

LIVED CITIZENSHIP, UPRISING AND MIGRATION WORKSHOP

Program Material • July 12, 2021

ORGANIZERS

Hania Sobhy (MPI-MMG) is a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity (MPI-MMG) in Germany. Her research focuses on lived and imagined citizenship, the politics of education, electoral mobilization by social movements, nationalism, Islamism and social policy, especially with reference to the Middle East. Her forthcoming book, *Schooling the Nation* with Cambridge University Press, examines the production of citizenship in Egyptian schools in its disciplinary, gendered, classed and nationalist dimensions. Her latest article in *World Development* advances a framework for studying the 'lived social contract'. She is currently working on electoral mobilization after the 2011 uprising in Egypt and setting up a comparative research project on the politics of education in North Africa. She has worked in the fields of education development and policy, research management and project evaluation for over 15 years and is a regular contributor to *al-Shorouk* Daily.

Salwa Ismail (SOAS) is Professor of Politics with reference to the Middle East at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Her research examines everyday forms of government, urban governance, and governmental violence. She has conducted extensive fieldwork in both Egypt and Syria, enquiring into how mechanisms of government and practices of violence come to be formative of ordinary citizens' political subjectivities. Her book *Political Life in Cairo's New Quarters: Encountering the Everyday State* (University of Minnesota Press 2006) brings to focus regimes of discipline and control in everyday encounters between citizens and

state agents and agencies in various urban spaces such as outdoor markets, streets and alleyways, security checkpoints, and municipality offices. Her recent book *The Rule of Violence: Subjectivity, Memory and Government in Syria* (Cambridge University Press 2018) asks how the Asad regime's practices of violence, both in their routine and spectacular forms (e.g. the school, the prison camp), shaped Syrian political subjectivities, and what effect this violence has had at the level of society and the individual.

Nadine Abdalla (AUC) is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the American University in Cairo (AUC), Department of Sociology, Egyptology and Anthropology (SEA). In 2014, she got her PhD in Political Science from Sciences-Po Grenoble with highest honors; and in 2006, her MA from Sciences-Po Paris in France. Her research interests include contentious politics, social movements (labor & youth movements), state-society relations, local politics and bottom-up approaches to democracy MENA region with a focus on Egypt, Euro-Med relations with a focus on EU democracy assistance policies. Her research papers and articles have been published by both distinguished academic journals, such as *Mediterranean Politics* and the *Journal of North African Studies*, as well as renowned policy outlets, such as the Middle East Institute (MEI) in Washington and the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin. She is currently working on her book manuscript entitled: *Labor against the State : Workers Mobilizations in pre-2011 Egypt* which is expected for publication with Syracuse University Press. Nadine is also a columnist for the Egyptian daily *Al-Masry Al-Youm*.



KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

INSTITUTIONAL AND NON-INSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATION: SUBSTITUTION OR COMPLEMENTARITY?

Marco Giugni (University of Geneva)

This talk addresses the relationship between institutional and non-institutional political participation. First, it examines how this relationship has been dealt with in the literature, stressing how it has moved from an idea of substitution to one of complementarity. The talk then continues by providing some empirical evidence showing that institutional and non-institutional politics are intimately linked to each other. This bears in particular on the link between protest and institutional politics as well as that between party membership

and social movement activism. The talk concludes with some reflections concerning the relationship between institutional and non-institutional participation.

MARCO GIUGNI is Professor in the Department of Political Science and International Relations and Director of the Institute of Citizenship Studies (InCite) at the University of Geneva. His research focuses on social movements and political participation.

DECOLONIZING LIVED CITIZENSHIP: LESSONS FROM THE BLOCKADES

Peter Nyers (McMaster University)

Abstract: In the Winter 2020, Canada witnessed an extraordinary number of blockades and solidarity protests in support of the Wet'suwet'en First Nation. The Wet'suwet'en had for years been fighting against the construction of an oil pipeline across their traditional territories. After a police raid dismantled their blockade, the traditional chiefs of the Wet'suwet'en issued a call for solidarity and support. The response was overwhelming with an enormous number of solidarity actions, including blockades of critical infrastructure, organized across Canada and internationally. This paper critically examines how settler-citizens engaged in acts of solidarity with Indigenous people, with a particular focus on how these acts of solidarity can contribute to the decolonization of how Canadian citizenship lived, enacted, and performed. Since the Wet'suwet'en struggle involved the assertion of Indigenous sovereignty, the solidarity actions of Canadians raise important questions about the meaning of settler forms of citizenship. The paper draws upon interviews conducted with settler-citizens who participated in solidarity blockades and who were asked to reflect upon the encounters that occurred, con-

nections that took place, rights claims made, and obligations performed in the context of the solidarity blockade. The paper reflects on how these experiences may have a transformative effect on how we understand of solidarity, citizenship, and decolonization.

PETER NYERS is Professor of the Politics of Citizenship and Intercultural Relations in the Department of Political Science at McMaster University. His research focuses on the social movements of non-status refugees and migrants, in particular their campaigns against deportation and detention and for regularization and global mobility rights. He is the author of two single author monographs: *Irregular Citizenship, Immigration, and Deportation* (Routledge 2019) and *Rethinking Refugees: Beyond States of Emergency* (Routledge 2006). As well, he has edited several collected volumes on the politics of citizenship, including the *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies* (Routledge 2014, co-edited with Engin Isin). For the past 15 years, Professor Nyers has also been active with the journal *Citizenship Studies*, where he serves as a Chief Editor.



PARTICIPANTS

1. BETWEEN CITIZENS AND SIT-INNERS: THE 2017 KAMOUR SIT-IN AND CONTENTIOUS SUBJECTIVITIES IN TUNISIA'S SOUTH

Joshua Rigg (School of Oriental and African Studies)

This paper examines the 2017 Kamour sit-in in Tunisia's southern *wilaya* of Tataouine. I explore the repertoires of resistance, discursive tactics and revolutionary subjectivities that subaltern protestors mobilized to demonstrate and contend their status as citizens at the margins of the state. In particular, I am occupied by the productive tensions that protestors found in tacking between their identities as 'citizens' (*muwatineen*) of the Tunisian republic and southern 'sit-inners' (*mu'tasmeen*) with an ambiguous – and at times confrontational – relation to the state.

Made up of unemployed and precariously employed young men, the Kamour protestors sought to demonstrate the south's colonial and neo-colonial history of marginalization and resource extraction, while also calling for regional development, employment and education. To draw attention to their cause, protestors disrupted the region's oil production infrastructure through a series of road blocks, sit-ins and encampments, culminating in the turning off of the key, strategic pumping valve at the remote Kamour oil pumping facility.

Over the course of the protests, participants authored a discourse that drew on the country's 2014 constitution, invoked the figure of the post-revolutionary Tunisian citizen and engaged in 'rights talk' to make claims upon and against the state. At the same time, in the process of constructing the sit-in, the practices and discourse around the Kamour sit-in appeared to exceed the limits of citizenship's constituted form.

Protestors located their actions within – and constructed a protestor subjectivity around – the particular materiality, history, sociability and mythology of Tunisia's south as a space of political autonomy and resistance that sat 'at a distance' from the state. The paper considers these contrasting subjectivities (sit-inner and citizen) and their relation to one another. Drawing on chants, statements, slogans, poems and speeches, as well as a group interview conducted with members of the sit-in, I map the ways sit-inners questioned and expanded the borders of the Tunisian citizenship, and raise important questions regarding the pressures, contradictions and silences found within understandings of the protesting citizen-subject.

JOSHUA RIGG successfully defended his PhD 'A Resounding No: Contentious Politics in Tunisia 2015-2019' (supervised by Professor Charles Tripp, examined by Professor John Chalcraft and Dr Mathijs van de Sande) in February 2021. The thesis, supported by a year of fieldwork in Tunisia, looks at forms of non-representational politics in Tunisia and their interface with the country's democratic transition. The material presented at the workshop offers a reworking of one of the empirical chapters of the thesis. Joshua is currently a Teaching Assistant at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and Research Officer on the British Academy-funded project 'Arab Media and Transitions to Democracy'.

2. "LIVING LIKE STRANGERS": CLASS AND BELONGING IN CAIRO'S INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS

Noha Rouchdy (CEDEJ Cairo)

In Egypt, a growing market for for-profit international schools is changing the educational practices of upwardly mobile families and redefining what it takes to become a member of the Egypt's educated elite. During my fourteen-months ethnographic study in and around international schools in Cairo, many international-school teachers and parents described the life of the privileged youth educated in these schools as a "bubble" or used the designation "compound kids" as a shorthand for the unique spatiality that tied

them to the gated communities of Cairo's satellite cities. Few of the internationally-educated youth in my study contested their characterization. Many openly accepted their likeness to "strangers" or presented themselves as "not very Egyptians," "like foreigners," "a minority" and others variations of ways of expressing a shared sense of nonbelonging among this elite youth group.

In this paper, I examine the convergence between urban and educational shifts that lead a socioeconomically dominant youth group



with no recognizable minority characteristics to feel an ambivalent sense of belonging in contemporary Egypt. Drawing on the personal narratives of internationally educated youth and participant-observation research inside an international school in New Cairo between 2016-2017, I explore how discourses about “bubbles” and “compound kids” expose vital transformations in the everyday ways in which a new elite class in Egypt constructs, embodies and enacts citizenship. My paper situates elite educational practices within broader social and cultural patterns associated with the neoliberalization of urban life in contemporary Egypt, exploring the intersection between educational and urban inequalities in patterning new forms of belonging and citizenship among globally-oriented elite youth. By bringing my research on international schooling in con-

versation with the emergent literature on lived citizenship, I aim to bring issues of belonging and privilege to bear on broader debates on changing state-society relations in post-2011 Egypt.

NOHA ROUCHDY received her PhD anthropology from Boston University in May 2021. Her work explores new elite formation at the intersection between neoliberal globalization and resurgent nationalism in contemporary Egypt. Her dissertation *Between Class and Nation: International Education and the Dilemmas of Elite Belonging in Contemporary Egypt* focused on the production of class and national belonging in and around for-profit international schools in Cairo. Noha hse a BA in Middle East Studies and an MA in Anthropology-Sociology from the American University in Cairo.

3. THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF ANGER: POLITICAL MOVEMENTS, DAILY STRUGGLES AND COUNTER-CULTURE IN KHARTOUM

Clement Deshayes (Paris 1 University)

This communication aims to question the Sudanese Revolution from a long-term historical perspective based on social trajectories of revolutionary activists. Beyond the feeling of injustice felt by the middle and popular classes due to the exponential increase in prices, the failure of a progressively liberalised state, the discriminatory policies of the regime and ordinary material difficulties; we will try to question the Revolution around three intertwined and embedded questions. First, in the 2018/2020 events, what is the place of protest movements like Girifna and Sudan Change Now who have challenged the regime on the street for the past decade? How can we understand the dissemination of discursive, spatial and practical repertoires forged by these groups in the population far beyond the groups they targeted? Next, we will try to show the historical and social depth of this revolutionary process by showing the links it has with previous localised struggles and resistance (land, water, electricity, privatisation of public services, youth clubs and leagues). These struggles have rooted practical forms of dissent and organisation (formal or informal organisation of young people and students, resistance committees, unions) which have circulated within a certain number of neighbourhoods of Khartoum (we will focus on three specific areas). Finally, in the more properly sociocultural area of resistance, we will question how the more or less youth clandestine urban counter-cultures have fuelled dissent, alternative narratives and served as a framework for their expression. Without questioning the potential for rupture and the development of new socio-po-

litical orders brought about by the current phase while being careful to any tautological reasoning, we will intermingle these three dynamics to try to understand how social anger has been constructed during the last decade.

This communication is based on an ethnographic research conducted in Khartoum between 2015 and 2018 and several postdoctoral fieldwork in 2019 and 2021.

CLEMENT DESHAYES holds a PhD in anthropology from Paris 8 University. It's PhD addresses the transformations of urban militant action in authoritarian situation through the ethnography of two protest movements in Sudan: Girifna and Sudan Change Now. He's currently teaching in the Department of Political Science of Paris 1 Pantheon Sorbonne University. Also associate researcher at CEDEJ-Khartoum, his work currently focuses on three dynamics : the social construction of anger and the circulation of narratives and practices of resistance before the revolution, what produced on biographical trajectories the post-revolutionary shift from clandestine action to government participation, and the Sudanese transnational activism during the revolution. Latest publication : DESHAYES. C, 2021, « Emergence of New Political Actors in the City : Disruption of the Political Order, Political Reproduction and Space of Contestation » in FRANCK. A, CASCIARRI. B, EL-HASSAN, I.S. (eds), In-Betweenness in Greater Khartoum. Spaces, Temporalities and Identities from Separation to Revolution, Berghann, pp 91-118.

4. LIVED IRAQI CITIZENSHIP: IMAGINARIES AND CONTESTATION OF EVERYDAY POLITICS IN THE SECOND WAVE ARAB UPRISINGS

Adham Hamed & Alba Losert (University of Innsbruck)

In October 2019, Iraq became the site of an uprising as part of a larger second wave of Arab protest movements. Citizens were met with violence, killing thousands of protesters across the country (Amnesty International 2020; Human Rights Watch 2019). These violent responses can be seen as reactions to emerging imaginaries of citizenship, contesting the status quo of everyday politics. Our previous research in four Iraqi cities (Hamed, Losert and Rabitsch 2020) indicates unique particularities of protest dynamics, especially regarding the movement's ethno-political components. Some elements show remarkable parallels to neighbouring countries and continuities to citizen-demands in the 2011 protests across the region. Emergent forms of (lived) citizenship call for more participatory forms of citizen-state relations and build upon key categories, such as dignity, social justice and a critique of clientelism and corruption. Sometimes these are expressed verbally as direct political demands. Other times, they are expressed more creatively and through – in some cases, contradictory – imaginaries of state-citizen relationships. This combined, sometimes paradoxical, heterogeneity provides the basis for what can be defined as emergent forms of lived citizenship, that move beyond the grand promises of uniformity of stateness and that give local and contextual responses to the epistemological violence inherent in universalized notions of the concept (Isin 2017). Our methodological approach in the proposed article will be twofold. First, we will consider a need for further application of the lived citizenship concept to empirical cases. We will apply Kallio, Wood and Häkli's (2020) four dimensions of lived citizenship (spatial, performative, assertive and intersubjective) to our data set of 180 interviews,

conducted by 28 researchers in four major Iraqi cities between October and December 2019. Second, applying a qualitative approach to content-analysis and conflict monitoring, we will theorize about lived citizenship within the broader context of the second wave Arab protest movements.

ADHAM HAMED is a peace and conflict researcher at the University of Innsbruck, Austria, where he has managed international projects in Ethiopia and Iraq. He has taught and lectured Peace Studies and Political Science in Austria, Ethiopia, Germany and Iraq. Hamed's publications include "Revolution as a Process: The Case of the Egyptian Uprising" (Ed.), "Speaking the Unspeakable: Sounds of the Middle East Conflict," and the UNDP study "Elicitive Peace and Conflict Monitoring: A Pilot Study in Iraq". He regularly comments on conflicts in the Middle East and the Horn of Africa in different Austrian media outlets.

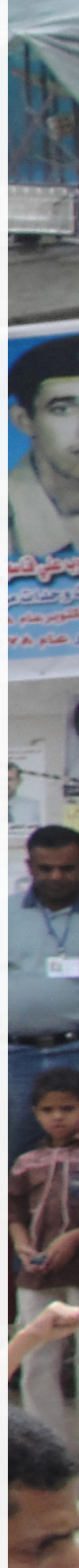
ALBA LOSERT is a peace and conflict peace worker and researcher at the University of Innsbruck, Austria. She has recently co-authored the UNDP study "Elicitive Peace and Conflict Monitoring: A Pilot Study in Iraq" together with Adham Hamed and Armin Rabitsch in the framework of the UNDP funded project education for peace in the Iraqi Higher Education System. Besides her specialization in Peace and Conflict Studies, her work focuses on Political Theory, International Relations and Comparative Politics. Alba Losert has previously worked in Ethiopia, Iraq, Palestine and Ghana.

5. THE STREET WILL NOT BE SILENCED: LANGUAGE, VOICE, AND REANIMATING "THE PEOPLE" IN ALGERIA'S 2019 *HIRAK*

Stephanie V. Love (City University of New York)

The famous martyr of the Algerian Revolution (1954-1962), Larbi Ben M'hidi, is reported to have said: "Throw the revolution into the street, and the people will embrace it." Sixty years later, during the 2019 "second revolution" (*al-Hirak*), an elderly Algerian woman marched, holding a protest placard that read: "The street will not be silenced." This paper examines "the street" as a salient metaphor for lived citizenship in contemporary Algeria, interdiscursively linking the 1962 Revolution to the 2019 *Hirak* in ordinary citizens' imaginaries and discourses. Based on sixteen months of ethnographic field-

work conducted in Oran, Algeria during the *Hirak*, I argue that protestors marshaled different linguistic resources—including the martyrs' voices, interdiscursivity, chronotopes, and others—to reassert "the street" as both the setting *and* an actor in ongoing conflicts between "the people" and the authoritarian postcolonial state, manifested in the revolutionary neologism *vendredire* (to Friday-speak). I examine how Algerian protestors narrated the *Hirak* as an event embedded in a long history of revolutionary struggles by analyzing the material language of public spaces—e.g., graffiti, protest chants and slogans,





radio programs, newspapers, placenames, and the semiotics of public housing. By focusing my analysis on language as central to hearing “the people’s” collective voice, I ask: What type of social event was the *Hirak* anyway? A revolution, a festival, or a ritual funeral? What new and old semiotic-political practices did the *Hirak* mobilize to make “the people” speak and be spoken for? In what languages and registers are “the people” heard? This paper concludes by arguing that the *Hirak*’s success should not be gaged by the political change it engendered, but rather by how it paved the way for a new type of lived citizenship; Algerians began (albeit briefly) to reconcile with their languages, histories, and identities, reanimating the affective experience of “the street” as the site in which “the people” are heard.

STEPHANIE V. LOVE is a Ph.D. candidate in linguistic anthropology at The Graduate Center, CUNY in New York City, USA. Her research broadly focuses on postcolonial politics, multilingualism, and urbanism in North Africa (Algeria). She conducted sixteen months of ethnographic, linguistic anthropological, and archival research in Algeria between 2018-2020, including before, during, and after the 2019 mass uprising (*al-Hirak*). I have published articles in *City & Society*, *Anthropology Now*, *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, *Current Issues in Language Planning*, and the *International Journal of Multicultural Education*. Stephanie was also the co-editor (with G. R. Bullaro) of the volume *The Works of Elena Ferrante: Reconfiguring the Margins* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2016).

6. SYRIAN ‘BROKERS OF CARE’: RENDERING ISTANBUL LIVABLE FOR URBAN REFUGEES

Yasemin Ozer (City University of New York)

The paper focuses on the labors of a group of Syrian refugees who act as, what I call, “brokers of care,” because they embody an array of linguistic and communicative skills and acquired cultural expertise that make them strategically positioned in their communities to be conduits of care and resources for others. Located somewhere between bureaucratic care associated with formal institutions and intimate personal networks based on kinship, I argue that the care labor brokered and practiced by refugees enable the possibility of lived citizenship for Syrian residents of Istanbul.

YASEMIN OZER is a PhD candidate at the Anthropology Department of City University of New York’s Graduate Center and a Mellon/ACLS Dissertation Completion Fellow. Her research focuses on everyday

lives of urban refugees, care networks, narratives of displacement, politics of belonging, and urban citizenship. She has a BA in Political Science from Vassar College and an MA in Gender and Women’s Studies in the MENA from the American University in Cairo. For her PhD dissertation project, she conducted a year-long (December 2018-December 2019) ethnographic research with Syrian refugees in Istanbul, Turkey, funded by the SSRC and Wenner Gren Foundation. Yasemin is currently writing her dissertation titled “Syrian Lives Beyond the Camp: Urban Belonging and Improvising Care in Istanbul,” which analyzes the emergent social relations and care networks forged between Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens in the working-class neighborhoods of the city that currently hosts the largest Syrian population in Turkey.

7. ‘HOMELAND POLITICS’ AS LIVED TRANSNATIONAL CITIZENSHIP? THE MOROCCAN DIASPORA IN EUROPE AND ITS SUPPORT FOR THE HIRAK AR-RIF PROTESTS

Christoph Schwarz (Münster University)

The *Hirak* protests that erupted in the Rif in 2016 and 2017 mobilized the Moroccan diaspora in Europe to a much higher degree than the 2011 protests. Already one week after the crucial event that sparked the protests – the death of Mohsen Fikri, a poor fishmonger who died in an altercation with police officers in the city of Alhoceima – a solidarity vigil was held in Brussels. Thereafter, sup-

port committees formed in almost every European city with a numerous Moroccan community, and they soon converged in a transnational support movement in order to coordinate their support for the *Hirak* activist on a European level. European institutions are the main targets of their mobilizations, and *Hirak* supporters have, with relative success, campaigned for a nomination of Nasser Zafzafi for



the Sakharov-Prize of the European Parliament in 2018, where he reached the second place. Moreover, activists managed that MEPs who are sympathetic to the Hirak's cause and show solidarity with its prisoners form their own parliamentary group, the Friends of the Rif.

Based on participant observation of protests, conferences and coordination meetings, as well as life-story interviews with Hirak supporters in France, Spain, Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium, this paper offers a biographical perspective on lived citizenship, focusing on how events in the 'home country' impact understandings and practices of citizenship in the diaspora and relationships to the political institutions of the country of residence and the EU. The key question I would like to discuss is to what extent 'homeland politics' as it is practiced in the Hirak support movement, not only implies the (re)articulation of the activists' lived citizenship as Moroccans and/or *Irifiyen*, but also of European identity and the appropriation of a respective transnational citizenship in everyday politics.

CHRISTOPH H. SCHWARZ holds a PhD in sociology from Goethe-University Frankfurt am Main, Germany. He is currently a researcher at the Center for Islamic Theology at Münster University, and a fellow at the Institute for Social Research Frankfurt/Main. His work focusses on questions of migration, youth and intergenerational relationships, citizenship, political socialization, social movements, collective memory, and the biographical approach in social sciences, with a regional focus on Europe and the Middle East/North Africa. Recent publications include: *Political Socialization and Intergenerational Transmission: Life Stories of Young Social Movement Activists in Morocco*. In *Journal of North African Studies* 25/2019 (1); *Collective memory and intergenerational transmission in social movements. The "grandparents' movement" iaioflautas, the indignados protests, and the Spanish transition*. In: *Memory Studies* 25 (1)

8. WHEN IS RETURN MIGRATION POSSIBLE? AN INVESTIGATION OF EGYPTIAN EXILES POST-2011

Kelsey Norman (Rice University)

This study asks how individuals who leave their country for political reasons make decisions about whether or not they can return home. Current research on diasporas and transnational repression alleges that states suppress and instill fear in their nationals abroad via embassies, cyber surveillance, and by arresting or detaining individuals who decide to return to their home countries. This research suggests that, in addition to such overt methods, transnational repression may actually be less direct, more mundane, and more ambiguous. To further build a theory around transnational repression and the means by which political exiles make decisions about the ability to repatriate, this paper utilizes approximately fifteen in-depth, semi-structured interviews with Egyptian nationals who left their home state following the 2011 uprising and subsequent political backlash. In doing so, it uses the concept of lived citizenship to assess the many factors and circumstances that individuals take into account when making calculations about whether returning home is possible, and considers how repressive states might shape the actions and politics of their nationals abroad without ever having to directly intervene.

KELSEY NORMAN is a fellow for the Middle East at Rice University's Baker Institute and director of the Women's Rights, Human Rights and Refugees Program. Her book, *Reluctant Reception: Refugees, Migration, and Governance in the Middle East and North Africa*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2021. The book is based on three years of fieldwork in Egypt, Morocco and Turkey and is adapted from her doctoral dissertation, which was chosen for the Best Dissertation award by the Migration and Citizenship section of the American Political Science Association. Her research has been published in academic journals including the *European Journal of International Relations*, *International Studies Review*, the *Journal of North African Studies*, *International Migration Review*, and the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, among others, and also in policy-oriented outlets including *The Washington Post*, *Foreign Policy*, and *The Atlantic*. She is an advisory board member of *Refugees Solidarity Network* in New York, and she received her Ph.D. in political science from the University of California, Irvine.

9. BLACKNESS IN SAUDI ARABIA

Pascal Menoret (Brandeis University)

What does the experience of race teach us about everyday politics and repression in Saudi Arabia? This article reads contemporary Saudi politics through the lens of the abolition of slavery and its aftermaths: the racial constitution of Saudi citizenship as a disciplinary mechanism. I examine the following questions: how does the abolition of slavery in 1962 relate to repression and state brutality? What role do skin color, geographical origins, and the memory of slavery play in everyday politics? In interpersonal relations, racial tensions are often heightened through the usage of the racial slur 'abd ("slave"), or through commentary on ethnic origin: the expressions tarsh al-bahr and bagaya hujaj ("refuse of the sea" and "remains of pilgrims") target Saudis of African and Asian descent. This article probes the built and imaginary infrastructure that underpins these tensions. The abolition of slavery did not lead to the creation of a color-blind Saudi citizenry, unified through religious belief and political subjection. Far from remaining at the political periphery, racial constructs — and the afterlives of slavery and immigration they reveal — are central to the definition and exercise of political power

as a system of coercion aimed at ensuring the peaceful exploitation of energetic and spatial resources. Firstly, I examine racial segregation in the built environment, by retracing the history of those urban spaces that have been inhabited by slaves, former slaves, and Black immigrants, from al-'Ud and Hillat al-'Abid in Riyadh to the sprawling informal areas of Jeddah, in particular al-Jami'a, Karantina, al-Nazla al-Yamaniya, Ghulail, and al-Sabeel. Secondly, I analyze the emergence of Black literature in Saudi Arabia, in particular through the novels of Mahmud Traore. How does space intersect with race in the making of Saudi cities? How do the memories of slavery and migration play out in the contemporary Saudi imagination?

PASCAL MENORET teaches anthropology at Brandeis University. He is the author of *The Saudi Enigma: a History* (ZedBooks 2005), *Joyriding in Riyadh: Oil, Urbanism, and Road Revolt* (Cambridge University Press 2014), and *Graveyard of Clerics: Everyday Activism in Saudi Arabia* (Stanford University Press 2020).

