Negotiation of Space in Garden City: Urban Securitization, Gender, Everydayness and Affective Encounters.

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Abstract:

This thesis is based on ethnographic research that explores the everyday lives of a group of people and the interplay of affect, gender and governmentality in Garden City as a securitized space. The research looks at the erection of walls, the ubiquity of barricades and checkpoints across Cairo post 2011 with focus on Garden City, which demonstrates the technologies of separation, domination and control producing different spatial arrangement. Moreover, these techniques of control become expression of power and the securitization of urban life as well as imposing a feeling of incarceration in the city. Nevertheless, the research goes beyond this grid of discipline by investigating the state of becoming of Garden City within such context through following the personal accounts of group of youth who moved to the place post 2011. These personal accounts stretch out the multifaceted narratives and representations of Garden City. Through this ethnographic fieldwork, I was able to attend to the everydayness of these subjects, demonstrating how they affected the politics of place and space, while navigating the different forms of governmentality in relation to individuals, groups and social structures. This research project attempts to document, to grasp, to capture and to convey the embodied experiences, the affective encounters and relations that emerged in this becoming. Additionally, it unravels the minute acts of resisting, challenging and negotiating the grid of discipline that is situated in the events of everyday life.
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“The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the ‘state of emergency’ in which we live is not the exception but the rule.” Walter Benjamin

“I know cities that are loathed by light” Abdel Rahman Al- Abnoudy

Prologue
Snapshot (1)
Sometime towards the end of 2013, while driving to my workplace, I was passing by Orman Garden in front of Cairo University, where El-Nahda sit-in took place. Barbed-wire remained in place long after the sit-in—which sprawled over the entire pavement—was dispersed. The wire disrupted pedestrians’ mobility, forcing them to get off the pavement, step down to the street, and walk around it for a bit before getting back on the pavement. Though I was driving and my body was not experiencing the feeling of passer-by confronting these barbed-wires, this scene was a sort of alert. Why do these barbed-wires still exist? Why do “we” as city dwellers have to normalize their presence when there is no logic for their presence? Yet, they sit there, watching and obstructing our movement.

Snapshot (2)
Cairo’s downtown was marked by the emergence of walls, particularly in the streets leading towards Tahrir Square after January 2011. The walls were built by police and army forces to preclude protesters from coming close to any of the vital public facilities and specifically the Ministry of Interior. Since then, a number of securitization structures are being incorporated into the city landscape and its everyday life in an attempt to control and manage the city’s insurgents. Barricades, barbed wires, walls, checkpoints were all processes of securitization that the city dwellers had to go through. One of the streets that was blocked by a wall was Qasr Al-Ainy Street. In February 2014, the wall was torn down and replaced with a metal gate. When I passed by Qasr Al-Ainy, I felt two contradictory feelings. First, it was a feeling of relief and openness to the world as the street is now open and making my navigation easier. At the same time, passing through it felt absurd; I realized that this gate is here to stay and to turn this absurd unfamiliar to familiar. The gate marked a new technology of control to be introduced to the city, where accessibility to the city streets are managed and controlled by police forces.

Snapshot (3)
Starting from early 2016 to mid-2017, a police checkpoint was held every day after mid-night at Mokattam’s entrance to check the different vehicles entering the district. For Mokattam’s residents, this was not a customary procedure—something I could attest to as someone who spent their entire life in the neighborhood. This measure marks increased security tactics and is supposed to convey an aim for maintaining the safety of the neighborhood and its inhabitants. Driving towards the checkpoint, I see how these measures are enforced creating a feeling of discomfort. I see a car with four men inside it, mostly in their early twenties, asked to pull over by the police. The police officers start interrogating while checking the car. Thinking how at this moment the interpellation carried out by the police is creating a process of subjection. In what ways are state masculinities at play in this encounter? As I come closer to the officer manning the checkpoint, I turn off the light of the car and I adjust my body posture while being scrutinized by the police officer. Then, I move forward passing by the conscripts who are pointing their guns to the passers. Time after time, I realized that this measure has pushed me not only to embody a performance during my encounters with the checkpoint, but it also forced me, unconsciously, to operate a sense of self-censorship. One night, I was heading home late and I was a bit tired to drive back. When one of my male friends offered to drive my car and take a taxicab back, interestingly, I turned down his offer with no hesitation. My immediate response was based on the fear and discomfort I internalized due to the presence of these checkpoints and the possible harassment due to the presence of non-married or non-related couple in a car that late at night. A number of scenarios came to my mind of what might happen; for instance, we could be accused of publicly displaying affection. Here, I remembered a friend’s story when she encountered a similar incident. She was with one of her friends and were stopped by a checkpoint after midnight. The police officers asked for their identification cards and whether they were related or not. Her friend was forced to get out of the car and spent some time talking to the police officer. Then, he came back and they both left. During this short chitchat, her friend was asked for money otherwise the police officer would accuse them of public display of affection.
Introduction:

When I think of how this research project was triggered, I find that it was a build up of a number of subjectively experienced encounters with the urban policing and urban securitization of Cairo post 2011. Experiencing and engaging with public space post January 2011 through protests, street art, and sit-ins made me experience the city in different forms. During the revolutionary moments, the city for me was an open theater consisting of a plethora of scenes full of intense and contradicting emotions, and there was a constant interaction between my body and the objects and subjects of the city. My body has its own memory and relationship to the spaces I walked, chanted, ran and felt liberated within; it glimpsed moments of openness, freedom, clashes, fear, and contestation which shaped the space and was in turn shaped by it. This contestation over space between the dissenters and the sovereign raised various questions on how political subjectivities are constructed and governed in relation to space.

The recollection of memories in form of mental snapshots are constituted of ephemeral feelings; they stay for short moments and they disappear, but somehow they remain unconsciously inscribed to our memories, bodies and feelings. They occur on a daily basis leaking into our lives to become part of our everydayness. These snapshots were somehow inscribed in my memory and my body affecting how I would act, interact or walk within such a context.

Initially, this research project aimed at understanding how urban security is affecting the city dwellers’ perception of safety and security and how this is translated in their everyday life practices. Beginning with a focus on perceptions of safety and security, the field has evoked newer and wider sets of questions. From there, I embarked on a journey to understand urban securitization and securitization practices within the wider structures of power that shape and construct the city subjectivities. In my search, I started to unravel the many layers of urban tension that exist in the city and move slowly beyond what is visible such as the walls,
barricades, fences and checkpoints towards what is concealed such as the many layers of governmentality among individuals and groups as well as the different technologies of control and subjugation.

**Research Statement and Questions:**

The proposed research investigates the erection of walls, the ubiquity of barricades, barbed-wires, and checkpoints across Cairo post 2011—all of which demonstrates the technologies of separation, domination, and control producing different spatial arrangements. Moreover, these techniques of control become an expression of power, articulation of sovereignty, and the securitization of urban life. *My research questions developed to go beyond safety and security aiming at exploring how the securitization of urban spaces challenges the dwellers’ right to the city and create a securitized space, and in what ways it disrupts urban life? How do different subjectivities engage and negotiate their spaces in such seemingly ever-present securitized space?* This urban tension and negotiation is re/constituted by an array of factors such as class, capital relations, structures of social norms, gender relations of power, politics of place and space. This research relies on an ethnographic approach in understanding the how of urban re-configuration by focusing on the everydayness of securitization based on three months of ethnographic fieldwork in Garden City, Cairo.

My fieldwork in Garden City, where urban securitization forms are extremely visible (due to the presence of embassies, its close location to Tahrir Square where major political dissent movements took place post 2011, and the presence of Kasr El-Nile civil registry aimed to understand and connect the different city dwellers’ experiences with securitization while gendering these experiences. Furthermore, it intends to understand the transformation of space uncovering the geopolitics that exist between the emerging culture spaces, shops, small business, and forms of urban policing and securitization.
I pose various questions in order to move beyond the walls and understand the subterranean micropolitics and negotiation of space, while looking at sites of resistance situated in the dwellers’ everydayness. I do not attempt a beginning or an end. I wander through Garden City in a nomadic form through which I utilize number of concepts 

On the level of space: I explore in what the different representations of Garden City construct ways narratives about the space. How the space is perceived by its dwellers’ producing different meanings to the space and what are they? How forms of power operates in space and what sets of relationships it provokes? 

On the level of affect: I aim to document, trace and create archival of emotional registry by asking How the space feels and transforms? In other words, how the space is being experienced, felt and lived? What kind of emotions it produces? What meanings and experiences are assigned/ re/produced to the space under which temporary social ties? In what ways urban securitization produces affective relations and encounters. 

On the level of gender: I travel in the lifeworlds’ and the stories of young independent women and men who moved to the neighborhood post 2011. This group aspired to lead a private life independent from the normative household authority. In quest of that, they fought with the household authority in order to move out of their parents’ houses and rented their own place. They support themselves and pay for all the expense with no help of the household as price for their independence. As a result, many of my interlocutors where living with housemates t I aim to unearth the ways women engage the question of risk to access the public space. I investigate through the personal accounts how they challenge the house hold authority, while negotiating the different forms of urban and societal policing, which keep intervening their private lives. Moreover, I look on how are women and men experiences with securitization and policing are registered differently? What kind of state and societal masculinities are practiced and by whom?
Literature Review:

Regulating the City

The city is a site of contestation over space. It is a construct of multiple makings of imagination and power revealing different facets. These facets are produced by a process where the city is engaged in a continuous state of making. This process is not only shaped, regulated, interrupted by the political power and policies, yet the excluded or marginalized struggle to shape the city as they perceive it according to their needs and interests. Hence, the city becomes a site of contestation over resulting in constant negotiation over space for the right to the city. Nevertheless, this urban negotiation is re/constituted by an array of factors such as class, capital relations, structures of social norms, gender relations, politics of place and space as well as securitization of space.

The calls for protests on the 25th of January, which was a National Holiday celebrating National Police Day, strongly reverberated across the country leading to a major uprising. An uprising that was beyond the control of security forces as polices forces withdrew on the 28th of January. The confrontations between security forces and protesters continued after the ousting of President Mubarak in February 2011. From there on, Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF) took over power to run the transitional period, which was marked by consecutive clashes. In February 2012, in an attempt to cease these clashes walls to be erected in all the streets leading to the ministry of interior militarizing the streets of Cairo City. Dissents are “political events in the fullest sense of the word, that is, they created a temporal rupture delimiting a before and an after in the social consciousness.” (Fassin, p.1). In other words, these political dissents create ruptures and challenge the existing hierarchical social and political structures of power, while imagining ways of which to produce different realities as well as different modalities of being.
Nevertheless, these ruptures remain a marker for security apparatus as well in which its imagination functions in an opposite direction on how to control future ruptures. The introduction of these walls represent a new form of managing and controlling the city as they are “unprecedented in their physical manifestation, but they reflect divisions that had already existed long before — between rulers and ruled, state institutions and the population.” (Elshahed, 2011, para 12).

Currently, the rhetoric of war on terror prevails globally, regionally and locally. This rhetoric and discourse became very apparent in Egypt post 2013¹ in the newspapers, the laws and policies applied. On a global scale, in reaction to this rhetoric, part of this imagination is translated in the proliferation of the erection of walls among nation state borders. Yet, as Wendy Brown contends, the walls articulate and designate the loss of sovereignty and control of borders due to transnational capital relations. According to Brown (2010), currently, the proliferation of building of these walls are aimed at targeting “transnational” subjectivities and “subterranean powers” in reaction against refugees, smuggling and terror” (Brown, 2010, p.21)

In this research project, I walk through the streets, buildings, walls and the different spaces of Garden City in order to demonstrate how these practices and technologies of control are transported from nation borders to the heart of city shaping everyday life. According to Stephen Graham (2011) in Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism ‘mega cities and metropolitans considered as a source of threat and chaotic space, “renders cities’ communal and private spaces, as well as their infrastructure – along with their civilian populations – as a source of targets and threats.” (p.xiii). As a result, the regulation of the city and the spatial rearrangement become part and parcel of the

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¹ Post June 2013, the state of emergency marked a comeback when Adly Mansour declared it in response to the “near-daily protests [by Islamic political groups and Morsi supporters] since the 3 July popularly backed military coup that toppled President Mohamed Morsi” (Guardian, 2013, para. 2). The increasing violence reached its peak when deadly suicide bombings and attacks targeting police stations took place. It is worth mentioning that since the enforcement of emergency law, this was the longest period for Egypt to witness its suspension after the revolution. Because of the violent confrontations between security forces and Islamic political movements, a “war on terror” was declared as well as announcing that “the Muslim Brotherhood group and its organization as a terrorist organization.” (Guardian, 2013, para.3). The article is retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/25/egypt-declares-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-group
everyday life of urban dwellers. In this matter, looking at the different technologies of control over the city such as the erection of walls, the ubiquity of barricades, barbed-wires, and checkpoints across Cairo show how architecture is a political tool that is deployed “as a conceptual way of understanding political issues as constructed realities.” (Weizman, 2007). Nonetheless, shifting the focus to the everydayness of urban dwellers in such context contribute to the understanding of how these technologies of control and separation are being resisted, negotiated and refuted.

**Neo-liberalism vs. Securitization, Clashing Projects?**

An established collaborative relationship between Neo-liberal project and securitization project is perceived in the urban space, yet is there a possibility for both project to clash? Through neoliberalism, different forms of securitization colonize the urban space as it introduces new modes and techniques of exclusion and control to the urban that constantly produce and reproduce discourses of fear and threat. These discourses that are translated, whether in the built environment or in social and power relationships, affect the city dwellers’ perceptions of safety and security. Sao Paulo stands as a site that exemplifies how discourses of fear and violence of the marginalized poor of the city fostered discourses of discrimination and segregation, marking increase of fortified enclaves in the city (Caldeira, 2000). The urban fortified enclaves such as gated communities and private residential areas produce a different experience of urban securitization, which is marked by new modes of segregation such as the privatization of security that changes the concept of public space. Caldeira states how achieving security becomes a commodity that is no longer tied in relation to the state, rather it becomes a service bought and sold on the market, fueling a very profitable industry” (Caldeira, 2000, p.2). Therefore, increasing privatized spaces in the urban such as gated communities, social clubs, and shopping malls that are administrated by private security enhances securitization discourses while deepening the sense of normalization of securitizing public
In Cairo, the integration of both projects is read through the daily experiences of the city and the expansion to the desert for new towns. Security measures manifest themselves through the construction and re/production of risk myths that dominate the city of Cairo. The political spectacle feeding discourses of fear and threat, while othering many of the Egyptian population prevail in a number of Cairo’s representations such as bomb, tomb, explosive, menace, polluted, dirty, unsafe and unhealthy (Singerman, Ammar, 2006, Denise, 2006). Amidst narratives that are produced on the risks and uncontrolled of Cairo which render informal neighborhoods and their working poor to a representation of potential criminals and thugs, the gated communities unfold themselves as the promise of safety and security from the undesired subjects of the city (Denise, 2006). Yet, it is a promise made to ensure the safety of the elites, investors, their capital projects, and the upper classes of Cairo. Nowadays, walls of capitalism demarcate Cairo’s outskirts by gated communities. Tracking the urban billboards while driving on 6th of October Bridge, would provide interesting insights of the representation of the increasing “fortified enclaves”, where ads for new towns and compounds are everywhere. The fortified enclaves are not the only form for producing division and segregation by their walls and private securities, in addition to that, clubs and shopping malls serve as sites for the reproduction of exclusionary practices. On one hand, they serve as sites for the reproduction of capital, while, on the other, they represent a sites of reproduction of military control through private security firms operated by former army generals (Abaza, 2005). Moreover, the war on terror discourse post 2013 has enhanced Cairenes experience of securitization where security checkpoints whether private or public became an integral feature of the city landscape. The scrutinized inspection at checkpoints are no longer limited to sites such as airports, for instance, they became part of many of the public and private universities, public facilities, touristic sites and embassies in Cairo, where you have to go through many security procedures and inspections just to pass.
In this ethnographic fieldwork, a new relationship emerge between the neo-liberal project and securitization project in Garden City, which is a clashing relationship. According to Denise (2006), Garden City is considered the earliest forms of the liberal urban project of gated communities in the early twentieth century that promoted exclusivity and luxury, while “promising its residents quiet, likened to the tranquility of a desert oasis.” (p.55). Additionally, Garden City became the target space for neo-liberal projects such as the luxurious hotels that are built over the Nile. On the other hand, the place hosted many embassies such as the American, British, Candian, Indonesian, Greek, Italian and many other embassies. Post the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, increased securitization imposed over Garden City in reaction to the protest that took place in Tahrir Square targeting the American Embassy. Security checkpoint, metal fences, barricades spread across the streets leading to The American Embassy, which affected the traffic flow, the businesses, the everyday practices of the residents, workers and visitors of the place. Since then, Garden City has been in constant spatial re-arrangement and a seemingly ever-present securitization. The walls, the concrete barricades, mobile fences and checkpoints that now fill its grid became an obstruct force for other neo-liberal projects. Many businesses departed the place, notable drop down in the rentals, new activities and businesses emerged in the place. This research project, conversely to wider literature, capture this clashing relationship between the neo-liberal projects and securitization project. Yet, it extends its question to attend to the other possibilities that emerge within such context. De Certeau contends that “If it is true that the grid of "discipline" is everywhere becoming clearer and more extensive, it is all the more urgent to discover how an entire society resists being reduced to it.” From here, my research takes off to contribute to the understanding these means of resistance.

Rethinking The Right to the City Through Gender and Affect

The concept of “the right to the city” was first introduced and coined by Henri Lefebvre.
It aimed to challenge the existent power structures of capital relations that monopolize the question of the right to the city. In other words, the planning and designing of the cities responds and addresses which needs. Lefebvre argues that different marginalized groups are excluded from the process of production of their cities and denied equal rights of accessing the urban resources, while calling working class to act upon this exclusion as they are “the only one able to put an end to a segregation directed essentially against it.” However, David Harvey (2008) pushes the concept “right to the city” beyond the centrality of urban resources and who access to it, but as “the right to change ourselves by changing the city [which] depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization.” (p.23). This research explores how the deployment of urban securitization forms affect city dwellers interaction with the city and shaping it, while going beyond the grid of discipline by unravelling the different forms of governmentality. This research questions the right to the city on many levels. First, how the these technologies of control affect the city dwellers relationship to the city, their practices and perceptions. Second, the research investigates the patriarchal structure of power through the personal accounts and experiences of young women and men as well as how it affect their right to the city (Fenster,2005). The patriarchal structure of power impose challenges on the equal accessing of women to the public spaces than men. Finally, the research deploy affect to demonstrate the different ways these technologies are resisted and refutes. Jon Law (2004) urges us that, “if we want to think about the messes of reality at all then we’re going to have to teach ourselves to think, to practice, to relate, and to know in new ways”. (p.2) Looking at the feelings, emotions, sensory encounters between the city dwellers and the urban securitization forms dismantles the normalization of these technologies to be of the character of the city.
The City at Intersections

In Foucault’s (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, he offers us with a different way of reading and looking at history. He dismantles the grand narrative and events of history; he resorted to the discursive formation of knowledge through shifting the focus on moments of rupture and discontinuity. This research looks at Garden City with aim to trace the moments of interruptions of the history transformation of the space and the place post 2011. In ethnographies, stories of different subjects offer new ways of looking and knowing. According to Simone (2010), “cityness is a thing in the making... the capacity to provoke relations of all kind .. It exceeds any attempt to regulate them” and its ability to “haunt the city”. This research builds on the moments of cityness in order to expand academic conversations on urban securitization and to unearth the invisible grid of relations, meanings, feelings and emotions assigned to the securitized spaces.
Conceptual Framework: A Look on Possible Perspectives of Understanding

Through ethnographic fieldwork, this research project aims to explore the everydayness of urban dwellers in a securitized urban life; how they navigate the city through the different discourses of security, threat, fear and risk, which affect their relationships to the city and shape their subjectivities. Engaging the following conceptual framework provides different reading to the topic, builds an archive of spatial emotional registry and contributes to the exploring of city affect.

The Events of Everyday Life

This research project relies on the understanding of the everydayness of space and the lives of specific subjectivities in a moment where urban/societal policing prevail through the rhetoric of “War on Terror”. The everyday life is the space and the milieu of domination as well as resistance, control and freedom, the foundation of structure and the anti-structure. By looking critically to the everyday life, we understand where potentiality of resistance and transformation lies. Henri Lefebvre’s (1991) foundational work *The Critique of Everyday Life* underpins the importance of everyday life as the main site of capitalist exploitation and domination, yet, it is there where the machines of resistance and the subversion of acts of suppression and domination exists. Levebvre invites us and reminds us in this foundational text that “We need to think about what is happening around us, within us, each and everyday. We live on familiar terms with people in our own family, our own milieu, our own class. This constant impression of *familiarity* makes us think that we know them, that their outlines are defined for us, and that they see themselves as having those same outlines. We define them and we judge them. We can identify with them or exclude them from our world. But the familiar is not the necessarily known.” (p.14). In this research, looking at the technologies of control and separation as well as the presence of the urban securitization forms such the walls, the concrete barricades and fences, one of the early assumption regarding their presence that
they are normalized and turned into familiar objects and experiences for the city dwellers. Nonetheless, attending to the everyday life demonstrates how this familiar is criticized, rejected, resisted and negotiated.

De Certeau (1984) furthers Levebvre argument and situate the everyday practices in the larger context of social structure. In his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*, De Certeau presents the city as the *social laboratory* and as a product, produced by complex network, which consists of city planners, legal system, class politics, gender norms and relations as well as capitalist relations. However, he places his emphasis on the city dwellers and readers of the city as consumers. Through this emphasis, the everyday life unfold itself as the site for the production of tactics to refute the imposed disciplining forms in order to evade them. According to De Certeau “The tactics of consumption, [are] the ingenious ways in which the weak make use of the strong, thus lend a political dimension to everyday practices” (p.xvii). The visibility and proliferation of the erection of walls, the ubiquity of barricades, barbed-wires, and checkpoints across Cairo, which demonstrate the technologies of separation, domination and control producing different spatial arrangement, provokes us as consumer, city dwellers, readers and producers to look on how they are rejected and resisted. De Certeau estates that “If it is true that the grid of "discipline" is everywhere becoming clearer and more extensive, it is all the more urgent to discover how an entire society resists being reduced to it, what popular procedures (also "miniscule" and quotidian) manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them only in order to evade them, and finally, what "ways of operating" form the counterpart, on the consumer's (or "dominee's"?) side, of the mute processes that organize the establishment of socioeconomic order. (p.xiv).

On Another aspect, De Certeau unearths how everyday acts such as walking the city becomes a way of knowing and re-reading to the seemingly familiar. He refers to walking and defines it as “a space of enunciation” (p.98). In this research project, I explored this definition through individual walks as well as through walks with my interlocutors. The walks revealed the embodied experience of city dwellers with the
disciplining forms shattered in the city. These walks provided a space to my interlocutors to reflect on their surroundings, to question and be critical to the technologies of control as well as to rediscover their emotions in relation to the places and the different signs of the city.

**Affective Geography: What is affect and why affect?**

Affect acts as an important concept to unearth the multilayered relations embedded in the city, which helps in understanding what different relations are being evoked and how city relations can be perceived distinctively. I deploy affect in this thesis in order to look beyond the walls, barricades and fences scattered into the city, which allows the research to delve deep in the everydayness of securitization within the city. I attempt to look at the same spaces of Cairo that once experienced the feeling of freedom within its public spaces and openness that was translated into its streets post 2011 through demonstrations, street arts, graffiti and so forth. What happens when these moments of grand rupture fade away and replaced with technologies of control, separation and subjugation turning the same spaces into a repressed and constrained spaces. How the space is being experienced, felt and lived in such moments? Does that mean nothing happen on the level of everydayness? Does the space cease to be contested and negotiated?

Corresponding to Massumi’s argument on affect, I argue against the assumption that “the everyday was the place where nothing ever happens” (Massumi, 2002, p.1). Attending and tracing the different experiences, encounters, happenstances and images located in the city, enable us to understand how rupture and revolt can be at the heart of the everyday and where does potentiality exist. Through attending to affect, we see how “the body [is] seen to be centrally involved in these everyday practices of resistance” (Massumi, 2002, p.2). Hence, this ethnographic project of Garden City attempts to grasp and capture the different affects along with their singularities in a highly controlled and securitized space.
Deleuze (1994) argues, “something in the world forces us to think. This thing is not an object of recognition but of a fundamental encounter.” (p.139). Affect lies in these encounters in which it can “be grasped in a range of affective tones: wonder, love, hatred, suffering” (ibid). The concept of affect was first introduced by Spinoza in his masterpiece Ethics 1677. Though many tend to interpret affect as solely feelings and emotions, Deleuze (1978) explains Spinoza’s concept, affect, in a way that exceeds the sensible where affect represents “the continuous variation of the power of acting” (p.4). Hence, affect does not represent the same meaning and connotation of affection. The two terms are utilized by Spinoza, however, they signify different meanings and state of body. Affection according to Deleuze elucidation is the state of body put in motion and being affected by another body, objects, and external materials producing sets of emotions. They are mental representation of external causes, materials, and encounters where “state of a body insofar as it is subject to the action of another body.” (ibid)

On the other hand, affect reflects a state of pre-individual bodily forces, an “excluded middle, prior to the distinction between activity and passivity” (Massaumi, 2002, p.32) where volition or power of acting manifests itself. In this excluded middle, lies the realm of potentiality, felt, encountered or experienced moment affects how the body inhibits its power of acting and engagement or stretches it out and increases its power. It is a process of being subjected to wide range of affective tones whether happiness, hatred, anger, love, confusion, pain, suffering and so forth. Accordingly, the intensity of these affective tones play a role in spawning a moment of creation. Spinoza presented this excluded middle and process as Duration, which is “the lived passage, the lived transition… [where] your whole body has a kind of mobilization of itself” (Deleuze, p.18). In other words, it is an interrupted autonomous moment in which our bodies, minds and senses “re-register an already felt state” (p. 25), while undergoing through a cognitive process of questioning, reflecting, analyzing, connecting, acting and re-acting to the felt, sensed and embodied moment and what state it produces. Hence, this moment addresses the question of emergence as Massumi states (p.32).
Singularity of affect:

Massaumi asserts the autonomous of affect lies in its openness (p. 35). Affect is not constant and fixed; it is always in perpetual movement. Its openness leads to the singularity of affect. According to Lord (2010) in Spinoza’s Ethic, “The fact that our bodies, experiences and associations change over time means that our own affects can change. (P51)” (p.99). For instance, the way the walls of city affect my power of acting is different from one person to another. Moreover, it is different from on wall to another. How I perceive the walls of embassies, wall of malls and walls of gated communities, how the different representations of them affect my power of acting is a process of knowledge that our bodies go through. How we read the signs, objects and relations of the city is very distinguished and singular with different affecting power. Hence, multiplicity of affects to the same signs, objects and relations of the city are re/produced. Consequently, a relational affect is produced within this perpetual movement between affected and affective body. These bodily relations go through a process proceeds the physical from inadequate knowledge to complete and causal knowledge. Through the felt and embodied encounter, the body and the mind formulate and establish a relationship with the affective body. The process starts with undefined relation and knowing through the chance encounters where the affect in defined, yet it is cause is unclear to my body and senses.

Affect and Power:

In this research project, I attempt not only to attend to the sensory and emotional registers. Through attending and tracing these registers and sensory modes of being, I question and unpack the role of power and how it is weaved within affected and affective bodies. Through my reading and attending to affect, I see power on two levels. The first level is on the level of the affected body and its power of acting. The second level is the power relation that
exists between the affected and affective bodies. How to attend to power in such relation? In other words, the affected and affective bodies both have various capacities that are construct of social, political, spatial, gender, class and racial relations. This makes me evoke a critical voice to the universality of affect Divya P. Tolia-Kelly, who critically explore and expand the potentiality of attending to affect theory. According to Tolia-Kelly (2006), “affective registers have to be understood within the context of power geometries that shape our social world, and thus research in this field requires an engagement with the political fact of different bodies having different affective capacities.” (p. 213). In this thesis, I attempt to unravel both forms of power. First, the form that starts by the felt and experienced encounters within a securitized space where a rhetoric of terror dominates, and what affects exist and emerge in response to the technologies of control, separation and subjugation. At the same time, I follow these affects, trace how they travel around along with their movements and their flows contributing to the transformation of space and producing serendipitous affect; nonetheless, while attending to the power relations among the affected and affective bodies that shape how affect is acted out.

Subject, Subjectification and Technologies of Control over the City

The discourse “War on Terror” renders the city of Cairo as problematic space and assist the creation of a securitized public space. However, the securitization of space is not only manifested in the re-organization of the physical space such as the deployment of counter-insurgency tactics of surveillance, random checkpoints in the streets, the building of walls, gates, the spread of barricades, fences in the streets of Cairo. The ideological state apparatus functions in a way through dominating the imagination of its subjects in constructing a specified discourse on state and human security and safety. I consider interpellation as one of the technologies of control and subjugation, which aims to submit the different subjects to

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2 This concept is produced by Yavero Nashin in an attempt to diversify study on affect. “The serendipitous is a related concept, referring to the unexpected, out - of the- blue element in sociality that brings about unanticipated affects of empathy, generosity, and hospitality. Unlike the remnant, which refers to the memory of past social forms being reproduced or re-engendered, the serendipitous belongs to the temporal present. The serendipitous is coincidental and relies on the generation of unexpected affects of intimacy and attachment between strangers, sui generis, across and against augmenting political divides. It is more about social creativity than social reproduction. And it may escape or transcend political pressures and apparent hegemonies.” (P.211)
the state’s authority and imagination. According to Althusser, in this process of subjection, “subjected being…is stripped of all freedom except that of freely accepting his submission” (p. 42). Interpellation functions as a mean for the state ideology to construct and constitute its subjects’ identities through the way the state performs its power over its subjects. In addition, it is a process of transformation turning individuals into specific subjects. In this research, I focus on different encounters of interpellation where police and state security within Garden City and across the city are interpellating different city dwellers, hence, identifying themselves as subjects and potential representatives of threat or undesired subjects. Hence, a process of subjectification takes places when subjected beings shape themselves through such identification. Nonetheless, the tracing of the everyday encounters with interpellation does not aim only to explore the process of subjection, but to look and to understand how interpellation is resisted and negotiated attempting to grant agency to individuals. According to Fassin (2011), “The political subject is therefore the product of this dialectical relationship of subjection and subjectification, through which the individual is assigned a place which he can either recognize as his own, or reject.” (p.7).

**Governmentality**

Raising the question of subject evokes the writings of Michel Foucault, which focus on the relationship between social structures and individuals, while presenting a genealogy of how different modes of power that subjugate dominate and control individuals transforming them into subjects. Foucault in Subject and Power (1982) argues that perceiving power within social structures and legal models only provides limited knowledge on the workings and making of powers and the history of subject transformation. Hence, he shifted his question of power from a top-down approach of how the state and the different social institutions practice power, governmentality and discipline over individuals to situate it within individual relationships and groups foregrounding the element of “freedom. [as] Power is exercised only over free subjects” (p.790). I evoke Foucault’s argument in Subject and Power as it contributes to widening and diversifying the question of Governmentality.
The concept was first introduced through his series of lectures entitled “Security, Territory and Population” that focused on “the art of government” via the questions of the how, “how to govern oneself, how to be governed” (Burchell, (ed), 1991, p. 87) in which the state seeks controlling disciplining its population, while re/producing power structure and self-government.

My earlier reading to the presence of walls, fences, barricades, police and checkpoints in Garden City resonated with the concept of Panoptican raised in Foucault’s Discipline and Punish. In the sense that these forms of securitization are being embedded in the city to form a disciplinary experience through surveillance and produce disciplined and docile bodies. However, during the field, the stories that I encountered and attempted to follow were beyond this form of docility. As a result, I use the concept of Governmentality in this research project in order to understand the different forms of governmentality produced within Garden City among different social groups. Moreover, how the different narratives over space are being de/constructed, shaped and assigned new meaning through different forms of governmentality that exist and emerge. Therefore, I situate the question of governmentality not only on the level of policing to Garden City’s residences, business owners, cultural spaces, but also to unpack the forms of governmentalities that aim to regulate and control the different individuals’ private lives within Garden City and other groups, while attending to class politics and gender relations.

In the time I spent with different groups and spaces in Garden City, I aimed to look for sites of resistance and negotiation to the wider network of power relations existed in the field. This brings to conversation the question of how different subjectivities reject the forms of subjugation and governmentality they face within existing power orders. I turn to Foucault’s concept of technologies of the self in which subjects go through process of creation for self-care, resistance and destabilizing existent power orders. According to Mitcheson (2012), “technologies of the self play an important role in the critical process which creates a space for the formation of new subjectivities.” (p.59). However, this process of formation of new
subjectivities requires critical awareness of power strategies that enable the subject to challenge them from within the same order. Staying in Garden City over the course of fieldwork, engaging with different social groups and being allowed to be part of some of my interlocutors’ private life created the opportunity to attend to the minute of their everyday life, where the creative process of technologies of self take place that manifest themselves in different shapes according to the different subjectivities.

**Spatial Governmentality**

Spatial governmentality is a turn in the techniques of social order that target the space in aim of governing the space rather than disciplining and controlling the individuals. It had been aforementioned how Cairo became a problematic and contested space. Garden City as space enjoy certain specificity that renders it problematic and subjects it to technologies of control, separation and domination by security apparatus.

**Gendered and Spatial Stories and Experiences of The City**

In this research project, I address the question of gender and power in relation to space. I built on Scott’s (1986) groundbreaking definition of “gender as a primary way of signifying relationships of power.” (p.1067). Through this definition, I attempt to understand how city experiences are gendered. Moreover, I look how male and female spatial tactics through everyday experiences in classed and securitized space such as Garden City are de/constructed, challenged and negotiated

When tackling women’s safety in relation to the city, women’s sexual safety due to the wide spread of gender-based violence becomes the predominant discourse that centers this relation. Women’s experiences of fear and danger in public spaces are shaped by both the physical space as well as the males’ domination to public spaces. Before the fieldwork, number of assumptions were raised against the choice of these young women to inhabit
Garden City specifically, a place that signify class and social status. One of these assumptions that these young women come from upper middle classes who can afford living in Garden City. De Koning (2009) argues that a transformation of space resulting with social segregation of Cairo's cityscapes due to neo-liberal policies can be traced through the bodies of upper- middle- class females. However, she created a dichotomomous representation for the young upper middle class women either the veiled women or non-veiled, yet both maintain classy and attractive public lifestyles and professionalism with marriageable quality. Most importantly, what is common in these two models is the issues of respectability and reputation. (p. 539). Moreover, she argues that part of these women’s visibility in the public spaces are confined to classed spaces and whereabouts such upscale coffee shops, malls and so forth to ensure their safety that would support the images of respectability and reputation.

Many of my female interlocutors come from this middle upper middle class. They are young women from their mid-twenties to early thristiest who moved to Garden City post January 2011 to lead an independent life. These young women do not fall under the categories drawn by De Koning and their choice to inhabit Garden City is not based on a classed choice to ensure safety. I argue that their experiences negotiate the right to access and shape public space through engaging the right to risk. This argument builds on Phadke (2007) “they represent female subjectivities who decided to challenge the respectability and reputation, while defying social norms and structure in order to create a safe private space. I follow their stories through their oral narratives in attempt to understand women’s personal stories to challenge socio-cultural structures and norms, while assigning new meanings and representations to the space. Women’s stories regarded as “a rich tool for understanding personal experiences, identities, and social relations, and how individual biographies intersect with social processes.” (Nagar, 2014, p.118). These narratives do not only present spatial stories, they are sites for political and social negotiation of power and change as they demonstrate how these women engage risk in order to access public space. The risk evoked here is the risk of reputation that is defined by Phadke (2007) as “accessing public space against a normative order that defines women’s proper place as being in the private spaces of
the home. This includes the risks of loss of matrimonial opportunity and a questioning of sexual virtue.” (p. 1511). The process of engaging risk is intertwined in their private lives, everydayness and daily practices that include negotiating property owners, door attendants, brokers and neighborhoods power and authority to maintain a certain lifestyle that deconstruct the notion of respectability.

This section also looks at the relationship between securitization and patriarchy arguing how the former is co-constituent to the latter. In this research, I look how urban policing produces a masculine and patriarchal space that dominate men and women, while intervening in their lives. Bell Hooks (2013) in Understanding Patriarchy defines “Patriarchy [as] a political-social system that insists that males are inherently dominating, superior to everything and everyone deemed weak, especially females, and endowed with the right to dominate and rule over the weak and to maintain that dominance through various forms of psychological terrorism and violence.” (p.1). However, patriarchal practices and affect are not solely confined to the domination of women. In my research, I attempt to demonstrate how “patriarchal values and beliefs about gender.” (p.1) dominate the space in Garden City. In addition, how these values and beliefs are practiced by the state, police and society is reproduced and constructed to control and dominate gendered identities and bodies. In my search, I raise the following questions how are women and men experiences with securitization and policing are registered differently? What kind of interventions as a result of securitization to their private lives? What kind of state and societal masculinities are practiced and by whom?

**Navigating through the Mess: Methods and Methodology**

This research project started with personal felt and lived encounters with spaces lost their openness. The deployment of the walls, barricades, fences and checkpoints across the city is a manifestation and articulation of this incarceration. Hence, my everyday life was my main field with no othering. I was not looking to understand a different field/world. On the
contrary, this ethnography was an attempt to connect, to understand and to explore the field I am part and parcel of it. It is very difficult to designate a starting point for my field or an ending. My fieldwork represents a portion of time in a lifetime. It is immersed in a certain middle, in the Deleuzian from, and stay there, where lives, relationships and objects intersect, connect and separate.

**Ethnography:**
I deploy an ethnographic approach to my research project in order to understand the micro-politics of space and the everydayness of urban securitization in Garden City. I became a frequent visitor to Garden City since 2014 though my relationship goes back then this. During my fieldwork, for three months, I have been crashing my friend’s couch and life. She is one of my main interlocutors, for whom I am very grateful for all the life-worlds she made me part of them. I spent four days per week in Garden City, which included hanging in different places such as cultural cafes, *Qahwa* and entering other worlds of various friends. In addition, I spent two days per week for three consequent weeks at NGO, close to the American Embassy, a space that is subjected to an extreme securitization. My presence was an attempt to connect my experience with other different experiences and unfold the many layers of the city and its affect.

**Oral History and Semi-structure Interviews:**
I used Oral history method to collect life stories of people who lived their whole life in Garden City or to cover certain time period of my interlocutors’ lives. The oral histories were conducted with different age groups and gender. My fieldwork included semi-structure interviews with various groups such as residents, business owners, workers in Garden City or regular visitors to the space. I conducted 15 interview and most of them are with upper-middle-class except for two from middle class background.
Psycho-geography:

Nonetheless, I embarked on countless strolls individually or with my interlocutors. Inspired by the Situationist Movement, I would walk the city with my interlocutors in an attempt to engage them with the city differently in order to “let themselves be drawn by the attractions of the terrain and the encounters they find there” (Debord, para. 2). My interlocutors and I would walk in Garden City following the erected walls, existent barricades, fences explore the possible encounters, and situations emerge from there. Moreover, the walks include interviews where I attempt to raise questions in relation to the space and encounters we face during the walk to explore how meanings are created and assigned to the space by different experiences and encounters.

(http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/si/theory.html)
Chapter 2

A Walk through the Arcades of Garden City

I imagined Garden City long before visiting and exploring the physical space. I grew up with a certain imagination for Garden City that was premised on a famous TV series *Hawanem Garden City*, which was aired in 1997. The series fed my imagination of the glorious life of beautiful women in fancy dresses and charming men in slick tuxedos whom their lives consisted of ballrooms, palaces and exclusive clubs. The series introduced a number of aristocratic families who were residents of the exclusive posh neighborhood living in extravagant mansions pre-1952. It followed the lives of female residents of this neighborhood taking us to their private lives and what kind of roles they had in the society in pre-revolutionary moment, while navigating specific public spaces. This imagined world of Garden City constituted a dominant narrative over the space. This representation still haunts us until our contemporary moment as the neighborhood of an upper class residents. The narrative is contributed to the history of the place itself. However, the relationship between the space and stories is what feeds the multiplicity of trajectories that could exist within the space. Moretti(1999) argues that “Different spaces are not just different landscapes,” as they produce different “narrative matrixes” which contribute to different representations (p. 5). Hence, I attempt to walk through and explore the various interrelated spatial narratives that exist and how different meanings are assigned to the space.

Reviewing the representation of Garden City in different cultural productions shows how the dominant narrative is centered on the gentile residents of the neighborhood. This class focus allows reflecting the political transformation, regime changes and the metamorphosis of the space. In Giran, a documentary film by Tahani Rached that was produced in 2009 presents multi-layered narratives inserting various perspectives and experiences of the history of Garden City. Rached’s interest in the neighborhood is born
out of personal encounters and narratives with the place she grew up. I met with Rached at her place right in front the American Embassy where all surrounding streets are blocked by walls. Worth mentioning that this was not, the case when she made her film as the walls were erected post 2011 and the streets leading to the embassy were blocked by barricades. This distressing atmosphere was imposed on the place because of security concerns for the embassies in the area. The security measures had changed the face of the space and she told me that it triggered her curiosity to document with her neighbors how these measures are affecting them emotionally, economically and logistically. In 2007, the new American ambassador at that time invited the neighborhood to the embassy to introduce himself and his collaborative project with the neighborhood to “beautify” the space as solution for the presence of the barricades. This invitation presented itself as chance for Rached to go beyond the walls of the embassy that is engendering emotional, logistical, spatial and economic distress to the neighborhood and to take her audience on a journey through the different walls of Garden City. However, when she started shooting she realized that how Garden City’s history is multifaceted. According to Brian Roberts (2004), “There was a whole set of interrelated oral, written and visual historical narratives, which showed a complexity in relations between public and private accounts. These accounts may give various ‘senses of place’ and belonging within a locality, which may be intertwined in an intricate” (p.91). In the film, Rached attempted to unfold the intertwined narratives that exists over space by moving smoothly among the different narratives over the space through her interlocutors such as the aristocrats, poor working class, the embassies, shop owners, intellectuals, and foreign residents. In addition, Rached weave iconic cinematic clips from classical films demonstrating Garden City in popular culture. This film outlines number of narratives and representations such as the colonial past of the neighborhood, the class politics, politics of space and place, and urbanization in relation to political and economic changes as well as urban securitization. These intertwined spatial narratives and complex relations at the backdrop pave the way to situate the research project’ questions that investigate the production of affective
relations, the securitization of space, the forms of governmentality in relation of social structures, individuals and groups.

2. History of Garden City

Garden City was the emblem of urban modernity for early twentieth century that came in line with long process of modernization under the rule of Khedive Ismail to demonstrate the country’s progress and modernity. The urban was the main site for Ismail to translate his fascination with modernization and to showcase progress under his reign. New urban plan was introduced to regulate the city by the organization of space, and this was demonstrated in the grid system of streets that was introduced to the new city of Cairo creating two cities (Raymond, 2001). Samir Raafat (2003) in his writing on the urban history of Cairo’s elitists neighborhoods estates that “much of the city’s history in the twentieth century revolved around Garden City and its inhabitants” (p.89). In 1906, Garden City came under construction to introduce the colonial city to the new Cairo with “the establishment of the British Residence in Qasr al Dubara area was followed by subdivision of the strip along the Nile lots” (Raymond, 2001, p.328). At that time, the British embassy’s land extended till the Nile dividing the corniche. Qasr al Dubara area preceded Garden City, where Ibrahim Pasha built his palace Kasr al Aali among other palaces in this district around Ismailia Square that in known today as Tahrir Square. However, nowadays, there is no division between Qasr Dubara area and Garden City they are both referred as one area. During British colonization, Garden City did not only house palaces of the royal family, but it housed the British Embassy from where Egypt was ruled by Lord Cromer “who at the stroke of a pen dissolve Egypt’s cabinet. Appoint a new khedive or annex the Sudan” (Raafat, p.78). Hence, Garden City was the site of political authority and a very secluded neighborhood inhabited only by European power and aristocrats.
The singularity of Garden City lies not only in its elite residents, but also in its urban planning. The coloniality of space in Garden City is reflected in the city’s expression of power, segregation and social stratification. On the other hand, Garden City’s planning by Jose Lamba was inspired by the British urban planning movement that was initiated by the turn of the century named Garden City Movement by Sir Ebenzer Howard. The Garden City movement aimed to build circular cities that combined the best of the city and the countryside with modern architecture from the inside and surrounded by greenbelts (Howard, 1902). The palaces, mansions and their posh society were eclipsed behind this greenbelt of gardens and long trees isolating the neighborhood from the rest of the society. The neighborhood circular intersecting streets enhanced this state of isolation, as it required knowledge and familiarity with the place, which repelled outsiders. Streets are part of city signs and many of the surrounding signs become a mundane and a fragment of our everydayness in the city where we do not see beyond its presumed “functions”, which creates a challenge. To elaborate, Umberto Eco (1997) states that the cause of this challenge is due to a general conception that “most architectural objects do not communicate (and are not designed to communicate), but function.” (p.174). Moreover, Eco attempts to establish a nexus between functional and communicative aspect of architecture and objects, where both aspect do not in contrast to each other. Nevertheless, it expands the potentiality and possibilities associated to them as interpreting the functions in light of situating them as tool for communication “might permit one to understand and define them better, precisely as functions, and thereby to discover other types of functionality” (ibid). In light of this, Garden City has expanded the functionality of the streets beyond its purpose as mere infrastructure and it operated in a way to “baffle intruders”. For outsiders, Garden City is a challenging labyrinth and according to Raafat “three times out of four, a walk down one street will deposit you back where you started much against your intention” (p. 90). The planning and designing of the neighborhood was not meant to include communal amenities, hence, the neighborhood “had no commercial area to speak of” (ibid). Shops and other communal
amenities were found on Kasr al-Aini Street, which has divided two worlds apart one of the chic residential, Garden City, and the other middle class neighborhood, Al-Mounira.

Taking a walking through the streets of the neighborhood of Qasr al Dubara and Garden City, its architecture will narrate much of the history of this political power. Looking at one of the most neglected mansions such as Villa Casdagli it will reflect the political shifts of power over the years. Villa Casdagli, no.1 Qasr al Dubara, is located at the entrance of Garden City from Tahrir Square was first inhabited by Emanuel Casdagli owning very profitable business Manchester cotton trade. In 27th November 1933, Kasr al Dubara area would make presence in international press such as The Times London when the highly celebrated wedding of Casdagli and Seymour takes place in the palace. According to Raafat, “the guest list reads like a contemporary Who’s of Who of Cairene society, ranging from the power elite to the moneyed bankers and top military brass” (p.75)
MARRIAGES

MR. E. T. CASDAGLI AND MISS SEYMOUR

The marriage took place on Thursday, November 23, at St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral, Cairo, of Mr. Emmanuel Casdagli, eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. Theodore E. Casdagli, of Cairo, and Miss Patricia Seymour, only daughter of Commander Lord George Seymour, R.N., and Lady George Seymour, of High Dyke Farm, Wellingore, Lincoln. The Bishop of Egypt and the Sudan officiated, assisted by the Rev. G. F. Hales and the Rev. C. Chitty.

The bride, who was given away by her father, wore a dress of parchment tinted satin. Her train was made of a Brussels lace shawl (lent by Lady William Seymour), draped with English point lace (lent by Mrs. T. E. Casdagli). She wore a coronet of orange blossom, and carried a sheaf of roses. There were two pages, Dicky Alexander and Michael Martin, who wore court suits, with black velvet breeches, white shirts and lace cravats, and old paste buckles. Mr. W. MacKinnon Gray, Royal Scots, was best man.

A reception was held at Kersal Villa, Midan Kasr-el-Doubara, Cairo, and then the bride and bridegroom left to spend the honeymoon at Luxor; the bride travelling in a dress of blue and white crêpe de Chine under a long coat of dark blue hopsack, with a white satin beret.

Among the guests were:

Lady Loraine, Mr. and Mrs. MacKinnon Gray, Flight Lieutenant Best, Air Vice-Marshal and Mrs. Newall, Colonel Sir Charlton and Lady Spinks, Brigadier and Mrs. Geoffrey Brooke, Brigadier and Mrs. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Kewen-Boyd, Mr. Boulanger, Colonel and Mrs. Ryder, Sir Victor and Lady Harari, Mrs. Llewellyn Phillips, Captain and Mrs. Westropp, Mrs. Trevor Williams, Colonel and the Hon. Mrs. Gisborne, Captain Blockey, Captain Fulford, Flight Lieutenant Bikes, Captain Ebbels, Major and Mrs. Jarmann, Wing Commander and Mrs. Mackey, Sir Francis and Lady Watson, Mr. and Mrs. Curnie, Major Saville, Count and Countess Raffo, Colonel and Mrs. Hughes, Sir Frederick and Lady Rowland, Mr. and the Hon. Mrs. Rowland Barnard, Captain and Mrs. Belfour, Sir Edward and Lady Cook, Colonel and Mrs. Grey, Mr. and Mrs. Hoyer-Miller, Captain and Mrs. Hope-Johnstone, Ahmed Bey Shukri, El Wahid Bey, Dr. and Mrs. Papayannou, Judge and Mrs. Crabbies, Dr. and Mrs. Reiser, Mahmoud Sidky Pacha, Sadik Hancin Pacha and Mrs. Hancin, Judge Wahba and Mrs. Wahba, Colonel and Mrs. Beatty, Judge and Mrs. Preston, Mr. and Mrs. W. Delaney, Mr. Russell, Mrs. Russell, Miss Russell, Flight Lieutenant Atcherley, Judge Barnes, Major and Mrs. Wallace, Captain and Mrs. Chadwick, Captain and Mrs. McCrae, Major and Mrs. Raitt-Kerr, Colonel and Mrs. Lewis-Hall, Mr. and Mrs. G. J. Kidston, Mr. and Mrs. Walpole, Mr. and Mrs. Lucas, Captain and Mrs. Lambert, Mrs. Hales, Colonel and Mrs. Elgourd, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Leigh, Captain G. Claytor, Bimbashi Scott, Mr. and Mrs. De Kramer, Mr. John Hamilton, Sir Henry and Lady Vane, Sir John and the Hon. Lady Vane, Mr. Labouchere, Captain and Mrs. Fisher, Group Captain and Mrs. Tyrell, Colonel and Mrs. Comyn, Major and Mrs. Ledingham, Captain and Mrs. Armstrong, Captain and Mrs. de Roebeck, Major and Mrs. Hamar, Major and Mrs. Vickery, Baron and Baroness van der Assen, and Sir Robert and Lady Greg.
Through this house, another political power was introduced to the neighborhood as soon as the Cadaglis left Egypt; the house marked the advent of American power with taking the house as their first premise. The presence of The British and American powers in Garden City demarcates the coloniality of the space until our present and shaping its continuous changing landscape. After a while, The American embassy relocated to its current premise in Latin America Street and the house during the nationalization era was turned into a public school that was named Ali Abdel Latif after one of the Sudanese national patriots. Due to disagreement regarding the land rent, the school shut its doors and left for negligence for three years. Nevertheless, its history does not stop at this point. The January Revolution came to add to the history of the house as it got its share of violence that was taking place during the clashes between the security forces and protesters. In November 2012, as a result of the clashes and use of Molotov cocktails, fire broke out in the garden and parts of the house.

3. Biographies of the space:

Space can never be confined to a sole narrative. For Doreen Massey (2005), space is not a passive factor that is constructed out of vacuum, but it is “the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions” (p.9). The urban space acts as a site for the activities and practices in which power relationships are articulated. Moreover, space is a sphere that is always read in multiplicity of relationships “in which distinct trajectories coexist” (ibid). I present here short individual biographies in order to exhibit how individual accounts can be situated within wider societal narratives, historical accounts and hegemonic narratives that dominate the space. It explores how personal narratives provide different interpretation to a space, different sense of belonging and highlight sub-dominant culture that might be subverted. As Roberts (2004) pinpoints “that there is still a personal distinctiveness and experience which cannot be fully subsumed within other

historical narratives or broader ideologies.” (p.92). Hence, the excluded can be voiced in these personal accounts and spatial narratives.

I was introduced to Garden City through my main interlocutors. I relied on my personal relationships and friends who are within the same age range. They are group of mixed gender who come from upper-middle classes and live independently in Garden City or they are regular visitors to the place. We all used to gather late at Mashareeb, which is a popular café that targets middle class clients, yet its clients are across classes, age and of mixed genders. Mashareeb is located on Kasr al Aini Street on the side of Garden City right in front of The Higher Institute of Cooperative & Managerial Studies. It is one of the landmarks of Kasr al Aini, which has been standing there for more than twenty years and I have been visiting the place regularly for almost four years now. Among my circle, you can stop by at any point without a prior arrangement and you will definitely find some of our friends there. Mostly, the crowd would gather after 9 pm till 3 am. At one night, a friend was sharing his story with the property owner and there might be potential disagreement regarding the raise in the rent. I asked him how his relationship with her is? He said: “oh, Madame Christine loves me a lot because I am coming from Masr al Gedida, so I represent an accomplished profile to live in Garden City according to the “original residents” of the place”. This was the first time to hear the term “original residents” and many of my interlocutors used it to refer to the old residents, who have been there for a long time. Consequently, this raised my curiosity of who is consider “original residents” and what constitutes “original residents”? This question remained with me throughout my fieldwork seeking to find who they are. How they perceive the changes that took place over the space? In addition, I hoped to visit their own world and explore.

3.1. The Remnants of the Good Old Days:

Though Garden City population premised on royalty and colonial power elite, its locality and closure to Downtown area in which many of its palaces “were turned into ministries
or headquarters of important government departments” (Raafat, p.71) has introduced new groups. Because of this modification in the functionality of the palaces, it had paved the way to new political power to move and inhabit Garden City. Many of these residents moved to commute easily to their work in which “the pasha brigade- senators, ministers and MPs – could walk to work if they so desired.” (p.94). Some of the descendents of this political power lives in Garden City until our present day. Wael Abdo is one of my interlocutors whose father was in a close relationship with Prince Abbas Halim, who lived in Garden City, and worked as the deputy finance minister. The Ministry of Finance occupied one of Khedive Ismail’s palaces, which is Kasr Ismail al Moufatish in Downtown Lazoughly; therefore, Prince Abbas Halim asked him to move in to Garden City to get an apartment in one of the new buildings that are being constructed. His family moved in 1948 in Bergas Street, born in 1941 he was 7 years old when they moved. However, this is not the place I visited Uncle Wael.

Currently, he lives in another building closer to Kasr al Aini Street. Graciously, he invited me to his world, while being extremely humble and welcoming. His house was the typical aristocrats’ houses full of silver, grand chandeliers and Aubusson. He started narrating what kind of life his family led and his upbringing in Garden City. The dominant narrative was the “good old days”.

“We moved first in Bergas street to an apartment of 6 rooms. Every apartment had its amenities such as two rooms in basement and one room on the roof in order to provide additional space for workers in the house. These apartments were all rentals. It was around 7 L.E., which was a big sum back then, but now we pay 12/15 L.E as we still keeping it. Every neighborhood has its own residents and nature. If you asked someone from popular neighborhoods to move to Garden City, he would not tolerate living here and would say what can I do while staying here. I do not enjoy living here, as it is very quiet. He would prefer livelier place. Every place has its own charm…”
One of the things I noticed during my upbringing is that outsiders of Garden City, who are coming to visit corniche, would have first to pass by Garden City in order to reach the corniche. They would have loud voices while being in Qasr al Aini Street, yet once they step their foot in Garden City, the visitors would unconsciously lower their voices...

Garden City is unlike Zamalek, which has a more commercial aspect than Garden City right from the start. Back then, you would easily find different shops in Zamalek, but here this was prohibited. There was nothing such as cafés; atelier or shops existed here until very recent...

In Garden City, you cannot easily shop for your groceries. There is no longer censorship on the prices and the shops would price products according to their wishes, which before was not the case before. Things here are much expensive than other parts”

The design and planning of Garden City contributed to the state of seclusion that was fostered by the space. The place has its own disciplining power that is translated in the bodily performance and adopting a certain performativity to accommodate the power of the space. Garden City had its undeclared rules, while narrating; Uncle Wael mentions number of issues that was prohibited in the place such as the loud voices and the presence of shops. I asked him about these rules and who imposed them? There was no answer for this; simply, it was the nature of the space that forced these rules. Garden City was a gated residence in spirit that lacks the gates and the walls. Its gates and walls were its powerful elite and their history that dominated the space. According to Denise (2006), Garden City is considered the earliest forms of the liberal urban project of gated communities in the early twentieth century that promoted exclusivity and luxury, while “promising its residents quiet, likened to the tranquility of a desert oasis.” (p.55). The
required quietness for residents created a vacuum space of no activities. Schools, shops and other communal amenities were found only in Kasr al Aini Street. Uncle Wael went to Qasr al Dubara public school that still stands still on Kasr al Aini Street his main mode of commute

“I would move around with my and go to school by bike. There were two bike mechanics on Kasr al Aini Street. I would park there and he takes care of it and cleans it – now there is none. One Mohamed el Khashab turned into electrician, and the other was Nubian person and his shop was named Nuby. Now, it is turned into Qahwa with the same name.”

Uncle Wael’s story goes with the dominant narrative of the place. Being part of the elite power that inhabited Garden City, the reminiscing for the good old days was always there in his narrative. However, he was not resistant to the changes that took over the space as it is part of the circle of life. Some of the changes affected his life such as the political changes during Nasser era that stripped his family lands and nationalized their factory. These changes affected the space and shaped its emotional state. Regarding that, Uncle Wael said “In Nasser era, majority of the residents stayed inside their apartments and lived in fear that he would kick them out in the nationalization process and social reforms”. I asked him, did you feel afraid? A question he did not respond to and smiled quietly.

After the interview, Uncle Wael and I went on a walk down memory lane in his beloved neighborhood. He is very aware of his privileges in terms of class and he invested this privilege during the walk. This walk is one of the most distinguished experiences of walking I had in Garden City. It is not easy to walk around and stare, take photos to buildings or ask questions regarding the space. In Garden City you always feel that you are always under surveillance by police officers, by tens of private securities officers for the banks, by Soyas (informal street valet), or by the door attendants. For instance, as I
was walking and observing the many details that are scattered around in every angle of Garden City, I was stopped by a random door attendant in Gamal Abu Al-mahsen Street and told me that the church is over there! I told him I am not looking for anything, he replied "you seemed staring and looking around". When I asked my interlocutors, who are renting and of same age range, if it is possible to talk to their door attendants, they would refute the idea and warn me that I should not even try to do it by myself as they are all local informants for the police.

Walking down the same streets under the guardianship of Uncle Wael, provided me with the opportunity to engage with the space with no self-censorship. The place turned into an outdoor exhibit and only Uncle Wael has its keys. While walking, he would stop in the middle of the street with utter confidence and modesty at the same time, where he pinpoints to buildings to narrate their stories. Walkers would pass by and stare at us as if we are part of certain show taking place in the street. I saw in their eyes mixed messages, on one hand, the desire to join me and listen to Uncle Wael's stories, on the other hand, they felt that they should interrupt us and stop what we are doing. It was a moment of disruption to the silence and societal scrutiny that is imposed on the space denying any attempt to interact with it differently.
First stop was at Bergas Street; the street where he grew up and still owns an apartment in the building. I asked him if it was true that a scene from the famous classical movie Life or Death in which the protagonist daughter would get the wrong medicine, which will kill her father, was shot here. He said yes. I was young and we were standing in the balcony watching the little girl carrying the medicine entering the building over there,
which has two gates one on Kasr al-Aini where she enters from and exist from the other door inside Garden City.

The cultural productions engendered representations focused on the lives of the elites; however, Giran added another narrative to the space. Rached in her film introduced other subjects and residents who lived on the roof of the palatial residence and gave them the voice to insert their narrative over the space. Rached unearthed the lives of hundreds of families that co-inhabited the rooftops of the building. The poor working class of the neighborhood who worked as door attendants, drivers, domestic helpers and their families. In addition, the juxtaposition of these narratives highlights the social inequalities that prevailed Garden City as well as Egypt as a whole. These subjects has a strong sense of belonging to Garden City and were rooted to the space same as the elites of the neighborhood. In the film, one of the families spoke with pride of how they spent their entire life in Garden City raising their eight children in the neighborhood. They all went to the public schools the same schools that Uncle Wael went too and the elder son grew up to be a doctor providing insights to Nasser’s regime and policies that empowered this class in order to eliminate social inequalities. He says, “All in the same square, I didn’t venture outside”. In their narratives, they were too reminiscing about “the good old days”. A middle-aged woman was showing Rached the roofs next door and says, “these are our neighbors. We’ve been friends for ages. And the one besides them too. There are no such friendship nowadays. May God bring back the good old days … we hope! I’m now 41 years old ya Nona, and I still can’t find a decent man.”

In Uncle Wael's walk, he introduced me to those “original residents” too. In Bergas Street, with his incredible confidence and humbleness he takes me inside one of the buildings and tell me that I should go inside to get to check the different buildings from inside. Then, he took the initiative and we entered to one of the buildings, where he began narrating and young man, who at first was suspicious, interrupted us. Uncle Wael
in his very clam manner ask him about a name, the young man smiles and tell him that he is my grandfather, but he died, so my father was here for a while and now it is my turn.

One of the iconic buildings of Garden City is the wooden house that stands still in Gamal el-din Aboul Mahasin Square. Uncle Wael did not hesitate to approach anyone that who could provide me with any piece of information on the history of the place. There was a very small shop right beside the house, we went straight to the owner, and he started chitchatting. He had his own way to start a conversation and asked him “are you the son of `Am Abdel Rehim? I remember the old guy who lived till his 90s he was very funny; we all loved him”. He then exhibits his different acquaintances who live in the area, which immediately makes me gain their trust. At that moment, once the name of one of residents is dropped they both seemed to share the knowledge of his seemingly disturbed path. Uncle Wael tells him you are really well rounded of the neighborhood. Abdel Azzim responded with a very powerful line “we are too history of the place, but people do not notice”. He then introduces himself “I am Abdel Azim the son of Taha and Abdel Rehim was my uncle who were at the other side of the neighborhood”. He and his extended family spent all their life in the neighborhood. His father was born in 1911 and he came to Garden City when the political elites dominated the neighborhood. Abdel Azzim

“We grew up here and our fathers narrated the history of the place and made us to memorize it by heart. This area was part of Qasr al-Dubara and all the streets here were named according to their functions for Al Saraya (palace). It was a beautiful time.”

Though he is aware that their narratives are seldom noticed, yet the history of the elite has colonized his narrative as and not his own relation to the place. He started to narrate the relation between the names and streets and not his own relation to the place. He
spoke in pride about their role in preserving this history, and how his family passed down these accounts to younger generations as a tradition. Walter Benjamin (1968) contends efficaciously and inspiringly that “there is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism.” (257). But what is a document? How can we envision different forms of documents rather the typical state/official documents that we are constructed to see and acknowledge? A document is not confined to a certain form or object. I attempt to go beyond the fixity of traditional documents that tell history and read the city here as a main reference filled with plethora of documents in which every sign, object, subject and sound of the city act as document that give accounts of history. If Garden city constituted as a signature of “progress”, “modernity”, “sophistication” and “civilization”, nonetheless, it delineates social stratification and testament to the social inequality that prevailed in Egypt at that time. Some voices of the wealthy and elite residents represented this dichotomy of civilized/barbarism that can be heard in Rached’s film.

“we were westerners in Egypt. We were the elite. We were above everything, above the law… The masses were angry, but we were so distant from them. They didn’t matter. The masses were those we saw through the car window. Those were the people. We feared them they were filthy. We were totally westernized” (Giran, 2007)

This quote for Fayza Hassan, one of the narrators in Giran who spoke in French, demonstrates how the elite of Garden City, in specific, and of Egypt as a whole perceived the rest of the society in disdain and contempt. For her, being westernized reflected civilization and modernity that allowed her to be superior to law. This juxtaposes the principles of civilization in which all subjects are equal before the law and should pay respect to it. She ends her words “back then you could be Egyptian in your own way” justifying the unjust performativity and the privileges of her class while stripping the rest of society their social rights.
Couple of blocks away from Uncle Wael’s house, I met with Uncle Saeed who lived on Aisha Taymouria Street, the building right in front of Kasr al Nile police station, and the street in blocked with concrete barricades and two conscripts guard the entrance. I went with my car and I had to identify whom I am visiting and which building to be allowed to enter. Uncle Saeed’s house did not show that he belonged to aristocratic family, it was in a state of melancholy, most of the rooms are closed and the furniture is covered with plastic sheets. Uncle Saeed was very happy to receive my visit, he lives by himself and his sister lives in the same building.

I moved to Garden City in 1953. We used to live in Masr el Gedida and I went to faculty of commerce in Ibrahim Pasha University, currently Ain Shams University. The faculty was here in Qasr al Aini, what is known now The Higher Institute of Cooperative & Managerial Studies. First, we Lived in Salsoul Street in front of Mère de Dieu. We moved to Garden City to be close to the faculty as my mother was afraid to get me a car at that young age and the commute was very long. We moved to this building to have more space, and when I got married we divided the apartment and built this wall. I have been here for 64 years.

Cairo was paradise, at 7 pm or at night, you would fear to walk around by yourself no one at street by night. Originally, it was called Qasr al Dubara not Garden City, and the corniche was not there, the embassy expanded to the Nile and Abdel Lateef Al Baghdadi negotiated with the embassy to take the land. The British Barracks were right beside the embassy.

I witnessed the day King Farouk raised the Egyptian flag on the barracks in the 40s after 1936 treaty. It was a huge celebration and we rented a room in a hotel to see the procession of King Farouk on that day. Garden City was a very exclusive area only the elites lived here. Unlike now full of banks and corporates. Sherif Pasha Sabry palace used to be at the place of Four-season hotel, his family sold the house at a very
cheap price for 5 or 6 million now it costs hundred of billions. Dr. Naguib Mahfouz, the king’s physician, his palace was here too, which is now the place of Baraka Bank. Thank God, it was not demolished. There was no restaurants here, it is not like Zamalek, it is very closed and we hope it stays like that.

Interrupting and insisting to bring something to drink – though he uses a cane to support him while walking – be insisted to abide by rules of hospitality. Then, he showed me the view from his balcony to the surrounding neighborhood.

1965 – 1970 was the invasion of the banks when they started demolishing the palaces and building instead the high buildings – this corruption. The corruption started long time ago, it is not of nowadays. I used to work in Tawfiqia Square in one of the old buildings for the African missionaries. I had a car and the commute was very easy. I used to walk a lot. I remember walking by Kasr al Nile Bridge and vendors would sell Abou Farwa. Now, I cannot walk here it is very dangerous for me – the pavements are very small and getting off the street the cars run very fast. When they closed the street, it became more safer for me and I can walk till I get a taxi cab.

3.2. Qasr al Dubara Urban Myth

My relationship with Qasr al Dubara was established as a part of my experience with the revolution and part of experiencing the feeling of openness of space that existed at that time. Post 2011, The church was known Kineest Al-Midan as it opened its doors to injured protesters and it was one of the field hospitals during the violent clashes. Moreover, it welcomed both Muslims and Christians during the holidays and performed their rituals publically with Barek Belady (God Bless my Country) hymns that the church described as the national anthem of the square. It is at the heart of Tahrir Square behind Mogammaa al Tahrir, where I used to go to the church and walk in Sheikh Rihan Street entering from Wael Makram Mosque. I have not been there since 2013. While walking to meet Uncle
Magdy inside the church, I hoped to take the same road and recollect my memories of the times I have been in that street sitting on the pavement, meeting friends and bringing medicines to the hospital. However, Sheikh Rihan Street was blocked from both sides whether Qasr al-aini or Corniche, the space was turned into military garrison, with army officers, military tanks, barricades and police officers. I had to go inside from the other entrance on Hamza Abdel Qader Street. I met with Uncle Magdy one of the manager of the church and started narrating the history of this Anglican Church.

Pastor Ibrahim Saeed, founder of the Church was a visionary man. The church used to held its meetings in The American University in Tabrir as they used to rent one of the halls, at first. In order to expand, he bought two pieces of land, one that looks over Sheikh Rihan and the other Abdel Qader Hamza Street. It was a very huge space he had a vision.

It was built in 1946 and the mogama3 was not there at that time, so it was the main building looking over Tabrir square, al mogama3 was built in response to the church. The story goes that King Farouk was passing by and saw the church and was provoked by the cross as it was the main building looking over the largest Squares in Cairo. As a result, he gave an order to hide the cross. Post 1952, Pastor Saeed met with President Mohamed Naguib at that time and he told him the following quote:

“The king wanted to hide the cross, and the LORD banished him to a place where only he sees only the cross.” Now the church is nicknamed as Kineest al-Midan

Sheikh Rihan was called back then Sheikh al `abit. This street closed and turned into such military arsenal after the inauguration of al Sisi in 2014. As the square is a very vital space and to control any future insurgency. It has its downsides and upsides. Now, it gives more space during holidays and we use the street to contain larger numbers. On the other hand, it is definitely not a pleasant experience to be checked by security every time you visit as if you are entering the Qanator Prison. Yet,
it is not that bad, it gives a sense of safety too.

The administrative building was built by the end of 70s as our number increased. As always, we suffered from bureaucracy in order to expand. One of the obstructs was the American embassy and we had to take their approval. Nevertheless, we have to seek National Security approval.

The memory that come to my mind in relation with space and what clings with me the most was how easily you can arrive to the church. It is related to my daughter, Maggi, she was 9 or 10 and she comes with me on Sundays. She was participating in a play to be shown in the holiday and her rehearsals were on Friday. Back then, I was a teacher and I was giving a lesson that time. I asked my wife to drive Maggi. I went to work and at one point I got concerned and called to check if she drove her and she said that I was working on some domestic shores and will delay her so she will go by herself. She was only 9 years old so I panicked. I went to the church, and I found her there. She ran into me and told do not mess up this moment for me. I asked her how did you come, and she said, "by myself" and asked the rest to applaud. I said okay, but since you made it by yourself, you do it again in case your mother and I are busy and cannot drive you. She took a public transport and rode the bus coming to Tahrir square.
4. Coloniality of Space

Another representation that punctuated new layer to the spatial narratives of Garden City, which shapes the everydayness of its residents is the militarization of space post 2011. The posh districts that was once known for her palaces, gardens and unique architecture is famous now for its walls that blocks many of its streets. Garden City is turned now into
a fortified zone that resembles Green Zone of Iraq, where the American and British embassies are located. The US army invaded the area in 2003, and ramparts were erected turning it to military zone, which opened its doors to the public in 2015 with severe restrictions.

The presence of military forces and features in Garden City its roots go back to its colonial history. During the interwar years, Garden City “would suddenly turn into a virtual British garrison, its command center located at Gray Pillars, No. 10 Tolombat Street” (Raafat, p.97). Interestingly, hundred years after, this same building would attract an entirely different audience through its cultural spaces that is transforming its spatial narrative.

Correspondingly, while walking through the various biographical accounts of the place, I would find traces of this colonial military history. The Walda Pasha building in Latin America Street, which is one of the oldest buildings and refers to the earliest palaces of Qasr al Dubara area has shared its accounts of the interwar period and how British occupation dominated Garden City at that time. Raafat states that “as British military staff swelled to unprecedented wartime proportions accommodations were found post-haste so that the entire area around the British residency in Kasr al dubara district was spoken for within a matter of months. Surplus personnel were therefore moved inside Garden City where entire apartment houses were requisitioned for the khaki-clad arrivals.” (p.98). I entered the Walda Pasha building numerous times before the field and it was a critical site for me to experience the police interpellation and securitization practices as the building is located between the British and American embassy. During the field, where I spent couple of weeks in one of the NGOs in the building, I thought that I am quite familiar with the history of the place. To my surprise, Garden City proves again its singularity, as not only every building has its own share of history; sometimes each floor of its buildings still carries its own history. The building welcomes you with its huge entrance hall and wide palatial staircase that takes you to three floors. However, I never
went beyond the third floor before my visit to Zainab and Ahmed on the fifth floor. Going out of the elevator, I was astonished as I found myself in a different building, the palatial staircases disappeared, more apartments and doors appeared. In this regard, Ahmed says that,

“The building consisted of 3 floors only and it was French design. However, the last two floors were built during the war years by the British embassy. This was to accommodate key British officers to place them in buildings close to the embassy. As result, these two extra floors were established with different design and each floor contain eleven apartments unlike the older floors that contain four apartments per each floor. As, a result, this building used to be the highest building in the area.”

Post British colonization in Egypt, American embassy becomes the center of events and clashes. In reaction to American foreign policies and imperialism, the American embassy was a target of number of protests and center of clashes, nonetheless, its locality near to Tahrir Square that has been the main site for demonstration, has caused constant state of fear. One of the earliest attack that targeted the American and Belgium embassy was in 1961; protests erupted in anger in response to the killing of the Pan-African Movement figure, Congolese Prime Minister and independence leader Lumumba with the allegation of the involvement of US and Belgium. The protesters set fire in the old American Embassy Library premise. Afterwards, the American Embassy premises were all moved to one block in Latin America Street.

March 20th, 2003 demarcates a critical moment to Garden City as well as to the revolutionary scene in Egypt. On that day, for the first time under the reign of Mubarak, protesters were able to take over Tahrir Square, Cairo’s most political and vital square, when demonstrations erupted in response to the American invasion and occupation on Iraq. The demonstrations started with the American University students breaking in Tahrir Square and were joined afterwards with thousands of protesters targeting the square and the American Embassy. This incidence put the sovereign’s power and control
as well as its state of exception to test. Moreover, it led to altering the “spatial arrangement” of Garden City and subjecting the space to technologies of control. For Garden City, at turn to the governmentality of space to take place out of fear and threat that is targeting the space. The technologies of control started with placing fences and metal barricades in Latin America Street and all streets leading to the American Embassy as well as establishing security checkpoints that investigating who is entering and visiting whom.

Ahmed “I remember the day they closed the street very well, it was March 19th, 2003. I had a huge fight with the security officers. Back then, I was flight lieutenant at airspace. On that day, I was wearing my uniform and as I am trying to enter my building the security officers stopped me and start questioning who I am. For me, who are you to question me and you see me in my uniform and I lived here for all my life, I should be questioning you and what are you doing here? It was a big fight.

Henceforth, Latin America Street, now Tawifik Diab Street, was once one of Garden City’s most lively and vibrant street with touristic shops, markets, floral shop and different communal amenities ending with a traffic light at Simon Bolivar Square, its noise started to fade and its swarm began to fly away as many shops closed or changed activity. The state of exception gradually became permanent as post 2011 the fences were replaced with walls in reaction to attacks targeting the American Embassy in November 2012.

Throughout the past 15 years, the politics of waiting came to dominate and to govern the neighborhood and the lives of the residents, workers and visitors. They are turned into Patients of The State (Javier Auyero, 2012) seeking the rule of the state and trapped within its legal system, a system that is put on hold due to the state of exception and turned the space into space of waiting. A collective of the neighborhood filed a case against the Ministry of Interior to remove the fences and open the streets since roads are public facilities and properties. Though they won the case, yet the continuous clashes put the
decision on hold. My interlocutors from this area whether live, work or visit, they all said that the street will not see the light anymore and these walls are to stay, there is no hope! The walls and checkpoint points created a constant state of precarity that dominated their everyday practices, which I will attempt to delineate in the following chapters.

**Unfolding a Becoming in The Place**

January 2011 constituted a moment of rupture in the social order and structure in which many subjectivities went through phase of detachment with previous social hierarchies and socially constructed modes of being. Looking at Garden City post 2011, it represented a space of opportunities and transformation. Many of my interlocutors, who moved to Garden City post 2011, were subjectivities standing at threshold of imagining a new modality of being as well as how to live out of the existent social structure. The space that was once repellent and forbidden to outsiders due to its colonial elite history is detaching with this cultural history and a process of transformation started to take place. This transformation is embodied in the different subjectivities inhabiting the place and changing its politics, along with the communities that are being formed in resistance to the class, social and space politics. Moreover, the cultural spaces that are disrupting the silence that was imposed on the space and inviting various subjects and engaging them differently with the space.

1) **Moving Out, Moving In**

Hana, 27 Years old, whom my relationship with emanates from Tahrir Square during the days of protesting, singing revolutionary songs and running from clashes. She moved out of her family’s house in 2012 after her graduation immediately. Hana is similar to many young women who faced difficulties in order to participate in the larger movements of change, had to start with challenging the authority of the household embodied in the parent or the larger family. The household has been primary struggle that women had to overcome in order to participate in the larger struggle between the despotism of the state
and the protesters. “I was not able to participate when the revolution erupted and I have been locked by my father in the house throughout the eighteen days. It was a devastating feeling to be locked in the house when people outside are struggling for the freedom of the nation… I never recovered that I was not able to take part in the revolutionary moments. This has created my own revolution against the authority of my father that is reflected in many aspects of my life, like taking off the veil. I decided to take it off as first step to resist this authority. Then, on my graduation day I moved out of the house to lead an independent life.”

Garden City presented itself as a perfect space for Hana to move in 2012. The violent clashes in Downtown and its surrounding was neighborhoods caused a series drop in the rental prices in Garden City as target renters started to abandon the space. She rented the smallest room in an apartment that was inhabited by other five flat mates the room was for 500 L.E. Hana’s mother passed away before the revolution. Her ongoing conflicts with her father over her personal spaces made her lose her father, who had cut ties with her and refused to talk to her until she returns home and wears the veil again. This has lasted for more than a year and it took him 2 years to come with peace with the fact that I am not living in the house, and we were able to work on our relationship. at one point had to leave Garden City and moved to Maadi, but she returned in 2014/2015. When her father passed away she returned to Heliopolis, but due to her work, she moved again in Garden City in 2017. This time was very hard to get a good apartment with convenient prices as before as they started to increase again. According to Hana, “If you get used to living in the city center, it will be hard to leave. I lived in Maadi for a year and returned to Garden City due to its centrality”.

Salma, my relationship with her goes back to 2014 and she is 29 years old. She offered me her house and to crash on her couch where I spent most of my fieldwork days. I remember when she first moved to that house while trying to help with the
reconstruction of the place, providing help with cleaning, painting and moving stuff. She did not contract anyone to help with this as she had a very limited budget, so Salma and her partner carried out all required tasks by themselves and friends provided help when needed. Salma provides insights in her personal narrative of how she challenged household authority that was mainly represented in her relationship with her mum.

My parents are divorced since I was in high school. After the divorce we divided into teams, my brother joined my father and my mother, sister and I were on the other side. We lived in Mohandseen then my sister left for an academic fellowship for three years. During my undergraduate years, I was going through series of transformation being involved in students’ activities and getting into relationship. My mother too, was going through number of transformations because of the divorce and losing her parents. It was a very charged time, she was very authoritative and we were clashing all the time. I remember when I joined the summer school of Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies in 2007/2008; she was very furious and thought that it was my partner’s influence. She thought that those people of human rights will do brain washing to me though she raised us to read and explore. However, by time she changed her mind about that. Another incident where she had to put her foot down, when I applied for an internship in a feminist NGO and she prevented me.

Over the years, our fights got uglier and uglier. I wanted more space and she is always fighting this. During the revolution, though I was a bit afraid, she refused to let me go. I had to go to demonstration behind her back. After I started to work I started to negotiate around my curfew, I had a curfew at 11. One of earlier ugly fights with my mother was when I decided to take off the veil. My mother and sister did not take it well and it affected my relationship with my sister for long time. My mother was extremely furious and she kicked me out of the house to my father’s house. It was really a punishment as my father was living by himself and his place was in complete mess. It was a gloomy
phase in my life. I never planned to leave the house, but how she used to punish me by kicking me and sending me to my father made the decision to leave the house easier.

At one point, we moved from Mohandesin to 6 October to a better place and much bigger house. It was her dream house; the big house that should bring the whole family together. Actually, she was very controlling she designed my own room to accommodate how she imagines the proper way I inhabit the house. I cannot move anything around in the house.

One day, we went through a disastrous fight she broke my camera – it was violent and ugly we were in the garden and our voices were very loud. She did not let me out of the house until my father came to pick me up. Once my father arrived, I got out instead of riding his car I took my car and I left. At that moment, I reached the conclusion that I cannot stay anymore. Afterwards, I stayed at my father’s place for three months and refused to go back to my mom. Meanwhile, I took my current apartment and my father never realized anything I used to go back full of paints, but he would not realize. I started to move gradually and move my stuff. I kept my place secret and would not let them know. She used to put my brother in rage and tell him that you are letting your sister to go loose and meet boys. However, when I moved Perihan was already in Garden City. This made the transition more familiar.

Omar, who is 31 years old, his relationship started with Garden City on a regular basis through Mashareeb, and from there he knew the current community in Garden City. “I moved out of my family house as they were very conservative family and they were interfering in the quality of my private life. How I am spending my time, when I should back, who are my friends and I am not allowed to smoke or to be late. This is not me. Then, I started thinking about moving out and I was not sure if I am ready for such responsibility. By mere chance, I knew a friend who had a friend that was looking for flat mate for his apartment in Garden City. For me Garden City is like Zamalek and Korba,
those elitists’ unaffordable places. However, when I knew the rent it was convenient to me especially I was in between jobs and I did not have any savings. I think people like me who are leading an independent life are many in Garden City. When I moved I had many encounters with the original residents and Hawanem Garden City. Do you remember Caco Café near the Italian Embassy? The one that manufactured El-Sisi chocolate. The female owner along with other ladies of the neighborhood, who set together planning on how to kick us from Garden City. We used to hear them while passing by and how they were really upset by our presence.

Aly 31 years old scriptwriter, who originally graduated from Faculty of Law, and all his social relations and contacts were centered in Heliopolis, where he lived all his life. Before 2011, Aly was oblivious of this side of the city and the kind of lifeworlds it contains. He says, “before 2011, I had no relationship with Garden City and Downtown, it all started with the revolution.” However, his earlier encounters were when he was politically active as he was a member of a political party, in which its head office was in Garden City, “of course this was pre-June 2013”. In the interview, he stressed that he became apolitical post the events of Rabaa` in August 2013. Many of my interlocutors, who were politically engaged, highlighted the fact that they became apolitical post June 2013 and more focused on their private lives. “Afterwards, I became more of apolitical and I used to be a frequent visitor to The Art Space as I attend their concerts and other events. In November 2015, I moved to Garden City as I had escalated conflicts with my parents regarding the lifestyle I want to lead. At that time, I was working in smart village and it made sense to move and to be in city center. I did not want to live in Downtown it was too aggressive to me. I knew Omar before and I knew that his old housemate was leaving and he needed it a new housemate.”

For Perihan, who is 30 years old, her relationship with Garden City started when two male friends and she were trying to find a private space to work from it. “We come from
the same field, media. We have different timings of work due to our field. Garden City was convenient for us due to its locality and I hang out on Mashareeb, so it was convenient to my commute and the places I spend my time. It was very convenient unlike Maadi, for instance, which is a beautiful place but far. Garden City is really cozy very central to my hangouts and closed on itself. At first, the place we rented served as only a workspace for us in late 2011 and early 2012. Afterwards, in mid-2013, we started moving in one by one and we decided to live together”. Unlike, Hana and Salma, Perihan did not fully move out of her parents’ house. Negotiating her space took a different route, which started with the kind of work she does. Her work as a set decorator in Television series requires a certain life style that challenges the social norms and structure. It requires a lot of travelling and midnight working hours with mixed groups, besides the stereotypical reputation of that field in our society. Perihan told me that she has a good relationship with her parents and she did not want to jeopardize this as long as she was able to make them accept what she does. It was not easy for them at first to see me coming home 5:00 am and travelling for weeks when I have a shooting. By the time, they came with peace with her work that challenges their social conceptions and appropriate roles for women in society. They became proud of her when her name appeared regularly in Ramadan’s series year after year. Therefore, she felt that she does not need to move out to make a statement, when she has the freedom to spend her time out as much as she wants. Garden City was very central to her as she finishes work late, so she still close to see her friends afterwards without having to drive the whole way back to her parents’ house. Garden City for Perihan is this stop in-between her lifeworld that keep it balanced.

I knew Nayera long time ago as went to university together. However, our paths recently have crossed in Garden City. Nayera, who is 31 years old, her parents were divorced and she has been living with her mother in a family building. Unfortunately, her mother passed away four years ago and she has been living in the house by herself since her older
sister is married. “I had my own space within the house, but it was within the system since my aunt and grandmother are living in the same building. Moving out was not about being alone as much as having my own space. I was emotionally attached to the place and felt that it was not mine as everything belonged to my mother. I was living in Nasr City for all my life and I have been working in Downtown for more than 3 years. My father, who strongly disagreed, did not welcome my moving out decision. My argument was about the commute, and that I spend much time stuck in traffic. My father did not like the idea that his daughter is living in Downtown by herself, so the choice of Garden City was some sort of compromise. However, he took a long time until he accepted the fact that I moved and did not talk to me for months. When I moved I did not take anything from the house, I felt that I do not own them, I was also insecure that might cause sensitivity to my sister. I did not want to have any emotional or logistical burden and this was the purpose of moving out.”

It is worth mentioning, that many of the aforementioned interlocutors, their roads crossed through Garden City. They represent a small number of the wider social network that exist in the place. I claim that they formed a community within the space along with their extended circles. While being in Garden City, I would stumble on someone or meet a friendly face randomly. The cultural cafes, Mashareeb as well as their houses are all spaces of sociabilities, where their lifeworlds, trajectories and the events of their everyday life intersect, connect, separate. I look at these actions as ordinary affects, where I am not looking for representation and meanings in these affects, the coming together of these ordinary affects represent “potential modes of knowing, relating, and attending to things are already somehow present in them in a state of potentiality and resonance. Ordinary affects, then, are an animate circuit that conducts force and maps connections, routes, and disjunctures.” (Stewart, 2007, p.2). Their everyday life and the modes of coming together become a mode of resistance to the social and urban policing they face in the city. Through their daily activities, they create their own life that is opposite to the
dominant social norms. For instance, the life style of Perihan, who has two male housemates. For the society, this affects her reputation as morally unrespectable woman. Same case for Salma, who has a partner and spends many nights at her place, or the rest of the community who holds house parties that, involves dancing and drinking. The absence of having this interfering structure of authority in their private lives becomes a mode of resistance.

**Sharing Stories, Sharing Struggles**

I start with oral sources, as it has been “a rich tool for understanding personal experiences, identities, and social relations, and how individual biographies intersect with social processes.” (Nagar, 2014, p.118). These oral narratives provide insights on the personal experiences of young women and men who were engaged in the major social and political movements of change and how they perceived this change and translated it in their private lives. Feminist theory is concerned with the question of knowledge produced on women’s lives and how it is constituted in order to affirm existent gender roles and social norms and order. According to Shapiro (1992), “Feminist theorists have called upon scholars to examine the way that knowledge is constituted: to unpack the processes that select and preserve evidence, to decenter the narrative, recognizing that the neglected or invisible people on the margin have, in fact, defined the center; to interrogate the categories of analysis within each discipline; to demonstrate the way that gender works to legitimate structures of power.” (Shapiro, p. 2). Hence, oral sources have been an important tool for feminists and feminist tradition to draw the attention of the necessity of writing women’s history and experiences to be a reference for women to understand and learn about women’s issues.

In my interviews, there was gender difference in the quality of stories collected from my female and male interlocutors, who are leading independent life in Garden City. Specifically, in their moving out decision and the conflicts they faced with household authority. In order to challenge dominant narratives, experiences, stories and meanings
that do not fit in the social hegemonic narrative have to be unearthed. Anderson and Jack (1991) refer to “Crolyn Heilburn [who] urges biographers to search for the choices, the pain, the stories that lie beyond the “constraints of acceptable discussion.”” (p.11). I attempted to dig and explore these areas. However, men were less sharing in their stories about their private lives and domestic conflicts that led to their decision to move out. They just gave headlines. Many factors to be considered when looking at this difference and analyzing it. I attribute this to three assumptions that can be explored extensively in separate research paper that focuses on the gender differences in the process of this form of storytelling. The first assumption that my gender as female can be a barrier in the process of narrating and opening up about very sensitive and private details for men. Unlike the case with my female interlocutors, whom being of the same gender provided a space for them to share their personal accounts, challenges and struggles comfortably, while knowing that I can relate to and understand the challenges they faced. This leads to my secondary assumption, which is narrating the personal and the stories of the private space are gendered act in our society as well as associated to feminine connotation. Hence, the social construct of masculinities has affected how men narrated and presented their personal challenges in a very brief manner with no emotional depth abrupting the reflection or analysis to the experience. The third assumption is related to the consequences and hardships women have to face when taking a decision such as moving out of their parents’ houses and familial authority to lead an independent life. For instance, the consequences and hardships are manifested in the potential violence in the private space to prevent women from moving out, the social stigmatization affecting their reputation of leading immoral lifestyle and losing ties with family member as mentioned by some of my interlocutors. When I asked men if they faced any of these issues, they said that they did not though their parents were not welcoming their decisions at first.

On the other hand, my female interlocutors were more reflexive, more sharing and outspoken of various private details of their experiences. In feminist tradition, “women’s narratives and autobiographies often are characterized by frequent understatements,
avoidance of first-person point of view, rare mention of personal accomplishment, and disguised statements of personal power.” (Etter-Lewis, 1991, p.48). The sense of strength and ownership in the narratives of these women is a representation and continuation of the long history of feminists’ efforts to encourage women to narrate their personal accounts and to perceive that their personal accounts are constructs of the political narratives. During the interviews, Nayera, would share behind the action story and history and would tell me this will make you understand why I took this action. On the other hand, though many of the interlocutors I knew before the fieldwork and are essential part of social network, the interviews was a space to know more aspects of their personal aspects. For instance, I knew Salma for four years, yet on the interview she smoothly invited me to some of the most contentious, vulnerable and sometimes aggressive moments of her life. It was the first time that she would tell me about how ugly and aggressive her fight with her mother turned into and how she was prisoned in the house. Moreover, how vulnerable she was while looking for apartments when she did not have enough money to support herself. She would pause in the middle and encourage me to ask any question while stressing on “any question”. We stayed for almost two hours, while she is narrating continuously. Towards the end, I asked her if she felt tired, we can continue at any other time. Her response was “actually, I find this refreshing and relieving”. I see that her comment reflect how the process of remembering, narrating and travelling through these different moments served as reminder to the self of her inner strength while going through these moments. Moreover, it reflects the state of peace of mind she was able to reach and maintaining the sense of autonomy, which she currently enjoys as well as rekindling her relationship with her mother. By the end of the interview, I said, “does your mother came to terms and more acceptable with the fact that you are living independently?” She said “it is fact for her, but she did not manage to come to good terms with it and every time she sees me she asks me to return home. Not to mention, the horror stories that my parents share with me and use it to make be petrified of living by myself.
In the end, I see the way these stories are being narrated as reflection of the developed power women have developed towards their personal account. Being able to their stories and share the hardships they went through demonstrates their agency as well as having pride to challenge dominant narratives that they do not fit into or relate to, while imagining different ways to lead their own lives. Nevertheless, the apparent state of ownership of women over their stories is not only a continuation of long history of feminists’ endeavors to set forth women’s voices to subvert dominant narratives on normalized gender roles. The political upheaval of January 25 has radicalized these endeavors, where young feminists’ voices and initiatives attempted to break the silence and dissolve the dichotomy of the public/the private. The networked public sphere played an important role in the “visibility” of women’s stories post the uprising. Many Facebook pages emerged by those young feminists and initiatives who used social media as medium to voice their everyday experiences in order to construct social change. The shared stories and testimonies addressed the social taboos such as the various forms of violence practiced against women in private as well as in public, tribal marriages, sexuality issues, restricting women’s mobility and women’s confinement by household authority. The issues were addressed to assert that not only the personal is political, but that the political is personal as well, while increasing the visibilities of such experiences and inspiring other women to narrate.
Chapter 3

Beyond the Walls: Affective Geography

The abundance of trees and various unique plants that characterized the neighborhood once famous for its greenbelt have long been eroded, giving way to cement walls concealing the precious little greenery that is left. The aforementioned history of state of exception in Egypt demonstrates how sovereignty is articulated in the city landscape and how it is practiced and integrated in the everyday life of city dwellers. Navaro-Yashin (2012) argues how the question of sovereignty goes beyond the speech act of declaring state of emergency. She integrates the question of materiality and temporality, according to Navaro “Sovereignty is worked on in a given territory through time and is a long term process of negotiation, contestation, and mediation between various actors within a terrain of materialities and physical properties.” (p.43). I investigate through Navaro’s lens the materiality of the sovereign in Garden City over space and time in creating a contested space between enforcing sovereignty? by state and the neighborhood subjects whether residents, business owners and visitors. The walls are present on the map blocking a number of streets in Garden City such as Latin America Street, Al-Shams Street, Kamal El-Din Hussien Street, and Oziris Street which all lead to the American Embassy. In this chapter, I attempt to trace, explore and narrate what is beyond the walls that are absent from the map such as the subterranean relations, feelings, meanings emerged and assigned to the space.

1 Urban Securitization Technologies: Walls, Barricades and Checkpoints

1.1 Walls

The walls as architectural devise were erected in response to political upheaval and turmoil post 2011 as way to separate and control the masses. Though the construction of walls was more centralized in Downtown area to prevent protests from reaching to Ministry of Interior, many of them are removed now and some are replaced by gated
walls or kept the streets open and surrounded the vital public facilities with concrete Jersey barriers or reversed T shaped dividing concrete walls. However, in Garden City, the walls, which were built in November 2012 in reaction to attacks on the American Embassy, were meant to stay.

Literature tackling the erection of walls mostly elaborates on the architectural usage of walls and their functionality in enforcing politics of separation. In addition, it highlights the technologies integrated in the development of walls to adapt according to the required function of control and separation. For instance, regarding the wall between Palestine and Israel, Weizman elaborates on how the barrier was conceptualized to acquire a flexible adaptive characteristic as “throughout the process of its construction, the Wall was continuously deflected and reoriented, repeatedly changing its route along its length” (p.162) and known for its “elasticity”. However, Umberto Eco provides a different reading to explore beyond the functionality of architecture. He argues how architectural objects act as signs and codes to be unpacked providing multiple meanings and readings of the city as “architectural signs as denotative and connotative according to codes, the codes and subcodes as making different readings possible in the course of history, the architect’s operation as possibly a matter of ‘facing’ the likelihood of his work being subject to a variety of readings, to the vicissitudes of communication, by designing for variable primary functions and open secondary functions” (p. 182). Hence, how we read the meanings signified of the urban space through its built environment is constantly a changing process. These meanings are produced and reproduced as many factors influence the urban signs. The urban signs are constituted through interactions that are situated with certain historical context. Moreover, issues of gender, political and socio-economical aspects contribute to the production of different interpretations of the space and its signs. In addition, these signs produce relations, feelings and practices that shape life in the city. Many of my interlocutors had different interaction and readings to these signs, while others failed to notice, to read and to interpret them. Throughout the field,
multiple experiences with the walls have emerged and meanings produced and assigned. Each of those experiences, meanings and affect are singular to the social, spatial, political context and gender of the different interlocutors. I will attempt to represent some of these experiences and the different meanings, feelings, encounters and emotions that I traced in the field.

In 2012, Garden City was put under siege when one of Tahrir’s main arteries, Kasr Al-aini, was blocked with wall and Latin America Street along with other streets inside Garden City. This has affected the life of the residents and their daily practices, sometimes they were in negative sense and other times they created a potentiality of new experiences and sociability. Hana moved to Garden City in mid-2012 and experienced living under this siege as she recalls how it affected her mobility during the presence of Kasr Al-aini’s wall:

“Getting in and out of Garden City was the difficult part. I suffered a lot with transportation as Taxis refused to go to Garden City during the wall. I would walk and take the metro and that is why I bought a bicycle. It was my main mode of mobility inside or outside of Garden City in addition to my legs. Otherwise, Taxi would drop you off to the corniche and you would walk to Garden City … I used to love Garden City more in time of the revolution, when the wall was there I enjoyed walking more than now.” (Hana, 27 years, lives in Garden City).

The presence of wall presented an unexpected chance for Hana to engage with the city in different forms. Before that moment, she never thought of buying a bicycle in order to rely on it as her main mode of mobility. For once, priority in Kasr al Aini was not to cars and vehicles instead priority was for pedestrians. Though the wall was a crippling and paralyzing life in the surrounding neighborhoods, this shift of power from dominance of vehicles to other forms of mobility was a liberating experience for Hana. Being able to cycle is one way to experience the city, but is a form of mobility that Cairo city dwellers
find difficult to achieve. This is due to many factors such as the neo-liberal policies in the urban planning that prioritize the functionality of roads to server car owners. Hence, there are no special lanes that are integrated in the roads to include other forms of mobility such as cycles or motorbikes. As a result, cycling in the midst of other vehicles becomes a very dangerous act to perform. Moreover, this was also a unique experience for Hana to cycle as woman. In addition to weighing the risk of crashing with cars, Hana must also consider the risk of sexual harassment, which she suffers from on daily basis in the street. The erection of wall in Kasr al-Aini and suspending its functionality for vehicles, Hana felt that there is more personal space for her while cycling, making her feel safer and created a sense that the street was more accessible for her. Nevertheless, Hana’s choice to cycle is not to be interpreted solely as a choice in quest of the question of safe environment, avoiding physical and sexual assaults, for women to enable women’s mobility, yet, it is a choice that engages the question of risk of how women access public space. In other words, Hana’s choice to cycle in reaction to wall construction can be understood through various prisms. Cycling for Hana was a decision she made as a form of negotiating with a changing landscape. As a woman, she did so by risking physical and sexual assault. Her experience raises questions of the relationship between the risk of gendered violence and women’s mobility and also engages the question of how women access public space.

Phadke (2007) extends the risk question in relation to beyond the physical and sexual assault through exploring how safety discourses can impose limitations to women’s experiences. Through attending to Hana’s story with cycling, it resonates with one of the risks that Phadke lists in her arguments which is “the risk, should women choose not to access public space more than minimally, of loss of opportunity to engage city spaces and the loss of the experience of public spaces. It also includes the risk of accepting the gendered status hierarchies of access to public space and in doing so reinforcing them.” (p.1511).
I entered the field with a legacy of assumptions in relation to women’s presence and visibility in public spaces that is confined to sexual harassment and assault due to the charged context of sexual violence against women in Egypt that proliferated in 2006 and heightened post 2011 with mob sexual assaults of female protesters in Tahrir Square 2012 – 2014. This context has affected women’s experiences in public spaces and wrapped their experiences with constant fear. This fear accompanies most women in their everyday practices in the public space, shape their daily decisions that varies according to their social, and class backgrounds. What mode of transport to take based on class, time and place? What to wear? Is it walkable walk or not? Are the streets lighted or not? Are these streets accessible to transports? These civic and sexual safety concerns limit women’s experiences to the extent it reduces their imaginations of the different forms of engagement within the public space. This legacy of assumption manifested in the kind of questions I entered the field with regarding women’s relationship with the city neglecting what potential desires for engagement other than walking safely and performing their femininity or their gender freely and safely. Hence, the story of Hana with the bike was a revelation of what other aspect to explore about potential desires and missed opportunities that Phadke raises beside the questions that emerge from the context of sexual violence.

When Hana was narrating this story, she did not reflect on it from a gender perspective. However, visualizing a young woman cycling in the streets as a main mode of mobility in a context of fear of public violence against women, on one hand, and complete male dominance in the public transport sector, it destabilizes the normative visibility of women in how they access and engage with the city, on the other hand. Therefore, this choice engages risk and challenges the gendered status hierarchies in the public space inspiring more women to imagine and find ways of their own to experience the city breaking from social and gender norms.

I opt to read the choice of cycling from an affective perspective and how numerous
affects are produced in relation to the affective object, Kasr al-aini wall. The walls acted as a tool of separation and control in order to mediate power between protesters and security apparatus. Moreover, it was a crippling and paralyzing force for daily mobility, business and shop owners. Yet, for Hana, though this has affected her daily navigation, it did not affect her power of acting as cycling and engaging with the city in such a manner despite the imposed siege reflects how her body devising it ways in resisting this siege. The day that the walls was demolished, it has triggered contradictory affective tones for Hana.

“I remember when they teared down the wall I felt two contradictory feelings. First, I had a feeling of extreme oppression when I saw how wide is the street, and how my life would be much easier now. I felt oppressed by the wall. On the other hand, there was an extreme happiness and I was over the top that now the street is open – almost an exaggerated happiness. I almost forgot how the street used to look like and how it looked with having the cars on the streets.”

Another experience with walls was of Nashwa, who worked in H&H clothing shop for 27 years. A shop that I did not notice in my previous walks to trace the different walls in Garden City as it was in the basement of Al Shams building and hidden behind the concrete blocks and plants pots that prevent cars from parking. The first time I noticed it, it was around 6 pm and it was getting dark, passing by it, I was not sure if it is open or closed and I went down the stairs and found that it was a small shop full of Egyptian gowns mainly, silver accessories as well as lingerie and pajamas. Nashwa, was sitting on her desk right in front of the door watching TV, is a middle class working woman, who seems to be in her early 50s. The items there were very expensive and I found a ring similar to what I was wearing, which costed the double. I told her that and she said, “Well, we sell the same prices for all the tourists and Egyptians”. The shop was right next to the wall between Latin America Street and Simon Bolivar Square. After couple of weeks, I went back to her, but this time was in the noon and decided to go and talk to her
about the wall and how did it affect the business.

I was not the first to ask Nashwa about the wall and how did it affect their work as many journalists came to her before. While narrating the impact of the clashes and the wall on the business, her narration was very monotonous and full of tiresome with minimum details, she said this story many times and it was frustrating to say it again. However, when I started to ask about her sensory relation to the wall, her narration started to embrace a variety of emotions. She started complaining in anger regarding how the wall was a site for disturbing behaviors for her senses. Though she got tired of talking to journalists and desperate that this situation will never change, she told me one day I wrote to Wael Al-Ebrashi. The sensory encounter stimulated this action.

Figure 5: Photo Credit – Diana Magdy, 2017. (Fieldwork visuals)
“Can you imagine yourself sitting on your office doing your job and all of sudden I find a conscript coming and taking off his pants to urinate. There are always conscripts here and they come to urinate at the wall here. The breeze wafts was loaded with the odor of urine. All what you can smell here was the smell of urine dominating the whole space and I could not breath. At one point, I could not tolerate this anymore, so I went to the conscript’s superior and started a fight with them. Other times, I find men, who park their cars in front of the wall and get out in order to pee. So, I tried to contact and send to Wael Al-Ebrashi in order to complain about the wall.”

This is one of the daily experiences and encounters that Nashwa goes through with the wall and the police presence in the area. Usually, the journalists do not include these little details in their coverage focusing mostly on the economic impact of the walling. Yet, here, within the sensory encounters that are seldom noticed, lie the potentiality of acting. The power of acting is increased or decreased according to the affective tone related to the affective body. However, affect is not pre-determined where the moment of encounter followed with a middle moment between the encounter and re-registering it to produce an action. This middle is always in movement and a process as “it is a state of suspense, potentially of disruption” (Bassumi, p.26). What triggered Nashwa’s feelings of anger was not only the economic recession due to the political events, clashes and the presence of the wall- the wall for her was a fact and it is here to stay. However, the anger was a result of the extent of subjugation to this reality and the ways in which she now has to negotiate her space within it. For Nashwa, if the wall is here to stay for security reasons, a fact that she cannot change, it does not mean that she should not resist the practices and behaviors that violate her space. This intensity transformed in this middle manifested in anger, which resulted with the action to complain, to fight and create convenient everyday life to her in the presence of the wall.

This experience highlights another dimension regarding the difference between the
relationship of men and women with walls and such securitization forms in the built environment as well as what kind of bodily politics exist. In the field, most of the male interlocutors, I talked to did not have an emotional experience with the walls and they did not raise personal fear, threat or safety concerns. Their responses were mostly related to the functionality of the walls and how they act as an obstructing force. The incident in Nashwa’s narration demonstrates male dominance over space; and how they feel safe and confident in public space, while performing a very private act in public. The design and planning contributes to women’s lack of safety and fear of space, in which the absence of lightening, enclosed spaces, or the presence of “symbolic barriers such as walls and hedges are advocated to deter intruders from invading private territory, but for women out alone these features are threatening because they provide potential places for attackers to conceal themselves.” (p. 289). The walls of Tahrir Square and Garden City communicated fear to many women in which this relation established post 2011 during the mob sexual assault that took place on female protestors in 2012-2013.

A further experience that assigns different meanings to the walls of Garden City is the intensity of sexual assaults and rapes occurring in 2012-2013. Qasr al-Dubara and Simon Bolivar were central to the vicious circles, which consisted of a number of perpetrators who separate female protestors from their groups and put them in complete isolation. Afterwards, they are taken away and are raped and attacked brutally. Two of my female interlocutors who prefer to remain anonymous were members of Operation Anti Sexual Harassment and Assault (OPANTISH), who intervened to save sexual assault survivors. One of them lived in Garden City for a while and she was responsible for Simon Bolivar area during her shift, and the other worked there and moved in many parts of the surrounding areas to Tahrir Square during the interventions. Through the experiences they shared with me, I attempt to shed lights on the role of walls, barricades, fences and other security barriers as participants in sexual assaults. The testimonies compiled and published by Nazra for Feminist Studies\(^5\) on the mob sexual assaults demonstrates the

\(^5\) Nazra published the compiled testimonies for Feminist Studies in February 2013. It was prepared
role played by the walls in these incidents and showed that the walls along with the fences were a common element in many of the assaults. This is a small excerpt of the multiple collected testimonies that were mentioned in the report by a member of intervention groups.

“We try to get in… shouting and a commotion, someone running towards us and shouting, “There is a sexual harassment incident in front of Safeer”. We ran towards Safeer and saw a huge crowd. We were stuck next to the fence and everyone was beating people around with batons and belts. We tried to cut through the crowd until I was able to reach the girl. I told the girl 3 times, “My name is Mustafa from Operation Anti-Sexual Harassment”. She looked my in the eye and said “Please help me!” She held my hand as the crowd continued to push us against the fence.

Suddenly, a flare exploded that forced everyone to move back. We took advantage of the situation and tried to move the girl toward a nearby crossroads into Talaat Harb Street, hoping to get her into a building…

The girl fell to the ground and I lost her…

I cannot remember how we got back to the girl, but we carried her away from Talaat Harb and toward the Square. Suddenly someone in the crowd started shouting insults in our direction, saying “get back you sons of ******” and threw a Molotov cocktail at us. Yes, a Molotov cocktail. My shoe and pants caught on fire and the girl’s pants, which were all that she had left, started to catch fire as well. We were able to extinguish it and headed towards KFC. At one point I felt a hand trying to reach down my pants. I do not know if he thought I was a girl or if he was just sick. I kicked him and managed to get away. We arrived at a fence. I got hit and was pushed over the fence. The girl was still on the other side, sitting on the pavement, and two of my colleagues were standing in front of her. She had lost her pants and many men were surrounding her and I could not get to her. I tried to jump over the fence to try to lift her and get her towards the direction of KFC.
Suddenly a street vendor, who had noticed the logos on our T-shirts, asked my colleagues and I, “Are you from the anti-sexual harassment group?” We said yes, so he got a gas bottle and a lighter and shot a flame toward the crowd so that they would move away from the girl. Two young people stayed by her- one took off his pants and gave them to her and the other gave her a scarf so she could cover her top half. The fire petered out and the crowd started to reconvene. We were able to lift her over the fence and she crossed over it. We were pushed up against a building just next to Tahrir Square’s KFC. Everyone was attacking and I was standing next to the girl. Someone took this opportunity to slip his hand into my pocket and snatch my phone. I hit him with a metal rod and screamed “Thief!” hoping someone would attack him. I looked the girl in the eye and had nothing to say but, “I am against sexual harassment; I will get you out of here; I will, I will, I will…” I was not sure I could keep any of the promises I was making. All I knew was that I would do everything I could to protect her, even though there hundreds of people around us and even though I was powerless.

(Mustafa Qandil, p,38)

During the short time I have spent I Cairo I have experienced sexual harassment many times and I knew that this was a big problem. We continued and suddenly all the men around us started touching us all over the body. It was as if they surrounded us at the same time and separated us from each other. This happened while we were getting through the metal fence on to the street walk. From there I didn’t see any of my friends except one of them (Egyptian man) who was trying to get the men away from me as their numbers grew. Before I knew it, I was thrown up against a wall where a motorcycle was parked. I was standing on top of the bike while my friend and a few other men tried to make a half circle to protect me. But there were more men trying to hurt me than protect me and I was grabbed all over and my pants and shirt where ripped.

(Testimony of Survivor – C, p.12)
For my first interlocutor, it feels heavy to be around this form of walls and they always convey distress for her. Then, I asked her if some of the sexual assaults took place around area of the walls. She said “It was indeed, many of those assaults were in Simon Bolivar Square, Omar Makram Mosque, Qasr al Nile, Mohamed Mahmoud as well as near Hardees and KFC.”

“It was near the walls or even the large green fences that surrounds the streets around Tahrir Square such as the fence opposite to AUC building. My shifts were mostly in the day and the assaults used to start after 6 p.m. when Tahrir Square is filled with protestors. At night, I become part of another team where we try to secure a safe exist to survivors by car to get them out of the area they are attacked in and transport them to safe place afterwards. Actually, the walls made it harder to reach to the survivors, most of the streets are blocked and you are not certain what streets to take, so you have to know the place and streets by heart in order to figure out what is the fastest route to take.”

My second interlocutor participated in the cases of interventions. She narrated how men only carried the interventions at first in order to avoid any additional causalities during the interventions. However, she told me that the survivors during the assaults all men for them are potential perpetrators as some tell the women we are here to rescue you and they end up raping her too. The testimonies they collected at first showed an urgency that women should be there too at the process of intervention in order to reassure the survivors. During the interventions, the team, men and women, were equally subjected to sexual harassment. In a very calm and steady voice, she narrated one of the incidents of intervention in which the survivor was trapped and attacked near the green fences that are present to separate the dwellers and the streets. When they reached the survivor, she struggled to get out of because of the fences. She was trapped there and for a period of time, she curved her back and stayed in fetal position, wrapping herself, while being continuously harassed. After rescuing the survivor, she received help to be able to jump
of the fence.

I attempt to explore the different meanings associated and rendered to walls through the different connections established based on temporal ties. The process of production of various meanings is a dynamic process due to the several connections that can made with different elements, objects and human as actors with different roles and power within the process of production of meanings. In the aforementioned experiences of Hana, Nashwa, Mostafa and members of opantish with the walls, the walls had different roles to play beyond their functionality in shaping their experiences with the city. Hence, the walls become participants in the process of production of meanings.

Sexual harassment and assaults are expression of power that enable and maintain the control and domination of men over women, yet this form of power is entangled not only in gendered relationships, but also in racialized and classed relationships (Rospenda et al, 1998). Nevertheless, the social in the actor-network-theory creates possible sources for the exercise of this form of power in relation to sexual harassment other than the classed and racialized such as the material space. How are the walls participants in sexual assaults? How can they be perpetrators in such acts? Does this mean that the walls have raped and assaulted the female protestors? During the sexual assaults post 2011, the walls were participants and made a difference in the course of actions. According to Nazra (2013), “a preliminary assessment of those horrific crimes and the methods employed in them indicates a recurring pattern of assault and suggests that unidentified individuals and groups committing these crimes approach demonstrations and political events as an opportunity to assault women.” (p.2). Part of the patterns and tactics were that women were dragged and isolated by those individuals and groups in the surrounding areas containing walls. From Mostafa and the two anonymous interlocutors’ testimonies, the walls facilitated the entrapment of assaulted women and obstructing denying access to rescue teams. The walls were not only a form of control and subjugation by the security forces, but for perpetrators as well. Hence, the power relationship that lies in sexual
harassment and assaults manifested in many intricate relationships, interactions and travel through different forms as well through numerous participants.

In the case of the walls, in making difference and producing new social ties, meanings and experiences has been apparent in the personal encounters of my interlocutors. Hana’s nostalgic feeling for the walls and the sense of liberation wafted in the air while cycling associated with their presence was a product of the momentary ties of her experience and context. Nonetheless, the wind passing by the walls at Latin America’s wall carried different feelings for Nashwa, triggering her rage and anger with body politics of men and dominance over public space by the simple act of urinating. Whereas, the feeling of distress and fear that were associated to the same walls in the testimonies had a different meaning and role to produce and shape other tormenting and painful relationships to the walls.

1.2 Barricades and Checkpoints

The barricades and police checkpoints is another expression of the territorial sovereignty that is being practiced over space and time by the security apparatus and intensified under the state of emergency. They are regulating space and managing the circulation of the political subjects through the city. In this part, I am not looking on their functionality or the security apparatus’ purposes in deploying and integrating them in the everyday experience of the city. The everyday life in Garden City oozes with these encounters, which I attempt to attend and trace the meaning and affect produced within these encounters. In addition, how these encounters create states of uncertainty, absurdity and immobility for the residents, visitors, workers and business owners in the area.

Unlike the erected walls, the barricades and checkpoints existed in Garden City before January 2011. Back to Giran, it documents the beginning of the integration of these
technologies of control and separation in 2007. In the film Alaa Al-Aswany portrayed Garden City as a colonized space as he says, “my foreign friends tell me that they don’t see much security measures or armored vehicles except in occupied countries”. Post 2011, permeant concrete barricades are established in the middle Garden City’s streets for the security of some embassies such as The American, British, Canadian and Belgium (Now Syrian) Embassy. The permeant concrete barricades either has completely blocked streets such the Candian Embassy Street or altered the flow of movement of the vehicles in the other streets, Ahmed Ragheb, turning them into one-way streets. Other streets are dominated by both security checkpoints and concrete barricades such as Latin America Street and the second half of Aisha Taymouria Street starting from The Indonesian Embassy until Kasr-al Nile police station, as well as Lazoghli Street that leads to the American Embassy.

Post June 2013, the only time I was able to access Lazoghli Street by car was when I was applying for the American Visa. While entering Lazoghli Street from Corniche, I was met with the first checkpoint, which investigates my whereabouts either allowing or denying my entry into the street. I had with me the visa appointment document as proof for the purpose of my visit or being in this area. Then I drove through the barricades in a zigzag path reaching the last. police checkpoint in which I had to turn off the car ignition for the detective dogs to sniff for any potential explosives. This incident was a one-time experience for me, unlike others in Garden City- for them these security measures constitute their everyday.

Doaa is one of my interlocutors who worked in Osiris building in the same street since 2007. The security measures were present since she first started working, yet it took different shapes post 2011. In 2007, the streets were still open, but the residents were suffering from what seems now “minor” security measures in comparison to the present entrapment and sieging of this part of the neighborhood responding to political
upheavals and instability. The ongoing changes of security measures made it difficult for Doaa to recall how things used to be along the different phases. For her, she says, “what I remember, the street were still open, there were different levels of security, there was police, private security the detective dogs, there was this car checkpoint that opens and closes.” Post 2011, the measures changed many times and she was not able to recall, then I asked her to draw it if it can help better in remembering.

Figure 6: Drawing by Doaa, 2017 (interlocutor – Fieldwork visual)

These changes had created a state of uncertainty and permanent unpredictability of what kind of issues she will face while going to work.

“Post 2011, we had to work from home for almost a whole year, it was on and off.”
When we went back, after the erection of the wall, we had to change the route we take and we used to enter from Kempenski entrance beside the British Embassy. We had to wait in long queues of checkpoints. I wait in these queues and sometimes I am not sure if they will let me pass or not. As I work in an international organization, they tried to facilitate our entrance by issuing a formal letter from our office to allow us to use the UK embassy entrance easily, yet we met difficulties as sometimes they refuse to grant us access and requiring having this letter stamped by the traffic station. There were several security forces, there was the police and then the private security of the embassy.

Then, I had to change again my route. I have an issue with the geography of Garden City and its circular intersecting streets that I never succeeded in familiarizing myself with, so I get lost.

It was time consuming and I used to arrive late to work every day. If it was a serious checking, then it is fine, but it was not. Each day was a new day ...... of the inconsistency of security measures. Somedays I would arrive 8:30 to work, while other days I arrive 10:00 a.m. It was very frustrating I never know how will my day starts or how it ends.” (Ola, 25 years)

The checkpoints and barricades become a visual expression of sovereignty. I use visual here to go beyond the traditional understanding of visual culture and argue how security practices become part of this culture building on Mitchell’s argument on how “visual culture is not limited to the study of images or media, but extends to everyday practices of seeing and showing, (Mitchell, 2002, p.170). The long queues of waiting and immobility along with checkpoint with barricades draws a picture reflecting the art of making the sovereign and the practice of sovereignty visible. Yet, this picture has to be examined very closely to unfold its complexity. What is at practice is not only the state sovereignty as the many layers of security show the intricate intertwined sovereigns that
are at play. In Garden City, there is no fixed identity for the sovereignty; American, British and Canadian embassy, each reinforce their territorial sovereignty and their practices. The state identifies and regulates its subjects through series of documents birth certificate, identification document, driving licenses, electricity bills and so forth are all documents for the state to recognize its subject. For Ola, changing her route at that time and passing by The British Embassy is not a simple process of changing routes and roads. In this seemingly ordinary act of adopting another route, Doaa becomes a subject of another sovereignty and the work letter is what justifies her presence on the British territory. As a result, she is subjugated to the embassy’s private security that practices its own form of sovereign and has its own identification document. Nevertheless, the checkpoints and barricades create a sensible experience to attend too and urges me to ask how the space feels in the next section. The checkpoints that she had to go through every day had colonized her time, her movement and her emotions. Every day, she had to experience various feelings of irritation, anger and absurdity of the inconsistency of the security measures and the time she has to waste just on passing the several levels of checkpoints.

Within these checkpoints, a process of interpellation takes place. Every subject is a potential threat and is hailed by the security officers accordingly, until they prove that they are not. When the procedure is clear and makes sense for Ola, she would be cooperative and respond to the security questions and requirements. However, modest acts of resistance in attempt to refute the act of subjectification are to appear in these encounters. For instance, Doaa told me that an unusual measure once took place when she was passing by the street of the embassy as the security officer asked her to show her national ID in order to pass and she refused, as it was illogical to give her national ID to the embassy in order to pass. Then she called for his superior and expressed her dissent to this measure, while adopting a persona by changing her voice and asserting certain firmness. Through this modest act of negotiating to subjection, Doaa has rejected her
submission to grant an illogical measure to her validation and become an established fact.

The process of interpellation has been recurrent in during the fieldwork and performed by various actors. The intensity of the securitization and checkpoints varied according to the political context. For instance, in the second half of the fieldwork, the rhetoric of “war on terror” has re-surfaced strongly and evoked by the unfortunate events when Deadly Blasts Hit Coptic Churches in Tanta, Alexandria. As a result, the state of emergency had been declared for three months. On April 13, 2017, few days post the explosions and the declaration of state of emergency, as I was heading to the NGO that I spent few days during the field, it was visible that a re-ordering for the security measures had took place in Garden City.

Increased securitization followed the tragic events of church explosions. It can appear more around the area of the embassies even more outside from the corniche as more police officers are at standing near to the blocked streets leading to American and British embassies. The mobile steel fences are still surrounding the Saint Mary church with less police officers are there, but they were replaced by scout members of the church. While walking towards the area of American embassy, what I used to face first were police officers. From far away, I found many military officers standing at the entry point of Latin America Street at the barricades that surrounds and blocks the street. I saw that they are checking people before entering. First, I was not sure if I have the laptop in my bag would be okay or not. Then, I gently decided to go in. He asked me, “Where are you going to?” I pointed to the building next to him he then asked to check my bag. I opened it to him; there was two notebooks and a laptop. He looked at them for a moment and he did not search in anything. He then let me pass.

At the office, the popular question asked in the morning was, “How many times have

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https://nl.hideproxy.me/go.php?u=wOhSsvufKz9b2QnFHVe2r3avXC0ETPip83cG4i0cqNM%2F6CzMrzEW7%2F5i%2B6qRko9QSp%2F57w%2F9WLT69H2dQNruBqnbzVfA6H5vBhAcvDh3eD&b=5&f=norefer
you been checked today?” Sama told me that she was checked three times severely first by military and then by police. One after another, he asked her where she is going. She replied that she was going to the office in this building. “What is this office?,” he investigated. She said, “It is an NGO”. The officer continued, “What do they work on?” Sama answered that it works on women and child’s issue. He continued, “Is it effective?” Bewildered, she was not sure what to say to him and she ignored him. While checking her bags, he asked her to get everything out of her pockets and she said that there is nothing. She added how the following two checkpoints in the same small area asked her to check her again. They did not do that today to me as I was wearing a dress and I looked a bit dressy and I did not have pockets. Then, Salwa entered and told her how come they did not check you today, they are insane they are checking everyone. At that point, I told them that I will be spending month here and if they mind to interview them on their experiences and encounters with the securitization of the space. The first told me if is it okay that she expresses her anger in the interview. Others followed “yes, we want to share the entire trauma we are suffering from and what we have to deal with on daily basis.” Then, Sama remembered and shared with us while laughing one of the encounters with them. “Last week I caused him a trauma when the security were checking my back, they found sleeping nightdress. He was perplexed and stop searching and let her leave.” Afterwards, the office boy came in and he went down to buy something from the supermarket and he told me that it was getting more serious. A lot of police trucks were placed right in front of the building in the large empty place. These encounters are never normalized even if they constitute an integral part of their everydayness. The resistance to the acts of control and domination is resulted in the anger, the frustration and the agitation of these encounters. They become a mundane, but it is a forced mundane that the bodies of my interlocutors continue to refute and resist through the sensory registry. In the following chapter, I explore the gender dimension in these encounters and how the process of interpellation is registered differently between men and women.
2. Transformation of Space

2.1 Walking through Borders

20 March 2017

It is 5:30 p.m. still not dusk.
I entered Garden City by car from corniche.
Sidewalks are still crowded with cars. Many people in white collars are walking out of their work spaces. Finding a spot to park at that time is a bit difficult, but not as difficult as at morning. Once, I found a spot I left the car and I walked to my destination and went to Mashareeb Street Café and stayed there for a while. At 5:40, I decided to have a quick walk from more lively side of Garden City. I take the left turn and walk towards Moderyat el Tahrir Street. Around the corner, a new cultural café has opened called Garden City Apartment, opposite to the Saudi Council. I pass the street and head towards Ethad el Mohameen el Arab where The Art Space is located, another cultural café that opened in 2014. Interestingly, in the cross road between Aisha Al-Taymouria and Ethad ElMohameen Street co-exist different spaces. The Arab African Bank, a huge modern building around the corner and opposite to it Baraka Bank small villa that was used to be the house of Dr. Naguib Mahfouz, the monarch family private physician. Baraka Bank lies between Kasr Al-Nile police station and The Art Space. The street of the police station is not accessible by vehicles as it is blocked by concrete barricades as well as guarded by conscripts and only residents are allowed to enter their cars. I passed by The Art Space that was holding a karaoke night, the café is not easily recognized by passersby and seldom noticed. The café is in the basement of the famous wartime building Grey Pillars that was a garrison for British army. Continuing on Ethad El-Mohameen Street cross cutting with Ahmed Basha street where Serag El-Din Mansion lies and opposite to it Nahas Pasha’s house that is now el she2oon el Islamia. Taking a
left off Ahmed Pasha leads to Ahmed Raghab Street that is divided by the permanent concrete barricades. While walking in Ahmed Ragheb Street that is appropriated by the barricades, pedestrians struggle to walk, as they are compressed between the barricades, the fences taking over the pavement and the cars in the street. The wall of the British Embassy combines different forms of security as it is topped with barbed wires and security cameras surrounding the whole embassy in addition to private security and police checkpoints. Ahmed Ragheb ends and Latin America street starts and borders are established between the American and British Embassy. The concrete barricades establish these borders by horizontally separating the street where the severity of checkpoints is intensified.

Figure 7: Photo credit – Diana Magdy, 2017. (Fieldwork visuals – British Embassy)
Passing the several checkpoints in the very small block, you find yourself stepping into an occupied territory and a brigade. The place is dominated with security such as military officers, police officers and other private security. Beside the many levels of security, there was shop owners lounging outside their shops, nothing much is happening with very low flow of clients. I was very conscious of my presence and I needed to justify what I am doing in the area. As walking along the street, I am being dissected by the army, the police officers and informal valets. I felt I am out of place and an outsider that I could be easily spotted as most of the crowd, other security, were informal valets, the embassy’s employees and others. I was curious to visit Karnak Bazzar, a touristic bazzar that was featured in Giran, unfortunately, it was closed and its placard was dusty. I went back and bought some stuff from the super market that I did not need, yet I felt that I have to
justify my presence. I took a different route while exiting the place in order to see as much as possible.

The names of the streets, the shops and even the buildings demonstrate how this part of Garden City has been a vigorous touristic site for gift shopping due to its close locality to touristic sites such as Tahrir Square and Egyptian Museum. In addition, the presence of luxurious hotels over the Nile and the touristic cabriolets that are found on the outskirts of Garden City near Shepherd and Semiramis Hotels. There are pharaonic features that prevail on the space as some of the buildings are named as Isis and Osiris after the pharaonic Gods, the Sun building that is also has been worshiped by the Pharos. There was also Isis super market and street as well the Karnak bazzar after the complex temple in Luxor. While visiting one of my interlocutors in Osiris building, I found inside Osiris statue in the middle of spacious hall entrance of the building. The shops varied between Egyptian souvenirs, silver and garments.

In 2007, when Rached filmed her movie, the owners of Karnak Bazzar spoke to her camera in anger about the deterioration of their business due to the security fences and enhanced security measures. The shop is opposite to the wall of American embassy and they recounted the growing tension between their neighbors. The shop had its long history; Rached’s camera traveled through the old photos of historical figures who have visited the shops such as Jacqueline Kennedy and King Mohammed 5th. Among the photos, there was a photo of President Anwar Saadat in the white house holding a symbolic tray manufactured by the owners’ father during the peace treaty.

Re-arrangement of space started to take place post 2003 with the reinforcement of security measures as many of the shops went through hardships in sustaining their businesses. The bazzar owner in the movie says, “around 2500 tourists used to enter my shop. Now, I can stay for a year without anyone entering” (10:00). The famous “Fresh
Flowers” shop, where many movies were filmed in it, had to close its doors and the owner had a heart stroke after fighting with the police officers out of frustration for being incapable to make ends meet and pay his bills. As a result, the rents of the shops and apartments went down adversely, a situation that has been worsened post 2011 with the building of walls, which was one of the main actors to produce this spatial re-arrangement. Almost a decade between the movie and the time I started my fieldwork, I kept looking for the shops and the streets that were featured, yet I found myself in streets that I could not relate to the film. The businesses in the area either closed its doors or had to adapt itself to the new situation.

The shop that Nashwa works in had a better luck than its other counterparts did. They had two shops that had been separated by the wall as it built in the middle of the shops. The “inside” was for lingerie and pajamas while the other shop around the corner of Simon Bolivar Square was for high quality Egyptian garments, silver and other accessories. After the erection of wall, the “inside” shop became a burden, as there were no clients at all. As a result, the owner combined the products of both shops and placed me in the “outside” shop. In Nashwa’s narrative, not only the wall had triggered the shop to adapt to the new situation, but it also produced new descriptions and vocabulary around the place “inside/outside” instead of the next-door shop. She added how most of the corporates in the building, where the shop is located, have moved out to other places such as Nasr City as they were frustrated by the situation, which affected their everydayness and the business. During my visit to the shop, in which I spent almost an hour, a Kuwaiti family came in looking for high quality Egyptian garments. Afterwards, two Khaliji women came to exchange an item they bought earlier. From the conversation they had with Nashwa, it seemed that these clients are in Cairo for a visit and are staying in Intercontinental Cairo Semiramis, which is opposite to the shop.

New business emerged to accommodate the restrained needs of the area. Some shops had turned to provide services for the embassies visa applications such as photocopying documents, printing and visa photos. Leaving Osiris building after visiting an interlocutor, I passed by former Fresh Flowers shop, which is now a Xerox shop and I kept looking at its features while walking to find one of the employees stepping out of the shop and addressing me in a firm voice “Are you looking for something?”. I said, “No, why?” He replied and told me, “I saw you looking at the shop”. At this part of Garden City, there is no place for a simple gaze as the space forces outsiders to discipline their bodies, their movements and performances. I expected the act of interpellation by the police or the army, yet the interpellation had been performed and replicated by another subject. This reflects the process of disciplining and the production of docile bodies through reinforcing interpellation and policing of citizens over their counterparts. Additionally, this response imposed a self-censorship during the field and presented a challenge. Many of my interlocutors have warned me to be careful while approaching people that are not of direct contacts. When I expressed my desires to some of them to meet the brokers or talk to door attendants, it was frowned upon and warned me that they are all informers for Kasr al-Nile police station.
2.2 Permanent Entrapment: Unresolved Waiting

The policing and the consciousness of being under surveillance that governed the space imposed limitation to access any of the neighbors and shop owners who joined forces for the lawsuit that has been filed against the embassy and ministry of interior. During my
conversations with interlocutors working or inhabiting in this part, they were informed about the lawsuit, yet they were not direct participants. As a result, I had to rely in my analysis on what have been published in newspapers and the impressions they shared with me. All my interlocutors from this part have expressed in their accounts that they lost hope that this situation might change. There was a feeling that they were confined in an ever-present spatial entrapment producing a state of “stunted temporality”. The concept is presented by Navaro (2012), which conveys the state of “being spatially enclosed and temporally in a limbo status for an indefinite period.” (Navaro p.7). On one hand, this state of limbo is manifested in Garden City on the material level by living under siege for more than a decade now, on the other hand, the legal frame for the validity of maintaining this state of confinement that is interrupted by a state of emergency that put the law on hold. According to ElShorouq, the litigation took place over two phases, where the first lawyer “lawyer Ashraf al-Nadori…suggested they file a lawsuit abroad and address the US Secretary of State, then Colin Powell” (para. 7). However, the response denied the responsibility of the American Embassy for the security measures taking place in the street. In a response that was voiced in the documentary, the bazzar owner narrated to Rached saying, “When the ambassador invite me over and we talked, they said that these measures are demanded by the ministry of interior”. This has created perplexity and uncertainty among the neighbors and left them helpless. In 2010, the second phase took place as another lawyer took over the case and the sentence was in favor of the neighborhood and the business owners. According to Nashwa, the streets saw the light for a very brief moment when the revolution erupted, and they closed the streets again.

“Every now and then they tell us they will remove the walls and will replace them with the gated doors like the one in Kasr al-aini Street, and we are waiting, we have nothing to do but waiting.”
Auyero (2011) instrumentalizes the concept of waiting as an enforcement of power and he builds on Bourdieu’s conceptualization of waiting as he states, “waiting … is one of the ways of experiencing the effects of power.” “Making people wait . . . delaying without destroying hope . . . adjourning without totally disappointing” are, according to Bourdieu ([Bourdieu], 2000, 228), integral parts of the working of domination.” (p.6). The waiting in this context is an exercise of power and becomes a form of subjugation, control and disciplining by the state over its subjects. Until now, the lawsuit against the ministry of interior is still ongoing as well as the state of emergency that disrupts the legal legislations, hence, the objective waiting become subjective submission.

a. New Possibilities Out of Spatial Confinement

In response to the spatial confinement in Garden City specifically with the erection of walls post 2011, I would like to situate an earlier question regarding the changes of city geographies due to neo-liberalism and securitization: how the place is transformed? In addition, what kind of potentiality could emerge for the reconfiguration of space? Though the spatial confinement has imposed limitation on the movement of residents, the flow of economies and changed the nature of business related place, the spatial confinement presented itself as an opportunity for others to inhabit the space and affect its politics. Many young independent women moved to Garden City post the revolution as it became affordable due to the decrease in rentals for apartments post 2011. The young women and men who inhabited Garden City expressed that they never thought that they would have imagined living in such a posh neighborhood, but it became affordable, as it was abandon by corporates and its foreign target renters. I will be tackling in depth their personal accounts, their choice of Garden City as well as their experience in navigating the policing and societal governmentality in the coming chapter. Moreover, the transformation was on the level of the activities hosted by space. Through the personal historical accounts of the remnant of the good old days, Garden City has
never been hospitable neither to outsiders nor to attractive activities to be carried out in it. Yet, a disruption in this pattern took place post 2011, where Gray Pillars, No. 10 Tolombat Street became the manifestation of rupture. Gray Pillars building that used to be virtual British garrison in the interwar years has become an attraction to different audiences through The Art Space. According to its owner who is an architect and cameraman in his early thirties,

“Garden City is very central and has its own identity, when I started to be a regular visitor to Garden City I realized how the place is deprived of platforms to perform activities. Most of our audiences are not from Garden City and we succeeded in attacking diverse target groups. I think Garden City is very welcoming, it does not have the aggressiveness of Downtown or the snobbish attitude of Zamalek, it is an in between space. I took this basement and turned into this cultural café. I faced some difficulties at first with the old neighbors, “the original residents” more than the policing. When I opened the space similar to anyone who moves in Garden City, we have to provide the police station with our information and national ID as well as the information of every person working here. However, they were very cooperative and I never faced an issue with them. Contrary to the residents of the building and neighborhood. Once, an old woman told me that people like me do not fit in Garden City. Another man told us we do not want any undesired subjects around the place where we live.” (Ziad)

Following the narrative of the owner, it was the politics of place that exercised power of dominance and control over the newly opened cultural space. As a result, he denied any form of assembly outside the café and required its audience after the concerts to either stay inside the café or leave immediately and denied them to hang out there as it angers the neighbors. However, on the inside, The Art Space was the space that I used to spend a lot of time during the fieldwork, whether I would meet with interlocutors, write down
my field notes or simply hangout there. I would always go there and randomly bump into a friend. These cultural spaces such as The Art Space, Poster and The Apartment played an important role in making the arrogant elitist space more hospitable and sociable for those who are seen unworthy and do not fit to the history of space such as my interlocutors.

Garden City became an alternative resort to young political subjects who used to hangout in Downtown. In August 2014, the security apparatus shut down most of the street cafes in Downtown by force. This control and re-arrangement of space transformed Downtown that was once known for its hospitality for activists, artists and other engaged subjectivities into an inaccessible space. In response to that, the number of visitors at Garden City’s street cafes has tripled in the dead of the night. As a regular visitor to Mashareeb from early 2014, the crowd was a balanced mix of youth of middle to upper middle class beside the older visitors of the café of middle class, who have been regular visitors as long as Mashareeb existed. The place was always busy, but it had clear borders on the pavement. I knew of the closure of Downtown’s street cafes from the scene on Mashareeb the next day. At night, the border of the place was pushed reaching the end of the pavement. Other similar cafes to Mashareeb such as the El-Fishawy and Paris cafe enjoy the same crowd. On the other hand, for my young independent male and female interlocutors, the cultural cafes such as The Art Space, Poster and The Apartment created a sense of familiarity to the new place they inhabit and they are able to find a space for them in the midst of the unwelcoming arcades and walls.

How the Space Feels?

The walls continue to trigger various affective tones, yet this variation of affective tones need to be addressed and analyzed within social, political, spatial, gender, class and racial}

8 http://www.albawabhnews.com/756354
relations to understand how they differ from one subject to another and that are engendered, and how to attend to power in such relations. Though the walls, barricades and checkpoints are deployed for security reasons and for the protection of the embassies, how does the space feel for the other people who co-exist and share the same space? Does the make-believe securitized space convey a sense of certainty and assurance?

I asked Nashwa to give an image of how the space behind the walls used to look like when the other shop was still open. She told me that by nightfall – I interrupted and asked, “It gets dark?” She replied and told me “forget about darkness. It was frightening. I would sit inside by myself and it was very scary and the next door shop closes its door early, so it gets worse and I feel afraid of my own shadow. At night, I lock the doors while I am inside. Though the space is filled with conscripts and security officers, once, I found a person, who seems mentally disabled breaking in the shop, and he was begging for some money. I used my scissors and asked him to stay outside of the shop. I went out while holding the scissors and I gave him money. Then, I went to the conscripts and I had a huge fight with them about how they let him pass easily. They simply replied that they thought he was needy, that she knows him well and he passes by regularly. In the end, they are here not for us, but for the embassies.”

Dina, 31 years old, grew up in Garden City and moved out, but returned couple of years after she got married. She lives in the famous Belmont building the first modern high-rise building. The high-rise building is next to the Italian Embassy. The embassy is one of the historical architectural beautiful buildings in Garden City, which is now covered by walls and surrounded with checkpoints. The embassy had pavement, but the walls were erected to appropriate the pavement and the street. Pedestrians walking by the wall are at risk to be hit by vehicles. “Once, a friend was visiting me and she came walking she couldn’t access my home because of the blocks of the Italian Embassy and if she walks on the side of the Nile, she would be ran over if she crossed the corniche. There are so many obstructions around the area that affect the mobility. It used to be very walkable. Unlike
now, maybe inside Garden City. In the past, less blocks, it was easier to navigate around Garden City with no one gazing at you and all streets are open.

At some point, they started to change the directions of the streets inside Garden City and at the Corniche, which used to be two ways. In front of me was Le Meridien, which is Grand Hayat now and behind me La Mere De Dieu School. Mobility and circulation have changed drastically in the neighborhood. Entrances from Corniche to Taboula, it is all blocked, walls there and turned to Garage. La Poire, when I was very young, we all as children used to pick our favorite birthday cakes and we had good memories there, now, I am not sure if it is still working or not? And not a lot people are aware that it is there and exists.”

Dina provides her own reading to the security measures that are manifested in the walls, barricades and checkpoints. “In Garden City, there is always this sense of threat and insecurity though it is a very calm and quite neighborhood. The increased security for me does not make it anymore safer. You are just showing that this is a very substantial space so come and target it. Moreover, the huge blocks around the embassies look ugly and I cannot see how it is useful, it is really obstructing, very inconvenient.” For her, they are inefficient measures as she states the example of the attacks on the American Embassy. “With all this security, attackers were able to climb the blocks and the walls. On the other hand, the British Embassy had to shut down though they have all these security.
Chapter 4:

Everydayness of Urban/ Societal Policing

In this chapter, I travel through some of the personal accounts of my interlocutors who moved to Garden City post 2011. I situate their personal narratives within the wider social and political movements of change for the imagination of different modalities of being. Traveling through their private lives, narratives and everyday practices, I attempt to explore how acts of negotiation and resistance to power of control and subjugation is produced against the city that acts as a panoptical apparatus. Looking at Garden City through the macro-level with the presence of walls, fences, barricades, police and checkpoints, produce an image of intertwined network of discipline and power through surveillance and producing disciplined docile bodies. However, it is the minute that I am more interested to trace in order to provide a reading of how these surveilled spaces and technologies of control are manipulated and maneuvered through the everyday practices. De Certeau (1984) presents everyday practices as the creative tactics through which mechanisms of disciplines are re-appropriated and evaded. For De Certeau (1984), creativity and potentiality lie in the everyday practices that he describes as “ways of operating”, which “constitute the innumerable practices by means of which users reappropriate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production.” (p.xiv). This chapter presents a multilayered understanding of “ways of operating” and everyday interactions in relation to structure of negotiation of space while attending to gendered experiences with urban policing and securitization. Through the daily encounters, I aim to explore how urban policing produces a masculine and patriarchal space that dominate men and women, while intervening in their private lives, nonetheless, how they are negotiated and resisted.
1) **Urban Policing, Surveillance and Societal Governmentality**

The stories of young women and men are rich of encounters with urban policing, surveillance and different forms of societal governmentality that I aim to explore through the everyday experiences in the neighborhood. In the daily encounters, I aim to explore one of the faces of securitization through the gender lens through women and men experiences with securitization and policing as well as how they are differently registered. In these experiences and encounters, state and cultural masculinities can be read in the forms of governmentality that dominate the space. Wendy Brown (1992) in Finding the Man in the State argues that state masculinity is entrenched in various modalities of power exercised by the state. According to Brown, in order to trace state masculinities, it is important to understand that the state is not a thing, system, or subject but a significantly unbounded rain of powers and techniques, an ensemble of discourses, and practices, cohabiting in limited, tension-ridden, often contradictory relation with one” (p. 13). In light of this, I consider securitization of space is one form of the many mechanisms, techniques and practices of power that engender masculinity over space. Building on Brown’s argument, “The state can be masculinist without intentionally or overtly pursuing the "interests" of men precisely because the multiple dimensions of socially constructed masculinity have historically shaped the multiple modes of power circulating through the domain called the state-this is what it means to talk about masculinist power rather than the power of men” (p.14). What I attempt to explore here is the possibility of analyzing the securitization from gender perspective through the narratives and experiences of both women and men. In addition to how it intersects with other aspects while looking at securitized spaces.
Brokers and Property Owners

In the stories of women, when they decide to lead an independent life is a more complicated process and experience that is not only limited to the private space. This complicated process extends to a public space that is regulated by patriarchal notions to define and produce a morally respectable womanhood. This public space force women to conform to normative social behaviors and practices to be accepted in the society. This challenges and restricts women’s accessibility to public space. The stories of women living independently engage risk question by claiming the right to shape and produce a public space that is not conforming and reinforcing patriarchal values and beliefs.

One of the stories that exemplifies the hardships of women’s access to public space was in “Doing Well, Don’t Worry” exhibition that took place in May 2017⁹. The exhibition showcased stories of women’s work and mobility. Among the showcases, there was one plenty of keys with different colors. The keys are significant to Nada, who moved from Suez to Cairo after she got divorce from her abusive husband. When she came to Cairo, she faced difficulties to rent a space for her own. Property owners refused to rent their houses for single women, divorced and x-criminals. This has imposed difficulties on Nada to find a place. This poses the question when women leave their parents houses where should they go when the society restricts their movements as well as the way they should lead their private lives. Nada was able to find a place with almost twenty flat mates, where she had an alternative family full of support and friendship.

⁹ Women and Memory Forum held the exhibition “Doing Well, Don’t Worry.”: Short Tales of Women’s Work and Mobility in the period from the second to the 23rd of May 2017. The Exhibition placed at the American University in Cairo came as a part of WMF efforts to establish the first women’s museum in Egypt and the Middle East. This exhibition is the result of collaboration between the Women and Memory Forum (EG), Women’s Museum in Denmark (DK), Danish-Egyptian Dialogue Institute (EG/DK), Anthropology Unit and the Cynthia Nelson Institute from the American University in Cairo (EG), the Tiraz Centre (JO) and the Knowledge Workshop (LE).
“Doing Well, Don’t Worry”

Phadke (2007) poses an important question in her article Dangerous Liaisons Women and Men: Risk and Reputation in Mumbai, which is the “question to ask in relation to risk in public space is when are risks imposed and when are they chosen?” (p.1512). Throughout the stories of my female interlocutors, I see that in many situation they chose to engage risk. Though Garden City is one of the neighborhood that is friendly to women who lead independent life, many of the property owners or brokers would interfere in the

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10 Source of The photo:
http://www.akhbarak.net/Articles/25177918-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%84-%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%AF%D8%B1-%D9%85%D9%86%D8%B7%D9%82%D8%AA%D9%8A-%D8%A3%D9%86%D8%A7-%D8%A8%D8%AE%D9%8A%D8%B1%D8%8C
private lives of renters and set regulations to them specially women. For instance, the property owner would deny women to have men over, to have late visitors, or have house parties. The process of getting an apartment in Garden City unfolds the intricate network of surveillance and the different levels of societal policing.

Salma in her search for an apartment she started looking in Munira at first due to fiscal restrictions. However, the previously mentioned regulations were very confining for her. She heard about Adham, married to American woman and has been working in Garden City for so long, who was known for his power and control over the place. “At first, we were not sure how to go to the broker agency together and show up as a couple. Adham was the first broker we met, He was cool we told him we want an apartment that is couple friendly. We said it straight forward. Yet, Adham but was not helpful. For others, we could not say it this straight forward that we are together. We always felt we do not want to give too much information and that they have a sort of upper hand. We then resorted to another person, Am Awad, we heard so many stories about him. Actually, Am Awad himself gave a comment very improper when my partner called him to explain that we want something couple friendly, his reply was “you know the people living in the 4th and 5th floor, they are humping each other all the time”. This was the door attendant’s way to show them that he is open-minded, at the same time, that he knows everything. Am Awad showed me various apartments. There was once owned by an old woman, but she was very weird and very nosy, then I do not have complete control. In the end, we met Makram, conscript in Kasr Al-Nile police station and works as a broker. Though he is over 40, he looks very young. He helped in getting my current apartment. My partner and I met the owner, who is a police colonel, and his wife asked us directly, what our relation to each other is. We said, “We are friends”. She commented that we do not want any trouble or anyone talk to us and remember that this money goes directly to our house.” This was the only time I saw the owner, everything else was facilitated through the broker.
In Perihan’s experience, her point of departure with the brokers and property owners is different from that of Salma. At first, she used a broker and she said, “It was very difficult to find a place convenient for two boys and a girl living together. We decided that I will always be in the picture while dealing with the broker or even approaching property owners in order to send direct message that mixed gender will live in the place. If we find resistant property owners, we would leave them. One time, we found a very lovely place and it was very convenient, but the owner was an old woman and her son a police officer. He was very controlling and kept checking our backgrounds, what we do, who you are, and it was more of an investigation. It was very uncomfortable. However, we found another apartment through the door attendant of the building. He had another job as a light technician in media, so he understood our work, where we come from and we were able to connect with him.

The decision of Salma and Perihan to draw a firm image from the start to brokers, property owners and door attendants that they are not yielding/conforming to social norms is a risk decision. According to Phadke, “The risk to “reputation” of accessing public space against a normative order that defines women’s proper place as being in the private spaces of the home. This includes the risks of loss of matrimonial opportunity and a questioning of sexual virtue.” (p.1511). Though Phadke’s argument here around risking women’s reputation and sexual virtue to seek roles in public spaces and be more visible rather than accepting to be confined to private space. However, In Salma, Nada, Perihan as well as many other young women their private lives are challenging to the public space and life. Jeff Weintraub in his article The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction (1997) presents various approaches that have been developed to understand such dichotomy. One of the approaches read the private space as the realm of the personal life. On the other hand, “the notion of “public” realm, then, sees it as a realm of sociability, mediated by conventions that allow diversity and social distance to be maintained despite physical proximity.” (p.19). In order for these young women to
establish an autonomous private life, they have to challenge the normative notion around women’s respectability in the realm of the public and the sociability.

**Door Attendants**

Door attendants have incredible power over the place in Garden City. They become a source of authority and practice of governmentality over individuals. Many of my interlocutors mentioned that they have to provide kickbacks to their door attendants in order to avoid trouble. Their stories and experiences demonstrate how powerful door attendants are in Garden City. For instance, lived in the apartment that Am Awad referred to it as the one “where everyone hump each other in it”. When I asked her about her relationship with him and how did she managed this kickbacks. Surprisingly, her answer opened a completely new world for me regarding the system of kickbacks and the forms of these kickbacks. She said, “Not providing kickbacks is not an option. Our gatekeeper at 10 Gamal Al-din abou al mahsan whenever he wanted to be wasted he would come to us -and ask for alcohol. I remember we used to have two drawers full of bottles for us and another one just for Am Awad. We would give him the worst quality we have. If we did not give him what he wants, he would go to the property owner in order to complain about us. He can easily make up any story and we could be kicked. Am Awad is always after either money or alcohol.

Am Awad was not an exceptional case in Garden City. ’s story has drew my attention to the power of door attendants and what role they play in the intricate network of surveillance in the neighborhood. In the experience of other interlocutors, they managed to negotiate the form of kickbacks and not to give in to the demands of the door attendants. When I asked Salma if her door attendants asks for alcohol too. However, one night, the informal valet who park my car, asked me if I read English. I told him as much as I can. Then, he showed me a bottle and asked me to tell him what it is. I told
him this is Vodka! He asked what is Vodka? I told him it is a kind of alcohol. He asked, “is it nice?” I said “I do not know” and left. In comparison to others, I was the least harassed of my friends whether by door attendants or al-soyar. The negotiation process is very complex, where sometimes they yield to the door attendants requests, other times, they manage to refute them. For some interlocutors, they told me that the first time they were asked for alcohol, they were throwing a house party. They felt intimidated that they were asked when they were having the party and could not tell him that they do not have. First, he knows that there is alcohol inside. Second, he might report them to the police station for having a loud party or he can make up any story. However, others in different situations managed to limit them to money only. They have stated that from the beginning when they were asked for Beer, they made clear that such requests are not acceptable and will not be tolerated.

These encounters and the exercise of power were not limited to women only as it was practiced over men as well. To exemplify, Aly when he rented his apartment, he had limited communication with the female owner of the apartment. All communication were facilitated through the door attendant. For instance, he is the one responsible for the negotiation over the annual rent increment. Aly had a clash with his door attendant shortly after he moved in. One day, the door attendant asked him that it is better to start looking for other place, as they prefer that he and Aly move out. When Aly asked for the reason. The door attendants kept saying that we do not like trouble here, and criticized them for having only men guests. According to Aly, he kept repeating, “too many men coming and too many men are leaving”. Aly replied, “are you trying to refer that I am gay!” “I am not and I just do not receive women at my place as it still needs a lot of adjustments.” Then, the door attendant narrated to him that they had before a gay renter and he used to have his partner all the time and such behavior is not welcomed in the building anymore. This demonstrates the power hold by the door attendant, and his exercise of this power in order to control individuals’ private lives. Firstly, the power is
manifested in the ability to take the decision of who should inhabit the building and who should not. It was him who is responsible of taking the decision to kick out Omar and his housemate not the owner. In addition, the decision is based on his moral judgement and assessment. His judgement reflects the values of masculine culture and how sexual freedom can be examined within masculinity structure. The door attendants did not mind that Aly being sexually active and have women over. However, what he objects is having a different sexual orientation other than the “normative” socially accepted sexual roles. In another incident, the door attendant became more confident regarding Aly and Omar’s sexuality when he started to see women visiting them and he never interfered or complained. However, one day, he asked Aly if he could set him up with a woman. This when Aly went furious and had a huge fight with him. Aly expressed his happiness towards such incident as it made him able to draw a line with door attendant as he had a huge fight with him and threatened to file a complaint about him. Since then, the door attendant kept a distance from Omar and Aly, yet he remained asking for fiscal kickbacks.

**Backdoors of Garden City:**

The architectural design of Garden City reflects not only the colonial history of its residents. Through tracing the buildings’ designs, the social structure of the neighborhood became apparent. For instance, most of Garden City’s old buildings are equipped with staircases at the backdoors to be used by the housekeepers, helpers, door attendants and so forth. For upper class families, these staircases function in a way to separate between the poor working class and the neighborhood’s posh residents and their guests. The back staircases are still physically present in the buildings. However, I never gave them attention until I spent sometime in the houses of Garden City. I noticed how these staircases become backdoors to your private life in such neighborhood. Nowadays, the waste collector is the only person uses these staircases. Though I entered Salma’s houses many times before, I only noticed these back staircases during my time in the fieldwork and sharing with her say to day activities. One day after, cooking in her small
kitchen, I collected the wastes, then, she took it away from me. She opened the door in the kitchen and told me we leave it here and the waste collector pick it up later. Later, that night, I asked her how she feels towards the presence of these backdoors and staircases. Her answer was the presence of “the backdoor in my kitchen is very scary. I lock it with a knife until now. My father keep feeding my fear with all the stories he keep telling of housebreakers and burglars attacking women who live alone as they become an easy target. These stories are more installed on women in order to engender a discourse on fear in relationship to the built environment and the city as a whole. These stories aim to control women’s experiences and access to public spaces. Another interlocutor, Hoda, who worked in Garden City for a while in one of the NGOs there, considered moving in for some time. In her search for apartments, she mentioned that she avoided any apartment that has back staircases. They made her feel unsafe. Moreover, she felt that it is a door to my private life and it makes it accessible. “There was once an article in The New Yorker on one of Garden City’s waste collector and what intimate information he knows on the residents through the going through their garbage”\footnote{https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/10/13/tales-trash}, she added. This really made her uncomfortable with the idea of having such backdoor in her house.
Urban Policing:

The Weberian approach defines the modern state as the one that has the legitimate power to exercise and monopolize the right of using violence. This violence is practiced through the state security apparatus exemplified in police and military. While performing acts of
coercion, domination, subjugation and control, masculine features is subtly performed in these practices of power. On the other hand, from the Foucauldian approach, within this disciplinary panopticon mode of surveillance, this practice of power interrupts the everydayness of inhabitants of the neighborhood in plethora of forms, which I intended to explore as well as the tactics and maneuvers engendered/developed by my interlocutors in response to the police practices of power.

The approach of unearthing the ways of operating in the everydayness of urban securitization emanates from De Certeau’s (1984) argument that “if it is true that the grid of "discipline" is everywhere becoming clearer and more extensive, it is all the more urgent to discover how an entire society resists being reduced to it, what popular procedures (also "miniscule" and quotidian) manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them only in order to evade them” (p.xiv). Each one of my interlocutors, who moved in, lived all their lives, visit or work in Garden had their own encounters and experiences with the police and the policing of the neighborhood. For instance, one of the early experience my entire interlocutors who moved in Garden City post 2011 had in common is that the police station has to be informed. The first thing is requested from them is a copy of their National Identification card to be sent to Kasr Al- Nile Station. They all told me that each one of us has his own file at the police with our information. They should know who we are, what do we do, how long we are staying or renting and the cultural cafes go through the same process as well.

Similar to Garden City’s multifaceted history, it has varying personalities that change by day and night. At day, the place is fully packed by vehicles with and dominated by white collars who work in the different banks and corporates. At night, Garden City’s solitary personality dominates the neighborhood. It is very silent, empty and dark at night. The crowd changes at night, yet the different forms of security remains whether public or
private security. The visible presence of police in the streets of Garden City does not make women’s experiences safer in the city. Most sexual harassment encounters with my female interlocutors in the neighborhood occurred to them by the conscripts. Sexual harassment reflects unequal play of power between men and women as well as it “implicates patriarchal societal culture.” (Rospenda et al, 1998, p.42). In this case, the power here is multilayered due to the position of police officers or conscripts as the source of enforcement of law, their legitimate right to exercise violence and their male dominance. As a result, women cannot avoid the sense of tension that is engendered by their presence.

In Salma’s reflection regarding sexual harassment in the neighborhood and her fear of the security officers, she said, “I feel afraid from security more than regular people. I live right beside Four Seasons Hotel, as a result, whenever important figure is visiting, the street is loaded with security. Having to pass by the security, it feels like a walk of shame. Once, I was coming back from a party and I was wearing a short dress. Regularly, they assume that since you live in Garden City than you are rich so they don’t talk to me, yet it is a typical walk of shame passing by officers and conscripts all staring at me.. It is very demeaning when it happens by police officers. My life in Cairo made me feel that I literally want to be invisible. With the police, I literally want to disappear; I do not want them to see me or to know that I exist. I just want to be invisible. At first, when I moved I could not stay in home during the days of such visits. I go back by night to sleep and I cannot sleep. I can hear the walkie-talkie, the sound of metal fences being dragged. My partner would not visit during these days. I never got used to it until now nor to their presence around Garden City and specifically near to the police station.

Throughout the past 6 years, Hana has been on and off Garden City whether living in it or working. Recently, she moved back for the third time and her work is in the neighborhood. In her reflection regarding the visible presence of police in the
neighborhood, “during my first stay between mid-2012 until mid-2013. Living here was horrible, Al Kasr Al-Ainy was closed and conscripts were present all the time. They would harass us night and day, no matter what I am wearing, young or old, the barricades were annoying too and the Corniche at that time was two ways. My main mobility was through walking or cycling. At that time, my work was in Downtown, they held a sexual harassment workshop and many of our offices were in the area. Police officers were heavily present in Downtown as well. We had a heated discussion at the sexual harassment workshop over the harassment of the conscripts specifically when an older woman stated that she does not experience that at all. Moreover, how we have fights with them on daily basis due to these acts of harassment”

Dina, who have spent her childhood in Garden City and returned when she got married, presents a different reflection on fear of built environment and sexual harassment. “We all know each other, even the security, the conscripts, they know you live here and they do not harass you. It is different if you go out on Qasr Al-Ainy as it is more dynamic with more people. At night, Garden City, get very dark and no enough lightening, which makes me walk faster and not very comfortable. Around the area of Saudi Arabia Club, there was many constructions and the people working there used to harass a lot. I had a fight with one of the worker who harassed me while walking to visit one of my friends in this area. Other than that, it is mostly the issue is with the night. Due to the high presence of Banks in the area and offices, it is very dynamic in the morning, but at night gets very quiet. It is dark at night. The street of the Qasr al Nile police station is very uncomfortable to walk in there. I go sometimes there because I have friends who are living there. The kind of encounters that happen there is uncomfortable. It is either you see the police are beating someone or taking people inside and their looks make you feel unwelcomed what are you doing here? The street is blocked and you feel that you need to be extra careful and not sure of what might happen. Threat is not only from the police, but if they have captivated someone, you feel he might escape and run into you. You feel
you want go inside the building as quick as possible. It is not only about being afraid of a potential attack, but it is mainly that it makes me feel uncomfortable while passing.”

The question regarding the encounters with the urban policing is not limited to women only. I felt curious to understand how men experience these encounters as well. Due to their gender, they do not experience sexual harassment in the street or during encounters with the conscripts. However, does this mean that they do not experience moments of tension and discomfort within their encounters with urban policing? Many of my male interlocutors did not express facing moments of discomfort while walking in the neighborhood and passing by police officers. It was not an issue for them to rethink their outfits when wearing shorts or having a hipster look. Yet, others have expressed that they become more conscious of their presence around the police. It is not women only who their bodily performativity change, men as well experience these changes.

Shady lives between Munira and Shubra; his relation to Garden City started post 2011. Mainly, when he used to go to Kasr al-Nile police station to support detained protesters. Now, he works in The Italian Embassy and he expressed that he enjoys more freedom in terms of his clothes when he is in Garden City in comparison to other middle class neighborhood. He is able to wear colorful shorts, pants and play more with his outfit.

When I was talking to Aly and I asked his relationship towards the other side of Garden City near to the American and British Embassy. He said “it is very limited and I go only for Taboula and Cairo Capital Club.” I followed and when you go there…he interrupted saying “I feel afraid, it is a terrifying place” in a very certain manner. “It is a military garrison. It is not only mobile fences, you walk through a concrete lane; I feel I will be shot if I did a misstep. The streets are extremely clean, but not out of well maintenance. You feel the streets are not stepped and they are totally abandoned. While passing beside the checkpoints, I become self-conscious; I try not to look suspicious, which make me act in a very suspicious way and the performance of my body changes.
Mid-Night Checkpoints:

Police checkpoints I might got used with their presence in the street.

With the checkpoints around the entrances of Garden City, I do not get them as they change their locations all the time. I find it a bit strange. Sometimes, they would put the checkpoints after all of the entrances of Garden City, so if anyone wants to go to Garden City he is easily capable to do that. Other times, it is right under my house. After I pass them, I am not able to park and I start heading towards them. Then, the investigation starts “what are you doing? Where are you going? I am going to my home while pointing to it.”

A specific incident happened to me was in downtown during university and we were working on our graduation project and I was leaving very late. There was checkpoint at Sheikh Rihan St. and decided to give some hard time. He asked “where are you going? Where were you? I told him, “this is none of your business, and you are allowed only to check my licenses. If there is something wrong with them, you can then follow the procedures related to this issue. But it is not of your concern where I come from or where I go to. Of course, there is this feeling that you are a girl and alone. What are you doing? It is a general concern and for someone in a position of authority he is doing that with culturally inherited curiosity. Other than that, you try to be nice in checkpoints and be done with the process. I think I got used to it. Definitely, there is tension that exists in these encounters especially when you see them already inspecting someone. You feel like what they are planning for us today. However, I do not give in easily to their questions especially when they are absurd. I act and respond in silliness.”

In another time, while getting out of the building where I live, there was many security officers and a checkpoint as there will be a procession passing by Corniche Street. The security prevented me from getting out of the building and attempted to force me to stay inside it. I had a big fight with me and told me “who the hell are you to deny me to get out of my house?”
kept apologizing that they are just following the rules, so I left and went straight to me to head to my work.

Aly had many tense encounters with these checkpoints. The power exercised over men by these checkpoints articulates different forms of masculinities. Aly mentioned two incidents with this kind of checkpoint. First incident was near to Garden City, when passing the checkpoint at Al-Galaa Bridge. They were a small group of friends in the car, his friend was driving and the car’s windows were tinted. The police stopped them and took the licenses. We kept waiting for more than 15 minutes. We do not know what is going on. They do not talk to us and they are not even inspecting us of the car. They just left us on the side waiting. After sometime, my friend went to the police officer, who preached him on how to act when they face such checkpoints. According to Aly, “The police acted in a big brother manner with us”. In the end, he let them go after advising him not to drive around with tinted car windows. The second incident took place in 6th of October city and he described it more intense than the first. Aly used his background in law and told me that such act of stopping us is illegal according to law, so he was resistant to the police officer. Then, he was asked to pull over and Aly throw the cigarette he had on the street. The police office left Aly for an hour and refusing to talk to him. At the end, his remark to him was not regarding negotiating his right that he should not be stopped that way. What angered the police officer that Aly throw his cigarette, which for the officer is an act of contempt. In the end, he let Aly leave after he gave him a lesson on how to show respect to them.

The Everydayness of Urban Securitization

a) The Unwelcomed Guest

Among the patterns that became an integral pattern and feature of the neighborhood is
the visits of international political figures, who spend their stay in Four Seasons Hotel. In this part, I explore the different patterns in relation to securitization of space as well as how they affect the everydayness of the residents of the neighborhood. My interlocutors have expressed their experiences with these life disrupting patterns that seize their time, movement and space. Dina recalls the visit of the Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, King of Saudi Arabia to Egypt. Though the king was not staying in the hotel, his entourage were there. As a result, the whole neighbor had to suffer due to the security measures that take place during these visits. “I was going back home at 3:00 am and I live in Belmont building over the corniche. There was a checkpoint and they blocked the street right before the Four Seasons and I need to go home, so they refused to let me pass. They told me go from inside Garden City. I refused and said, “No, I live on Corniche why shall I go around. I will show you my ID it shows that I live there”’. No, you still have to go from inside. As a result, I went from inside Garden City and to reach to my house I had to go in an opposite direction to go out again to Corniche and there I found a conscripts shouting and saying “This is opposite direction!!” There, I found that the last exist after Four Seasons was blocked with military trucks and police officers. I was so furious that I spent 15 minutes to reach home, while I was two minutes away. It was 3:00 am and you cannot pass because someone is around. Probably they went out to do some shopping. There was also a Sand Storm, their hats started to fly, and I felt it was my anger sweeping them away. It is insane. It makes me in a constant anger, why shall my life stop just for the sake of some is passing or staying in a hotel next door. This is not a new thing and we used to suffer from this from long time ago. It is more visible than before the visibility of power, I am the government I can do whatever I want and it does not matter that this would cause delay to other people. It is very illogical. You can enforce your power, but check at least my ID and let me pass because it makes sense, not just no for the sake of no.” During my fieldwork, I witnessed some of these moments where life is put on hold in order to secure the presence of others. Though these illogical moments started to become familiar to my interlocutors, they never did not become normalized. There is
always anger, frustration and sense of oppression that reflects their refusal to normalize with these practices.

22 March 2017

This was one of the earliest moments and encounters in my fieldwork. I was concerned that nothing can be seen beyond the walls, the concrete blocks and the mobile steel fences that are spread in Garden City. I developed a ritual starting from that day to crash on a friend’s couch on Wednesdays and over the weekend. I headed to The Art Space after work in order to work on my notes and hang there waiting for something to happen. After 30 minutes, Salma joined me at The Art Space. She came in and she looked angry, exhausted and she was frowning. “What is wrong with you?” She replied, “I have been driving for two hours [Salma works in 6th of October] and Corniche is totally blocked because a very important person someone is passing and he is staying in “Four Seasons Hotel”. As a result, Garden City streets are all blocked for security”. This has been one of the patterns in the neighborhood for the last four years. She then recalled the time when Putin was on a visit to Egypt in Feb. 2015 and he was staying in Four Seasons Hotel too. At that time, she says, “life returned to its normal pace for the surrounding hotels and they were back to business and these hotels returned to be the destination for all these important political figures. The streets were all blocked and no cars were allowed to park outside and specifically around the hotel, so she had to park her car on the other side of Garden city for a week and she would go back and forth to her car”. One of the most provocative moments that she recalled was when private security were surrounding her building, whenever she goes out, she is faced with the security that is shattered around, and would find them in her face stretched in their posh cars smoking and checking her out every time she comes in or out. She had to deal with that all the time throughout the entire visit.
b) Processions

Garden City is situated in an extremely substantial space as it is surrounded with ministries, House of Representatives and the building of The Shura Council and many other public facilities. As a result, Garden City is affected by the processions take place all the time that closes Kasr Al-Aini Street and Corniche Street, when the president, ministers, world leaders, heads of other states and government are visiting the place.

Later that night, while heading to Mashareeb, friends informed me that Mashareeb had to
shut down and they are collecting the chairs to be put inside because someone is passing. I decided to go and check what was happening; it was around 10:20 pm. In less than 20 minutes, the order in Mashareeb was restored as they re-opened, chairs where re-distributed and clients’ order were taken by `Am Mohamed. Laila, my friend was there and she witnessed the procession that consisted of more than 30 Mercedes cars and others. While paying for what we got to `Am Mohamed (al-qahwagy) at the end of the night, I asked him who is giving us the honor of his visit. He said it was Lebaneese Politian, whom we discovered that it was The Lebaneese Prime Minister Saa`d Al-Hariri. Mohamed was so composed and acted normally with the orders he received to shut down until the procession ends. He says that he was asked by the security of the procession to close and collect the chairs for 30 minutes. According to Mohamed, they were extremely polite unlike the other police offices and he was pointing at the back, he was referring to Qasr Al-Nile police station as they came to the café and informed them with the procession 10 minutes earlier to the procession, then, 3am Mohamed continued his work very calmly.

The next morning I met at her work in Garden City. At this phase, she was living in Heliopolis at her parent’s house before moving to Garden City for the third time, where she is staying now. Walking through the streets of the neighborhood, you would feel that something is going on, you hear the walkie-talkies, police officers and conscripts everywhere, the sound of mobile fences are moving and police trucks around the corners of many streets. After the interview, started reflecting on these security measures. She was present on the day before when Hariri was passing by. The security officers denied her from getting outside to Kasr Al-Aini Street while she was heading to Mashareeb and she was forced to stay inside Garden City until the procession ends. Afterwards, she expressed her anger regarding the processions in general and their impact on her commute. For her, what happens in Garden City is bearable compared to what she goes through in Heliopolis due to the presence of the presidential palace. “At least in Garden City, you are trapped inside it. In Heliopolis, many residential areas are blocked and
streets are not moving for hours”. Every Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday, she arrives late to work. It causes trouble to her at work. She says, “they do not believe me anymore that is due to processions, and I started to careless. To be honest, I am not sure how to reflect on that. It accumulates inside me many feelings of anger and oppression.”

After leaving, I went to Mashareeb, it was around 3:00 p.m. The place was quiet. Few people were sitting at Mashareeb, mostly were older men and right beside me two security men in their civil clothes, but I can see their walkie-talkies. `Am Hussein greeted me in his warm smile while taking my order. I asked him, “were there another procession this morning ya Am Hussien?” He said, “Yes, first was the Lebanese guy and twenty minutes ago was The American guy. We shut down the place whole day. We have just opened and got out the chairs. We have not worked all day at all! Anyway, we are used to that. It has been always the case since Mubarak days. There is no one like Ismail El-Shaer12. Yalla’. He went to get me the hot mint. Though al-qahwa seems to maintain a good relationship with the police, the affective relations that emerged through this space continue to outgrow the policing. One of my interlocutors who has been a regular visitor once told me how he was warned by the owner of al-qahwa. In one of the raids by the police, an activist was arrested randomly from al-qahwa in front of every one and no one knew his place for hours. My interlocutor went to the place after this raid by few minutes. The owner went straight to my interlocutor, who was known for his political activism and was in his late twenties, and warned him of the arrest and advised him to leave in case they came back to look for more people. He was grateful to the owner.

c) Police Raids

Another pattern that appeared recently in Garden City and Downtown is the police raids on rented apartments of these neighborhoods. The raids started to take place with the approach of January 25 anniversary in 2015. In search for undesired politically engaged subjectivities police forces invades houses rented by young men and women. According

12 The Former Cairo Security Chief before 2011.
to Aly, when the police visited them they were decent. They asked them about their National Identification. He said, “We were scared of course, especially when we heard what happened in Downtown. Who were arrested and for what? We were not sure, what the door attendant informed them about us as they lead them in their search. The raids were targeting only renters; hence, the door attendants were their guides and informants.”

Salma she was outside when she knew about the raids. “I did not want to go back home or go to my families. I slept over at my friends’ house. When I went back, I tried to be as if I am not at home keeping low lights, I developed a sort of emergency measures; if there is any bottles of alcohol I would hide them all, anything that is slightly political, I will hide it. I return home at midnight and leave very early. Throughout my stay, due to my gender, that feeling was not very foreign to me, I am always concerned of my situation as living alone. You feel that you need to hide as they will know about me and you are doing something that is not the norm of the society. When the raids started this feeling became more clear and intensified. We had a Facebook group for Garden City community that started in reaction to the raids. In order to inform each other what are the patterns of the raids, when, what they ask for and what they look for. I decided not to do any encounter with them when I returned home, someone knocked my door at 8:00 am I decided not to open – I cancelled my meeting and stayed in until 2:00 pm until whoever was knocking is gone. I was so stressed all day long – worried to go back and meet with anyone or find them waiting for me. Another raid was in April 25, 2016. After a while we got used to it. I decided not open to them. My partner would not show during these days. Other times, we have discussion that maybe we should open get this encounter done instead of avoiding it or postponing it.

Now, Salma became more challenging to them in different encounters and that she would give them hard time until they are able to reach to her. She says, “A month ago, I was at Mashareeb and my partner told me that there is someone visiting. I felt so irritated and got really aggressive. When I walked back home the whole street was empty of cars and replaced them with the metal fences. My car was the only one left in the street. While walking, I found
of the doormen shouting and telling the police officer “ya basha, heya dee sa7bt el 3arabia [Sir, this is the owner of the car]” I decided to completely ignore them and went running to my house and locked my doors. For one night, it felt good that I am the one who is giving them hard time, and if they decided to knock on my door in mid-night I was willing to screw them. They started knocking next day at 7:00 am and left them knocking until 8:00. I went out to them when leaving to work and they told me they were going to remove the car by wench. I took and headed to my work.

d) Affective relations: Garden City on Facebook

In reaction to these raids, Facebook group was created for the community of young independent women and men renting in Garden City. The aim of the group is to warn those targeted subjects from the raids. They share information regarding the patterns of the raids, what do they ask, what they are looking for, when these raids are taking place and so forth. I read this Facebook group as a form of affective relations. In Navaro’s (2017) attempt to diversify how to read affect, she introduces the concept of the serendipitous affect. According to her, “The serendipitous is coincidental and relies on the generation of unexpected affects of intimacy and attachment between strangers, suigeneris, across and against augmenting political divides” (p.212). Under this heavy policing, the young independent women and men felt the urge to connect with other subjects going through the same process and relate to similar feelings of fear, concern and agitation. A couple, who added the people of their trusted circle from the neighborhood, launched the group. Afterwards, the members started to add their friends from the neighborhood creating a community. The coming together of these subjects creates a community that attempts to resist and challenge the politics of space through the friendship and means of sociability emerging between them. The form of relationship that emerged is not only a support network limited to warn each other of the policing patterns and sharing experiences of how to face these patterns. Yet, it is extended to the issues of their everydayness as well. For instance, they share information regarding
needed services such as who knows a good plumber, electrician and what are their contacts, where to get them. Moreover, it became a platform to share updates regarding the neighborhood. To exemplify, on March 24, 2017, one of the neighborhood buildings collapsed and the news was shared among the group to check on each other. When I knew about the incident, I arrived and found Sally, who is a journalist and lives in Garden City as well. She mentioned that she was informed through the Facebook group and she arrived to the site right after the collapse. This gave her an edge to cover the story as early as possible though she was complaining that the photographer took a lot of time to arrive, so she covered the story and the photos.

e) Building 15, Gamal El-Din Abu Al-Mahasen Street: The destructive Sadness

24 March 2017

I was at Zamalek when I heard that the old building in Gamal Abu Al-Mahasen Street has collapsed. A friend there called me and delivered the news, so I moved straight to the scene. I arrived to Garden City and the crowds on the edges of the streets started to appear. I parked away and walked to the space, which was still dusty. It was filled with police forces, ambulance, the Red Crescent, firefighters, people from the municipality, residents of Garden City, other gatekeepers and their families and journalists.

Sally was already there. She was complaining about their inability to take photos as the police kept harassing them and preventing them from taking photos. There was moments of tension where the journalists and other people who were standing started fighting with police officers until they allowed them to take photos freely whether through mobile cams or professional ones.

Everyone was trying to find out what happened. Who are the residents of the building? How it collapsed? While standing there watching the wrecked cars being dragged out of the scene, young boy wandered around us and told my friends that he is willing to give
them the history of the building and its residents just wait 30 minutes as they (the police) don’t want us to talk with anyone yet and he left.

Meanwhile, the police started pushing us back and the yellow do not cross tape was put further than before to send us back as much as possible. While we were getting ready to go back, I turned to my right where a moment of confrontation was taking place between a police officer and a journalist. It was a heated discussion between the two, where the police officer was taking steps forward and asking the journalist to retreat and the journalist was refusing to obey. As it got heated, for a moment, their faces were opposite to each other and almost touching. The police officer told him I am not kidding here, you need to leave while pushing him. The journalist was facing him fiercely, yet he responded to him with a tone of frustration and said “What am I supposed to work in then?!” While trying to capture photos of one of the destroyed cars that was dragged out by a winch truck, one of the police officer threatened the man that he would take him to the police station.

Of the stories that was travelling around among the some of area residents and the gate keepers and their family that the owner of the building died in the morning and the building was mourning his death that it fell apart out of sadness. All of a sudden, the young boy appeared and asked my friend to meet him inside the garage of the next-door building. My friend followed him and returned in 15 minutes. The boy told him that I can give you the info you need, but you need to pay. I have just gave all names and info of the building to the other journalists. He told him if he was a regular person or a resident, he would have given him all info for free. At the end, it is not like we have a collapsing building every day in Garden City.

All of a sudden, an important rank among police officers arrived and they were all moving around. He shouted on us all and demanded that we all stop recording and leave the scene immediately. He reprimanded other officers for leaving us all that time and they started pushing us back. While pushing us back, he kept saying please consider the tough
conditions that we have to deal with. However, this situation did not last for a long time as the number of journalists and photographers increased and they were able to reclaim their right.
I started visiting Mashareeb in 2014. At that time, my presence at the place was acceptable, yet I would not say that it was frequented by women. Salma and other women used to be part of the crowd that visit the place. However, the place did not enjoy a
history of welcoming women to it. It was the typical qahwa for the middle class men of older generation over al Kasr Al-aini Street. According to Salma, “I started to go to al-fallah in 2012; it was not female friendly as now. In a matter of fact, I was the first woman to sit there. The workers there did not understand my presence at first nor the crowd that consisted of old people and police officers but in their civilian uniform.” Throughout the four years, I spent visiting the place. There was a gradual change in how I deal with the place and my practices in it. At first, the place was like any regular street café, I would watch my behavior, how I sit, what I wear while going there. However, this also gradually changed. I would take off my light jacket if I were wearing sleeveless shirt when walking in the place. I would not feel any moment of discomfort while walking down the pavement of al-qahwa with whatever I wear. Moreover, the relationship I developed, for instance, with Am Hussein is very remarkable. I would not feel unsafe around him or around the other workers. I remember Am Hussein’s genuine welcoming to me when I remained absent for months and did not visit the place. Once, he saw me he chook hands and kept asking about my health and repeating “welcome back ya oztaza”. By time, the place turned into a safe space for me and many other women, whom their visibility and presence increased by the time. Specifically, when Downtown’s café were shutdown and the inaccessibility of its public spaces, the cafés of Garden City such as Al-noby and Karasy al-bida that became a resort to the young men and women. Now, when I look at the crowd, I see how far the place changed in terms of the gender balance, the forms of sociability. Nevertheless, how these mixed gender crowd changed the politics of space through women’s engagement to the risk question and reconfiguring the space.
Towards a Conclusion: Garden City in Becoming

I return to Deleuze’s quote that says, “something in the world forces us to think. This thing is not an object of recognition but of a fundamental encounter.” I embarked on this journey that was triggered by affective encounters with city signs, objects and experiences. I started with the affect as it is concerned with the happenings that deals with the occurrences, experiences, meanings, emotions and events. This research project through the moments, events and experiences it has traced, has attempted to situate them in large flows and circuits of life.

The point of departure of this research project emanates from very subjective encounters and experienced moments and feelings of freedom public spaces and openness that was translated into its streets post 2011 through demonstrations, street arts, graffiti, even on the minute acts like walking, talking, watching, taking photos of the city. Acts that at certain moments their legitimacies were not questioned. Other encounters replaces when these moments started to fade and being replaced with contrary encounters of control and subjugation turning the same spaces into a repressed and constrained spaces. The historicizing of the state of exception in Egypt the grand events of securitization the cities of Cairo went through, yet it discarded the micro-events. Therefore, this research project was after the minute events of the everyday life of the city and the micro-history of the space as well as of individuals and different groups inhabiting the space. Hence, the everydayness was the overarching lens that I deployed in my fieldwork, which led me to unearth many conversations in my research.

This research started as an attempt to look at the everydayness of securitization,
and how those practices of securitization have been re-shaping and re-configuring the lives of Garden City’s residents, inhabitants, workers and also visitors; however, while conducting my fieldwork, this everydayness of Garden City started unfolding itself in ways that made my research more attentive to various conversations that the neighborhood has been witness on a daily basis.

**Everydayness of Securitization, Precariousness, and Resistance**

One of the main conversations that this research attempted through fieldwork to closely pay attention to has been those everyday negotiations between the people, whose bodies occupy the spaces of Garden City, and between the practices and also embodiments of securitization in the neighborhood. On one hand, those practices impose a state of temporality and precariousness that manifest itself in the form of checkpoints, intensity of security machinery and personnel and also barricades, while, on the other hand, those practices are not taken for granted by the residents, inhabitants, workers or visitors of garden city. The forms of resistance manifest itself in the small acts of not giving in easily to the rules imposed through the power of policing. For instance, the way Salma deals with the security during the visits of important political figures in the nearby hotel. How she decides to act as an obstructing force during the implementation of their procedures and measures. How she gives them hard time until they reach to her and how she acts in maddening way with them. Looking also at Dina’s stories with the checkpoints who interferes in her whereabouts after mid-night and how she responds to him and asked to keep his own business. The other time that she had a fight with the security, who attempted to deny her to get out of her building and she decided to fight this absurd measure. Another instance that I would like to highlight here, when the owner of Mashareeb, who is forced to maintain a good relationship with the police in order to sustain the presence of the space, he decided at one moment to warn one of his customers from the raids. I chose to look at these acts and reactions of the city dwellers
as they represent their own techniques and technologies of resistance to turn into docile bodies and their refusal to submit to the process of subjectification.

**Unpacking the Spatial Narratives of Garden City**

In order to understand the present moment and the state of contestation over space in Garden city, revisiting the multiple narratives of the spaces unfolded many aspects for reading the space and shaping as well as situating the questions of this research. This research reads Garden City post 2011 as a liminal space, a space that is going through a process of transformation. Reading the multiple narratives presents the ongoing state of transformations and becomeings of Garden City. Garden City Garden City as a colonial city had its own “romantic/idealistic/nostalgic” narratives, which were expressed fictionally and non-fictionally for decades. This research could not discard those narratives; what it did, instead, was to bring those narratives in conversation with the narratives that were also unfolded through fieldwork through going beyond the historical narratives of the colonial past and inserting the personal accounts of the young independent women and men and their experience with the space. The film Giran by Rached attempted to present the multifaceted history of the place and introduced new voices, narratives and representation to the space. The fieldwork was a journey to discover and unfold other narratives and stretch out the spatial narrative map of Garden City. This shows how the space is in a state of ongoing transformation and remaking within the intertwined spatial narratives and complex relations.

**The “Hawanem”, the “Independent” women, and the Gender Dynamics of Garden City**

Building on the previous part, those romantic portrayals of Garden City were not only about the class politics of the neighborhood, but they were also strongly embedded in the gender dynamics and relations of Garden City. Such portrayals needed to be critically engaged with and to be put in contrast with the everydayness of how women of Garden City are navigating the spaces and re-configuring the powers premised on which
are the gender dynamics of Garden City is reshaped. One of the early assumptions regarding the question of gender in Garden City was that those young women is only a younger generation of the hawanem of Garden City. This has framed their choice to Garden City as upper-middle class women as a safe choice that guarantee a quality of lifestyle as well as their ability to afford living in such posh neighborhood. However, this research travel through their personal accounts, struggles for independence and everyday life to dismantle this framing presenting how they engage risk question in order to challenge gender norms and relation, while stretching out their experiences in the city beyond the established normative social roles. On the other hand, this research reveals how patriarchal notions and beliefs are embedded in the different forms of policing whether by the security apparatus or the societal policing by the door attendants, brokers and so forth. Moreover, it engages men’s experiences with these forms of policing in order to different gender experiences with securitization, while contributing to its reading from a gender lens.

**Affective Geographies, Encounters and Relations**

Focusing on the means and forms of resisting and negotiating the forms of securitization and policing that took over the space, made this research attentive to the question of affect. Looking at the acts of resistance and negotiations requires looking how the power of acting is constituted in such context. The affect presented different modes of knowledge, which means being attentive theoretically and methodologically to experiences of embodiment and to the feelings and emotions engendered as well as the meanings of those experiences and encounters. Moreover, it revealed the potentialities that emerged in the space. The affective relations among the community of young independent women and men resisted the hostility of the classist posh neighborhood changing the politics of space. The place was introduced to new spaces of sociabilities through the many cultural cafes established in the neighborhood post 2011 as well as the houses of those young independent women and men that acted as alternative spaces. On
the other hand, my interlocutors expressed the affective encounters with the walls, the fences, the checkpoints and different forms of policing and securitization through the feelings of anger, rage, frustration and sometimes oppression. Those emotional accounts were not only manifestation of affective emotions, yet they are at the heart of the resistance and the refusal to normalize and cope with the technologies of control and domination.

**Garden City in Becoming**

Building on the above, this research argues that, it is through unpacking, unfolding and engaging with those conversations, the everydayness of Garden City can be thoroughly grasped. This research started with assumptions about liminality as well as temporality and how they have been re-configuring Garden City in the last years. However, the research concludes with arguing that one way of reading those re-configurations of Garden City is to discard the concern of setting a “timeline” for that liminal phase and to pay attention, instead, to the everydayness of how Garden City is becoming. The walling of the neighborhood and the spatial confinement stood as opportunity for new possibilities for the transformation of space. The place become an alternative space through its cultural cafes, Qahawy and the community of young independent women and men who were able to re-configure the space and re-shape its politics through the new forms of sociabilities that emerged.

In the end, for some personal reasons, I was detached from the place for the last 5 months. On April 3rd 2018, I visited Garden City at night and somehow it felt different. That night, it was full of white collars workers, as it seemed that a conference was held in one of the hotels. The lightening of the place was different too. I went to Mashareen, it was more quite than the usual with low energy, and the sound of the place was not relatable to me. Still, there was the mix between the middle and upper-middle class youth and middle class older crowd. I asked Omar, “where is the big gang?”. He replied, “that
nobody comes anymore”. Contemplating this, reshuffling was already on course, Salma has moved out and received a job offer abroad early this year. Aly has moved out of Garden City. Omar too was telling me that he might relocate to another country soon. At that moment, I realized that this phase of becoming is folding its chapter, while opening to new becoming for the space. I felt grateful to be able to attend to these moments of becoming, be part of it and pay attention to the everydayness of the space and its subjects. This research project attempted to document, grasp, to capture and to convey the embodied experiences, the affective encounters and relations that emerged in this becoming. Yet, believing in the cityness of the place and the new becoming to unfold for the space and other subjectivities.
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