and parcel of the late neoliberal, spatial sensitive contemporary. GU wants to give the so-called marginalized who were thrown out of the market by big industrial machines and economies of scale that created new consumer tastes, wants, needs and desires to be further fulfilled by more production. He then wants to incorporate those who inhabit the margins back to the center of the market. I then asked him:

So you want them to become capitalists?

He answered: Yes. I want a pro-poor economy. An economy that says no to wealth accumulating in the hands of the few who are up there and who leave others down there being literally crushed. I want them to have their own factories and to fight industrial monopolists who reap profits and wins government bids that are financed by the Cybex

development institution and control that money by only employing a network of their companies' friends and leave someone as Tata behind

I asked: But if you do this who then guarantees that she will not become that business woman who will employ only a network of peer small companies and control the market through economics of scale?

He replied: So be it. I do not care about what is going to happen. That will be her problem and she has to deal with it. All what I care about is not to leave someone behind. You know, sometimes I get similar questions as these, but I do not care if I do not arrive at answers to those questions, but I care more about enjoying the ride, the journey... I will be satisfied when I find my model being replicated elsewhere. I know that my model will not ever be complete... Others will come and complete it... I just solve problems I face on the way... Of course I dream of having millions of pounds to make my company bigger and sell more.

In GU's replies, I got a sense of vertiginous. It is one that he wants to rectify through inducing order on what he can do and ignoring what he cannot do. Such sense of vertiginous is not limited to how he replied to my questions, but extends to economies of debt that I presented in chapter two. I argue that GU overcomes such sense of vertiginous through *stories* he tells to himself and myself, as well as publishes on his Facebook profile. That is, according to Michael Jackson (2013) is politics of storytelling.

Stories may just as trenchantly exaggerate differences, foment discord, and do violence to lived experience. For every story that sees the light of day, untold others remain in the shadows, censored, or suppressed.

(p.31)

Stories raise questions of belonging. Jackson argues

To belong is thus to believe that one's being is integrated with and integral to a wider field of being, that one's own life merges with and touches the lives of others — predecessors, successors, contemporaries, and consociates.

(ibid: 32)

In that sense, GU lives in-between of his stories. Those stories are always changing because not only of how he himself changes them according to the audience, but also of how I receive such story and act accordingly. Stories take place are thus not experienced, but inter-experienced. Thus,



process of subjectification takes place in-between lifeworlds. In that sense, GU and myself are beings of not “belonging but becoming” (ibid: 33). We are always extending.

GU not only voices stories to what his inter-experience but also to products that he educates artisans to sell. GU and I were navigating the crowded streets of Coro together when he was writing a Facebook post using his mobile about a story behind a product one of the girls in MOMO. Later he published another story:

What is the definition of a social entrepreneur... why is the definition, in U-progtorous, linked to those who only have the opportunity... Zayneb from Sina is a model for the true social entrepreneur... Her care and passion to the *Kelim* made in Seeka has been on for years since I first got to know her... And till now, her she persists to train and develop the skills of women in Seeka in implementing her designs... All that makes her model for a social entrepreneur who is a fighter.

He later was writing on one of the handicraft that is made in Daka Oasis:

If we speak of the extinction of handicrafts, we have to mention the pottery palace in Dakhla Oasis... It is one of the rarest pottery that is made in U-progtorous... It marks both histories of the southern desert and the oasis itself... Heritage that is in danger.

He later published on his Facebook account:

Craft... is more than just a product... it is a *human*... who has a story that is more important than a product... social and economic conditions and dreams... not all of them came true... but do we care about the human in the handicrafts industry... Or do we just see the craftsman-woman as part of tools and machines that make the product per order.

In one of our conversations he said:

It does not matter who makes the product. All what matters is a well branded product through a story of who made it and where it was made. That product will make the craftswoman reclaim her right to the market.

Again, vertigo. According to GU, all what matters is products sell in the market. As part of building a brand, a name for the product, he associates it with a story. Such story could be of an artisan or

something else, but what most important is the product sells. Endless ways of which market appropriates lives of artisans are what the latter few paragraphs show. Market is the new God, in a Brown-ian (2010; 2015) sense. I now turn into entanglements of relations of control through setting not only stories but also prices for products.

## **Price as a Governing Technology**

In this fragment, I building on Janet Roitmann's (2005) argument on price as a governing technology. I argue that it is used as a meaning making technology, yet it is not an abstract machine that produces meanings but rather facilitates meanings to be produced in relational actions. I will focus on the in-betweens of trainings to set prices by GU and granting meanings to intimacies of life such as family and home.

I went with GU to MOMO in one of his visits to Tata, a woman that is her responsible of collecting hand-made products of all women in her group, presenting them to GU to get feedback, and then inform women if they need to enhance the quality or the design of the product. Before we went into her house. He told me:

People of MOMO are people of U-progtorous. They migrated to Coro in 1950s and 1960s, when Coro used to be the *dream*.

We went in and she opened a huge luggage in which she collected all handicrafts that are made in the neighborhood, picked one of the handicrafts and handed it to GU.

Tata: Look, the zip is now made of the quality you requested

GU: How nice!

Tata: Yes, I told her how she should do it and she got it right from the first time. She is clever young lady.

She then turned to me and said:

Whenever an NGO comes and not all people benefit out of it... that makes whoever did not sell upset.

She then added:

GU is a good man; he does not bargain. He rather *educates me on how to price my products according to the market price* and then tell me that on the long term that will work for my benefit. He tells me how to see market demand. Which products would sell and which would not.

Although training individuals in neighborhood of MOMO is not new as this has been going on for more than a decade through NGOs. However, GU's work presents a shift from the NGOs practices. On one hand, he is a business-man who goes to those neighborhoods after identifying a target group through which he can make profit. On the other hand, he trains them on how to price their products as he takes a profit share in return. In that sense, *market* plays out as the new God, the sovereign according to Wendy Brown (2010; 2015). He turned to me and said:

See... That is a problem... Everyone wants you to take all the products they make...

He is referring to how Tata got used to how she sells to NGOs when they visit neighborhoods after giving them workshops on how to make handicrafts. Rather, he put Tata and all other females in the neighborhood in direct contact with market through meeting customers themselves. He then continued his conversation with Tata:

Listen... Do not worry... I am close to you and frequently come to the neighborhood... I will take those for now.

UZ was also there with Tata, she said:

And what about me? My husband had an accident and I need money.

*GU: Then present your products, make your own brand with using a ticket and appreciate your market share.*

GU's performance and ways of thinking through adversities that Zizi went through shows using the very idea of market share is power. He shows her, in a Deleuzian-Guattarian sense, a constant direction that she has to follow to get out of such adversities. Market-share is the way out of UZ's suffrage; that is how he puts it.

He then continued his conversation with Tata:

We need to hire a young girl in the neighborhood and pay her 500LE per month so she organizes the supply chain among all of you.

*Tata was not happy with what GU said.*

Tata: Sigh!

GU: Why so? See.. Whenever I come to the neighborhood and not all people know their turns, that won't make me look good.

By looking good, GU means that he will lose his trustworthiness in the neighborhood as people will start to doubt that he equally let each household present their products in the market. GU takes those products and then present them in different outlets. It will not make him look organized. It is important to note that GU's way of deliberating with Tata and Zizi shows how he is trying to convincing them what to do and what not to do. That is political. What I want to underscore on here is they are attached to him because not only he has a convincing argument to make about what they should do and how they should price their products, but also they see in him an opportunity to educate their children and to get sufficient finances to run their households. In other words, they are attached to him. In such attachments, socialities in MOMO get assembled and re-assembled.

She replied: Ok, then let her be Mimi. That is not because she is my daughter. Ask Adel about her.

He replied: Ok, talk to her and I will coordinate the work accordingly.

Tata: She will not have her salary form the Gam'eya we make.

GU: Do not worry. I will pay her from my own budget.

Tata: Gam'eya was stolen before. Mimi is educated, trustworthy and enlightened

UZ: So all people would feel secure.

GU: The products should not be stored in her house.

Tata: Do not worry. She know that business. She worked before in Mashrou'at Masr

GU: I will do *Boseen*, a fair where you get to sell your products and customers to see and buy your products. Either by the beginning or the mid of next month. You all have to have your brands on tickets attached to your products.

UZ: People here do not like the idea of tickets.

GU: *I am sick of that*. I know them well. No problem, we will figure out another way.

Tata then happy and with a big smile turned to me and said:

GU is a good man. He made be able to finance the marriage of our daughters and educate our children.

Market is part and parcel of intimacies of life such as family. Market relations are woven into the making and re-making of Tata's family. She cares for her daughter not only through securing finances for her marriage, but also helping her to *land a job*. In that sense, caring-for-family takes new meanings. Such practices are what define and re-define not only family, but also home. In one of my encounters with UA, an artisan that I introduced in chapter 1 and that I met in the fair that GU told Tata about. She told me she came all the way from Zoho to Coro here to finance the education and marriage of her daughter. Continuing discussions that I had with um-Talaat and Zizi on their lifeworlds, I asked UA:

What is **home** to you?

UA: It is Zoho. The mountains. Security I find in that place. Security in phone calls from my family I get late at night when I leave this place, the fair, and go to a place I temporarily stay in Coro to come the next day to the fair.

Phone calls that she gets during her trips to Coro to sell products shape and re-shape how she sees her home and even think about security. Home and security are defined in action. It is similar to

who Um-Talaat support her daughter and commit herself family. On meanings of home, Jackson (2013) argues:

The notion of home (...) is a matter of being-at-home-in-the world—of working out some kind of balance or adjustment between active and passive, autonomous and anonymous, modes of being. (p.32)

In that sense, home is not “fixed or intrinsic attribute in so far as being is being-in-the-world—tied to contexts of interaction with others—it is in continual flux” (ibid: 33). By continual flux, Jackson means, it is not only about

affirmed or negated, bolstered or reduced, according to the social and physical circumstances in which one finds oneself; one’s sense of being undergoes perennial redistribution in the course of one’s strategic struggle to sustain and synthesize oneself as a subject in a world that simultaneously subjugates one to other ends

Home is always in becoming. It is “a being is a potentiality that waxes and wanes, is augmented or diminished, depending on how one acts and speaks in relation to others” (ibid: 33). Home is a question of extension of UA’s existence through mountains of Zoho that “become, by extension, aspects of oneself that one could not conceive of being without” (ibid: 33). Home is more than just a space, a fixed territory. It is an *in-common* around which collectives are organized. Home is thus not fixed; it is changing by acts of peopling. In together-ness, lies home. Acts of togetherness are experiential. The elements that UA spoke about such as mountains:

become indispensable parts of one’s own being; one cannot live without them. As such, subjectivity is not really a fixed attribute of persons, but the product of any purposeful and com- mitted activity we enter into with those we love and the things we value. (ibid: 80)

UZ then turned to me and said:

Talk this one and I will make you an *50% offer*.

I smiled, said: Thank you. Tata then told her:

Take those products in a black plastic bag so no one notice and go home.

UZ then told Tata:

Mr. GU told me there is twenty pounds for me”. She repeated that two times.

GU: Leave us now, UZ. We need to talk”

He then turned to Tata and said:

*Ok, let's get down to business.*

He started to tell her about the prices with which he is planning to sell the products, how the products shall be made and collected from people. He then continued: “Let's deal at the old price”.

He then took the products he wants in the hand-bag of his laptop. Tata turned to me and commented on what he did saying: “Smart. So as all people know that he works with all of them and not only some of them”. I later knew that because not all products sell and he picks only the good ones and other ones he gives feedback to Tata and then she goes to those women to tell them what they should do to make their products better. That is why GU did not want UZ to know what the exact products he picks. Tata then added:

Each woman only focuses on what she will get out for herself and her relatives, but we are not enemies.

GU then said: “It is your fault”, thus referring to how things when were not well organized, women in the neighborhood started to lose trust in each other. In our way out the neighborhood, he told me:

They all have turns... I come and visit the leader of each group... I take those products and sell them in the market...

He then continued:

I create markets for them... A fair for Ramadan products is an invention of mine... I innovate so they could sell more... I am a coordinator... When I see a problem they face... I decide to intervene and tell them what to do... If I do not intervene, then I am not a social entrepreneur... *I want all those neighborhoods to know how to compete in the*

*market.*

He then added:

You know some times the tension in those neighborhood works for my benefit... I take a product with at a lower price say from Tata because she knows their others *who will give me similar product at the same price.*

In the latter long dialogue, I showed how price is a governing technology. It shapes and re-shapes how Tata think of supporting her family. It changes how Mimi's value to her people in the neighborhood. In that sense, she is of value because she helps people organize their production of handicrafts.

## **Conclusion**

I juxtaposed how entrepreneurial bodies navigate markets, thus facilitating process of meaning-granting to intimacies of their lifeworlds such as family and home. In their actions, they assume directions. According to those directions, the political gets defined and re-defined.

The political is thus inter-experiential. It forms and is formed and re-formed by bodies such as SJ as an after-pastoral nomad, Goho, as a social entrepreneur, UA of Zoho, and Um-Talaat of MOMO neighborhood. Experiences of Goho who build a community center in the support of SJ or GU's training on pricing products are entanglements of relations of bodies that are historically embedded in spaces such as MOMO and Goro.



## 6 Conclusion

In this essay, I discuss micro-politics of social entrepreneurship in U-progtorous through which I de-naturalize the dynamics of the establishment of social entrepreneurship as a political project that has on the underside of it after-modern passions and desires with an affinity to the West as “a project not a place, a multi-layered enterprise in transparent universality” (Trouillot, 1995: 32). I unravel ways in which social entrepreneurs, adventurers of late neoliberal capitalism and in the after modern moment, solve problems of individuals’ to-access to education, food and shelter.

Social entrepreneurs take only calculative actions. Through measurements, they think, feel and act, and when their measurements fail them, meaning when they arrive at a stalemate, they take a leap of faith in the numbers they calculated and act accordingly. Social entrepreneurs take action whenever the government, as a collective of institutions comprised of ministries, central banks, parliaments, public hospitals, schools and food factories, as well as municipalities, becomes unable to provide services of education, healthcare, and housing to its citizens in order to reproduce themselves. One of the measurements of the inability of the government to do so is inflation. The latter is the rate at which the prices of goods and services increases. When it vigorously increases, this is a measure of the inability of the government to provide services of education, food and shelter. In their endeavors, and inhabiting in-between lifeworlds of markets and governments, social entrepreneurs are making bodies more dependent on re-producing themselves using products and services offered only through the market. For entrepreneurs, what does it mean then if the money which citizens use to purchase goods and services is meaning-less, dubbed funny, because of exuberant inflation rates? Entrepreneurs then have to take a leap of faith in the only imagination they have, which is the market, to think of ways in which to help those

with no and struggling access to education, food and shelter. It is the only imagination available to them because, according to Wendy Brown (2010) the market is the new god, and hence the project of political sovereignty is re-nationalized. Put in another way, political sovereignty is now appropriated by the market.

Entrepreneurs perpetuate relationships of debt. When the money value of imports exceeds exports, the government borrows money either by selling treasury bills to banks or from development banks such as African Export-Import Bank, as in case of Zimbabwe. That borrowing is a debt that has to be paid back at a specific time and interest rates. Whenever inflation rates go higher, this re-presents the government's inability to re-pay its debt since interest rates will increase which in turn will increase the cost of debt. Hence, the government borrows more in order to honor its debt, honors its debt by borrowing more and so on so forth, as in the case of U-progtorous. The government primarily earns money through taxing citizens on the essential elements of their modern life such as cars, houses, gas, education, and wages. Since social entrepreneurs now give citizens access to education, food and shelter to re-produce themselves, find jobs, earn wages and become more dependent on the market, and as public debt goes up, prices of products and service go up, individuals' inability to re-produce themselves through the market increases. Vertigo.

Social entrepreneurship uses the logic of business administration that is taught in business schools to produce products and services to help people like DDD to have access to things that she did not have before, such as accessing markets in Coro and financing the education of her daughter. The question here is: Does DDD see her life lacking? Although she is trying hard to finance the

education of her children, she is happy with her life. She *sees* it as a good life. According to Taylor (2002), the way we imagine things is in relationship to the way we see things. This begs the question of the ways in which DDD's imagination about herself and her life changes when she engages with the logic of SE that is materialized in the practices of GU, who introduces her to ways with which she can design new products to fulfill needs of consumers. GU always pushes the artisans to try to come up with products that speak to the place they live in, be it in the chosen colors of handicrafts or the content of drawings and the like.

For social entrepreneurs, organizing the social rests on fixity. By fixity, I mean prioritizing and normalizing particular ways of feeling, living and acting. In this essay, I am interested in that of M in specific. In other words, for prioritization and normalization to take place, life should be anchored to specific grammar, thus demarcating the regulation of the social. In a Deleuzian sense, such grammar consists of "order words," (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 76) such as SE and social innovation that regulate the imagination of individuals about life. As such, "we would be setting off on the wrong track if we were to start by taking "organized beings" for granted, beings whose dimensions and consistency need precisely to be explained by the passage, the continual slippage, of the *action* of organizing" (Latour, 2013: 390). Social entrepreneurship is just another story, a life form, a *face*, according to which individuals "are going to be held, organized, defined (...) For stories that manage to subject narratives to such torsion, we shall reserve the word scripts. To designate the dispatching of these paradoxical scripts, which give roles to those who have sent them, and which they must then catch up with in order to obey them, we shall speak of the organizational act, or, better, the *organizing act*" (ibid: 390-2). The "passionate interests" (ibid: 386) that enable individuals, whether social entrepreneur who wants to re-engineer the public

education system or an old lady who wants her daughter to finish high school and be registered in a university, is just not an effect of power, it is power itself.

Debt, according to David Harvey (2018), is not only anti-value that de-values the money form of capital, but also an invitation to re-think the present moment. Lives, and through process of de-valuation as I have shown, become trapped in endless mechanisms of honoring of debt. Such mechanisms are realized. The impasse that I have laid out in this proposal is an invitation to re-think the present moment. Deleuze (1985) argues, and through his reading of Henri Bergson, that the present moment is divided into two dissymmetrical jets that differ in kind. One of them uses the immediate past as a bridge to contract moments yet-to-come. The immediate past, according to Aliaa al-Saji's (2004) Deleuzian reading of Bergson, is "the present is that which contracts successive instants to produce sensation and translates that sensation into movements" (p.214). Such affective sensations are part and parcel of the making and re-making of the immediate past, a bridge, that connects pasts and presents. Through tracing affective sensations, I intend to present an alternative to re-thinking the present moment in a different way other than that of mega narratives of debt, anti-value and finance capitalism.

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