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Tarrying with the Leviathan: body and temporality in modern Egypt

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Abstract

This dissertation will answer what is the impact of modern state institutions (medicine, factory and communication technology) on the construction of the Egyptian body and time and how did the Egyptians react to these efforts?

This dissertation argues that the Egyptian state aimed to produce docile subjectivities for the sake of efficiency through three institutions: the first is medicine which produced a healthy desexualised Egyptian body, made reproduction its main purpose and controlled the Egyptians' intimate time; the second is the factory which controlled the behaviour of body and disciplined the Egyptians' time (initiated by Muhammad Ali and continued later by Egyptian capitalism with the support of the state); the third is modern transportation (e.g. railroads) which standardised the time of the Egyptians and regulated their movement in space. But, by using everyday acts of quiet assertiveness, Egyptians tried to regain control over their own bodies and tarried the monotonous time.

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Introduction: the bodily, the temporal and the state

“There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism. And just as such a document is not free of barbarism, barbarism taints also the manner in which it was transmitted from one owner to another. A historical materialist therefore dissociates himself from it as far as possible. He regards it as his task to brush history against the grain.” (Walter Benjamin, 2007, p. 257)

“Ideology and advertising have exalted the permanent mobilisation of the productive and nervous energies of humankind towards profit and war. We want to exalt tenderness, sleep and ecstasy, the frugality of needs and the pleasure of the senses.” (Franco Berardi, 2011, p. 129)

The orthodox understating on state-society relations in Egypt regards the macro institutions and structures as the most vital. The politicians, the officials, the experts and grand institutions are the centre of the Egyptian history. However, this dissertation goes against the grain. This is a tale about the marginalised, the perverted, the degenerates, the unproductive and the idlers. The people who are not worthy to be mentioned. The lowest of the low, are the heart of this study.

This dissertation will examine the intersection of the medical institution, factory, and modern transportation technology on the creation of the modern Egyptian subjectivity. The trajectory of the chosen institutions will be traced back to Muhammad Ali, his successors, and the colonial state. Furthermore, the reproduction of the practices and notions of these institutions will be examined in the contemporary Egyptian state-society relations. This dissertation will answer what is the impact of modern state institutions (medicine, factory and communication technology) on the construction of the Egyptian body and time and how did the Egyptians react to these efforts?

This dissertation argues that the Egyptian state aimed to produce docile subjectivities for the sake of efficiency through three institutions: the first is medicine which produced a healthy desexualised Egyptian body, made reproduction its main purpose, and controlled the Egyptians' intimate time; the second is the factory which controlled the behaviour of body and disciplined the Egyptians' time (initiated by Muhammad Ali and continued later by Egyptian capitalism with the support of the state); the third is modern transportation (e.g. railroads) which standardised the time of the Egyptians and regulated their movement in space. But, by using everyday acts of quiet assertiveness, Egyptians tried to regain control over their own bodies and tarried the monotonous time.

Reviewing the literature on the Egyptian state-society relations: from nationalism to micro-politics

One of the most prevailing narratives about the state-society relations in Egypt is the nationalist narrative. It sees that since Muhammad Ali, Egypt

started to have its own national identity and to become autonomous from the Ottomans (Brand, 2014; James, 2012; Sayyid-Marsot, 1985; Dodwell, 1967). Since then it is a story about leaders e.g. Urabi, Saad Zaghlol, Mustafa Kamel who affirm the Egyptian identity (Brand, 2014). This narrative assumes that society is in a natural unity with the state (Brand, 2014). Thus, it takes society for granted and neglects that the selfish motives of those individuals (Fahmy, 2002; James, 2012). Also, it disregards the unequal power relations between the elite and ordinary Egyptians (Fahmy, 2002). Thus, it fails to see history from below.

This narrative became closely associated with modernisation. Modernisation for the nationalists became a nationalist tool (James, 2012). Modern knowledge and technologies will strengthen the Egyptian nation and prepare it for independence (El-Nagar & Krugly-Smolska, 2011; Hourani, 2007). This view disregards the negative aspects of modernisation and how it negatively affected the Egyptians.

Another interpretation of the state-society relations is the liberal understanding. It regards that there is a historical mistrust between the society and the state. It can take the form of antagonism between peasants and the state in 19th and 20th century (Brown, 1990; Goldberg, 1992; Baer, 2016). This analysis contains many limitations because it neglects that there was a sense of trust and interdependence between the peasants and the state whether in the era of Muhammad Ali and his family or the colonial state (Ghalwash, 2016; Fahmy, 1999; Chalcraft, 2005; Anderson, 2017). The peasants in the 19th century indeed understood the laws of the state and believed that it will provide justice for them (Ghalwash, 2016). Even if this form of justice is

different from the notion of equality; the state became the source of justice even against state officials (Fahmy, 1999).

This interpretation continued to understand the state society relations until the 21st century. It understood the state as an authoritarian construct (Fahmy, 2011; Lynch, 2011; Bellin, 2004). The state represses civil society actors whether NGOs or professional syndicates and the civil society is trying to counter this repression towards democratisation (Yom, 2005; Lynch, 2011; Ismail, 1995; Bellin, 2004; Clark, 2000). This claim disregards the fact that states to maintain their power they need to use a mixture of violence and consent to legitimise their existence (Gramsci, 2010). Also, a main limitation with this claim is that it perceives power as oppressive. Power is not oppressive power is a productive force that produces desires and needs (Foucault, 2008). Thus, it is important to go beyond the simplistic authoritarianism democracy dichotomy.

Another interpretation is the classical Marxist one. Some classical Marxist scholars perceive the Egyptian history in terms of class economically exploiting the other classes. Peasants and labour force were being exploited by the state elite in the pre-colonial era (Hakim, 2012; Beinín, 1981). Later the capitalist class exploited the Egyptian workers with the support of the state and the working class struggled against them (Beinin, 1981; Beinín & Lockman, 1998; Lockman, 1988). This argument despite being critical and looks at history from below. However, it focuses on class and economic relations without considering other aspects of Egyptians lives that were influenced by those institutions. It disregards the everyday life of people.

Some employed the concept of oriental despotism. It sees that the orient (including Egypt) has a distinct mode of governance based on a highly centralised state to manage and control the people, agriculture and other activities (Wittfogel, 1981). Some claimed that this structure of governance continued until Muhammad Ali (Hakim, 2012). Others claimed that the pharaonic tradition of oriental despotism continued in Egypt until the 21st century (Hassan, 2010). This model is simplistic because it assumes that power is oppressive and as mentioned before it is more complicated. It also disregards that Egypt since the era of Muhammad Ali Egypt was governed by modes of European governance and technologies (Mitchell, 1988). Thus, the oriental structure in modern times is a myth

There is also the social contract approach. It argues that there is a social contract between the Egyptians and the state which rests on the premises that Egyptians will give up their political freedoms and in return they will gain economic benefits from the state (El-Meehy, 2010; Bassam, 2018; Desai & Olofsgard, 2011; Kamel, 2001). Although, it acknowledges that the state is not just an oppressive structure. However, it is heavily dependent on economics and disregards the role of discourse and knowledge.

Recent scholarship on Egypt state society relations started to incorporate Gramsci. This trend analyses the Egyptian state efforts as an exercise of hegemonic leadership to legitimise its existence through discourse e.g. democracy (Roccu, 2012; Ranko, 2015). However, a counter-hegemony by NGO's and Islamic social movements is resisting this discourse (Ranko, 2015; Pratt, 2004; Kandil, 2011; Smet, 2016). Although this provides a more complex understanding on how state functions through not only force but also

by consent; however, it is still a macro approach that focuses on grand political institutions and social movements. Instead of understanding the role of the pseudo-apolitical institutions and the everyday lives of the people.

Thus, a micro-political approach is needed in the Egyptian historiography. Issues related to body, sexuality and work had been always regarded as something grounded in culture or religion (Mens, 2015). However, a more critical approach argues otherwise. The trend of the micro-political approach started by Timothy Mitchell. He studied architecture, blueprints and scientific writing to examine the penetration of disciplinary Western technologies of governance in Egypt in the 19th century e.g. surveillance in villages, modern schooling, modern army conscription (Mitchell, 1988). Later he also examined the expert knowledge and its impact on the Egyptians in the late 20th century (Mitchell, 2005). Khaled Fahmy critically examined the institutions of modern army, forensic medicine, policing to see their impact in creating modern docile subjectivities (Fahmy, 2002a; Fahmy, 1998; Fahmy, 1999).

Mervat Hatem studied the medical institution efforts to control Women's reproductive capabilities by affirming the notion that motherhood is natural and abortion is dangerous (Hatem, 1997). Amira Sonbol studied the Westernisation of the Western knowledge in Egypt (Sonbol, 1991). Hanan Kholoussy examined how the medical discourse restricted male sexual behaviour to create a healthy, heterosexual, and disciplined family man (Kholoussy, 2010a). She also examined the circulation of a discourse in the 19th century that bachelors should seek to create families (Kholoussy, 2010b). Other scholars focused on the colonial medical knowledge and how it was internalised by the Egyptians (Abugideiri, 2016) Kenneth Cuno tackled the

institutionalisation by the state of a modern nuclear family structure in Egypt in the 19th and 20th centuries (Cuno, 2015). Hanan Hammad examined the creation of a heteronormative industrial subjectivity by the state and factory owners in the 20th century (Hammad, 2016). Finally, On Barak examined the impact of modern European communication technologies (imported by the state) on the time of the Egyptian to make it subjected to the European standardisation and precision (Barak, 2013; Barak, 2009). Also, resistance to these notions had been examined (Fahmy, 2002a; Hammad, 2016; Barak, 2013).

This study uses this rich literature as a starting point for an in-depth understanding on how the state society relations function in Egypt. However, this study will avoid the limitations of the previously mentioned micro-political research. Almost all of the literature stress on a Foucauldian framework with the exception of Mitchell and Barak. This study will not rely on Foucault only. In addition to Foucault, ideas from critical theory will be used to offer a fresh understanding of the issue to reach new conclusions. The second problem in the literature is that it is fragmented. If Hammad studied the factories impact on Egyptians bodies, she failed to adequately address how it impacted their time (it is only briefly mentioned and limited to the factory only). If Barak studied how modern communication technologies influenced people's time he failed to see how it impacted their bodies. The current literature mostly restricts body to sexuality and disregards other notions and gestures by the body. The literature disregards that the same institutions worked on the two layers of Egyptians subjectivity which are body and time. Medicine, factory and modern communication technologies cannot be viewed separately. They

all intersect with each other to create a disciplined productive subjectivity. Finally, the influence of those institutions and their repercussions in the 21st century had been rarely examined. This study will address those gaps.

Methodology and theory: Critical theory, post-structuralism and beyond

This dissertation uses qualitative methods. It will examine the secondary literature on the topic. Also, primary sources are used such as medical reports, court cases, the writings of European experts in 19th and 20th century Egypt e.g. European doctors, orientalist, architects and technicians to understand the European system of thought that shaped the state institutions that shaped the Egyptian subjectivities. Furthermore, articles by Egyptian intellectuals and scientists in these eras will be examined to elucidate how this discourse was internalised. In the second part of the dissertation statements and speeches by governmental officials in the 21st century will be examined.

Moreover, examples from popular culture will be examined. Songs are going to be analysed from the 19th century singing to the contemporary singing. Also, images and movies will be examined. Also, the writings of middleclass youth on new independent media on the internet. This rich data will exemplify the reaction of the Egyptians to the state rationality whether it is acceptance or resistance.

To analyse the expert's writings, Foucauldian informed discourse analysis is used. Discourse is understood as a creator of reality by constructing what is normal and what is deviant or perverted (Foucault, 2008; McSherry, 2013; Zitz et al., 2014). These discourses are produced by experts

or people with authority (Foucault, 2008; McSherry, 2013). This hegemonic discourse produces and legitimises certain power relations, and becomes accepted as truth (Foucault, 2008; McSherry, 2013; Zitz et al., 2014). This method will allow an in-depth examination of the relation between power, knowledge, practices and language.

Regarding the theoretical work, different but corresponding theoretical perspectives are going to be synthesised. Michel Foucault's ideas on discipline and biopower to examine how the bodies are being modified by power structures and knowledge (Foucault, 1995; Foucault, 1994; Foucault, 2008). E.P. Thompson's views on the control over the time of workers in the factory (Thompson, 1967). Karl Marx and Hannah Arendt's observations on the subjection of the body to the machine (Marx, 1976; Arendt, 1959). Althusser is also vital to understand how state apparatuses work on the unconsciousness and the importance of the family as a state apparatus (Althusser, 2001). Herbert Marcuse's ideas on surplus repression and the performance principle to understand the logic behind the subjection of sexuality (desexualisation or directing sexuality towards reproduction instead of pleasure) and other aspects of the daily life of people to serve the modern logic of efficiency and production (Marcuse, 1966; Marcuse, 2002). Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's critique of rationality and science as an instrument of domination (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2016). Also, Horkheimer's view on the streets and automobiles as an instrument of control over the people (Horkheimer, 2013). Walter Benjamin's ideas on the progress of history, the empty homogeneous time of modernity and the messianic resistance against the progress of time by stopping it (Benjamin, 2002). Giorgio Agamben to further examine the

dichotomy of the homogenous time i.e. the repetitive and monotonous time of modernity and the messianic time i.e. the spontaneous revolutionary time (Agamben, 2010; Benjamin, 2007). James Scott to understand everyday forms of resistance and Michel de Certeau ideas to understand the everyday subversive tactics that people use to resist the rational/scientific planning; Assef Bayat's quiet encroachment is going to be also discussed to elaborate on the unintentional practices of the ordinary (Scott, 1986; Scott, 2008; Certeau, 1984; Bayat, 2013).

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. The first chapter will provide a theoretical understating based on the theorists mentioned above. The second chapter will examine the medical institution. The third chapter will tackle the factory and modern transportation. The fourth chapter will examine the consequences of these institutions on the contemporary Egyptian state. The fifth chapter will examine how the Egyptians reacted to the state.

Body and time in modern times: a theoretical investigation

This chapter intends to synthesise different theoretical approaches to reach a sophisticated understanding on body and time as sites of power. The following ideas will be examined: first, sexuality and its relation to power, the issue of time and its relation to technology, the body and technology, and finally, the reactions of ordinary people to these modern structures.

In the beginning it was the sex

To understand how sexuality functions, understanding its relation to discourse is fundamental. Michel Foucault noticed that sexuality is not fixed; on the contrary, it is closely intertwined with the discourses (e.g. medical) of a particular epoch (Foucault, 2008). Sexuality constitutes a separate domain in the human psychophysical characteristics that is linked with desire, eroticism, intimacy, love and passion, to name a few. It is also an identity (Halperin, 1989). Sexuality is constructed and produced through discourse or a multiplicity of discourses (Foucault, 2008). Sexuality is essentially a form of cultural production (Halperin, 1989). Thus, sexuality is a discursive and social construct.

The eighteenth century is central in the history of sexuality. Although the power and knowledge of that time did not invent new pleasures or sexual vices, however, it did create new rules and prescriptions for their regulation (Foucault, 2008). Medical experts and scientists created perversions e.g. (homosexuality and polygamy) and normality e.g. heterosexuality (Foucault, 2008). The perverse became a form of life to be investigated by medical

knowledge to correct (Foucault, 2008). This sexual regulation was for the purpose of creating a healthy population of workers for capitalist production (Dean, 1994). These sexual norms are presented as objective truth and are internalised by the subjects (Taylor, 2009). Thus, sexuality is an artificial construct.

The body and its discontents

Another idea worth examining is that of Marcuse. Following Sigmund Freud, Herbert Marcuse argued that in modern societies there is a certain level of repression needed to contain sexual and aggressive instincts in order to ensure the smooth functioning of civilization (Marcuse, 1966). This is called a necessary repression which is needed to halt humans' violent tendencies (Marcuse, 1966). However, on the other hand, modern capitalist/bureaucratic societies created a new form of repression called surplus repression for the sake of domination (Marcuse, 1966).

Every aspect of human life including sexuality must serve a depersonalised, rational, productive and efficient purpose; this is called the performance principal (Marcuse, 1966). It restricts the human Eros to monogamic sexual interactions for reproduction (Marcuse, 1966). Sexual gratification is directed towards the genitalia and desexualises the rest of the body (Marcuse, 1966). Non-reproductive sexual acts such as oral sex, anal sex, and homosexuality are tabooed (Kellner, 1984). Polygamy is tabooed, and sexual libido is channelled only through monogamous families (Kellner, 1984). The excess of libidinal energy is sublimated into socially accepted

activities particularly alienated labour¹ (Marcuse, 1966). Excess libido is diverted into alienated labour which is the negation of the pleasure principle and human gratification (Marcuse, 1966). Thus, here the nature of sexuality is seen in modern bureaucratic/capitalist societies.

Foucault contra Marcuse? Friends or foes?

Using Foucault and Marcuse together may appear as tension or even a contradiction. However, it is not. In the conventional wisdom, Foucault is an enemy of Marcuse (Dini & Briganti, 2017): Foucault's critique of the repressive hypothesis (i.e. power represses sexuality) is seen as an indirect attack on Marcuse (Dini & Briganti, 2017).

Because as mentioned for Foucault, power is productive; it produces subjectivities and identities, and is not repressive (Foucault, 2008). However, this approach neglects a central concept in the Marcusean thought which is repressive de-sublimation which has a productive side (Renaud, 2013). Dominant institutions must provide false needs to prevent an emancipatory alternative (Marcuse, 2002). Dominant institutions construct suitable desires and sexual activities while prohibiting others (Renaud, 2013). As shown earlier both theorists believe that dominant institutions create perversions and normality.

Sexuality and time

Before discussing time discipline it is important to elucidate the connection between sexuality and time. Free time in capitalism is not free; it is a continuation of work (Adorno, 2001). Free time is monopolised by capitalism

¹ Since labour in capitalism is alienated, work does not fulfil human desires. It serves the dominant apparatus (Marcuse, 1966)

to reproduce labour power, make labour more productive and increase profits (Adorno, 2001). The free time of sex is also a part of production (Marcuse, 2002). The time is sex is made to be productive to meet the requirements of the performance principal (Marcuse, 2002). Thus, managing sexuality is not just about managing body, but also people's alleged free time to make it productive.

Time in modern times: the factory and beyond

Time is another aspect of the modern subjectivity that is under the grip of power. During the early stages of industrialisation, a new type of discipline appeared: time-discipline (Thompson, 1967). The worker must observe certain working hours (Thompson, 1967). Time keeping, and clocks became an essential part of the labour process (Thompson, 1967). The worker's time became disciplined and under the control of supervisors and timekeepers (Thompson, 1967).

The disciplining of time also was mentioned by Foucault. Factories, hospitals and schools are governed by strict time-tables to construct a docile body and obedient subjectivity (Foucault, 1995). The worker has a time of arrival, departure and a set of tasks to complete (Foucault, 1995). The time must be spent by the worker in the most efficient way possible (Foucault, 1995). A fundamental technology which standardised time across large spaces was the railroads (Zerubavel, 1982; Bartky, 1989; McCrossen, 2016). Because of its regular time of arrival and departure, the everyday time of the individuals was regulated (Zerubavel, 1982; Bartky, 1989; McCrossen, 2016).

Time became independent of the will of the individual almost everywhere, inside the factory and outside it.

The Chronos

There are serious implications regarding this notion. Walter Benjamin brilliantly noticed that modern history is progressing in an empty homogenous time (Benjamin, 2007). The homogenous time is comprised of measurable units manifested in clocks (Firth & Robinson, 2013). It has no significant or meaningful moments (Firth & Robinson, 2013). It is a time that passes (Firth & Robinson, 2013). It is repetitive, and its immediate effect is boredom (Firth & Robinson, 2013; Benjamin, 2003). Giorgio Agamben calls it the Chronos (Agamben, 2010). It is a quantitative, linear, chronological and measurable time (Kidwell, 2016; Prozorov, 2014; Agamben, 2012; Agamben, 2010). This modern time is fundamentally monotonous and leads to boredom. Everyday involves repeating the same tasks at the same time. The excess of repetitions makes life boring and dull.

Going back to the body

In the first section, the sexual aspect of the body was discussed. However, the body is not limited to sex. The bodies of the population must be monitored (e.g. medical records) to maintain healthy and productive subjectivities (Foucault, 2008). This is a biopolitical control over life (Foucault, 2008). Foucault discusses also the process in which docile bodies are created, or disciplinary power. The correct use of the body is essential to a correct use of time (Foucault, 1995). The body is disciplined through repetitive acts and gestures (Foucault, 1995). Certain movements of the body are

routinised every day in a panopticon-like structure e.g. factory (Foucault, 1995). There is constant hierarchal surveillance and supervision (Foucault, 1995). The subjectivities who conform to the rules get rewarded, while those who refuse are punished; thus, creating docile bodies (Foucault, 1995). Karl Marx realised that the machine subjects the worker's movement to its use; making the worker a mere appendage to the machine (Marx, 1976). Hannah Arendt noticed that the body of the worker must conform to the rhythm of the machine; not vice-versa (Arendt, 1959). The natural rhythm of the body must be mechanised to meet the requirements of the machine (Arendt, 1959). Here, the body is controlled inside a closed factory.

The body's movement can also be regulated in open spaces. The body of the traveller is immobile inside the train as Michel de-Certeau noticed (Certeau, 1998). The train is moving forwards while the human body is overwhelmed by the movement of the train: the body cannot move; it moves with the train; the traveller can only watch immobile things outside passing by (Certeau, 1998). According to Max Horkheimer the technology of automobiles is central in abolishing spontaneity (Horkheimer, 2013). The driver must observe certain lanes, turns and speed limits (Horkheimer, 2013). Thus, unlike the horse, for example, as a mode of transportation, automobiles impose more regulations on movement (Horkheimer, 2013). Hence, the body is being subjected daily to technologies of transportation that regulate its movement in space; thus, further restricting the free movement of the body.

A note on the state

It is important to understand that the impact of the state is not on the conscious mind. As Louis Althusser argued, when the state apparatus functions, it targets the unconscious mind (Althusser, 2001). It is also vital to note that the family is one of these apparatuses (Althusser, 2001). These vital points are fundamental to this study.

From resistance to quiet encroachment

Despite the overwhelming network of power, knowledge and regulatory regimes, the people are not passive. James C. Scott argued that the relatively powerless groups have their own ways of resistance, which he describes as 'everyday forms of resistance' e.g. foot dragging, desertion and false compliance are all ways that the weak use against the state or powerful elites (Scott, 1986). This perspective highlights the hidden forms of resistance, and challenges the traditional wisdom which restricts resistance to outright rebellions and revolutions. However, everyday resistance can take other forms.

Certeau elaborates on this. Certeau makes a distinction between strategies and tactics (Certeau, 1984; Mitchell, 2007). Strategies refer to the actions of the powerful which construct a system of panopticism (Certeau, 1984; Mitchell, 2007). This is found in the scientific management of armies, cities, and scientific institutions (Certeau, 1984; Mitchell, 2007).

On the other hand, like Scott, tactics are the weapons of the weak to evade discipline (Certeau, 1984; Mitchell, 2007). They are spontaneous; not the result of a grand design (Certeau, 1984; Mitchell, 2007). Strategies are related to space, while tactics are about the smart use of time (Frow, 1991).

The pedestrian transforms the spatial environment (Certeau, 1984). He/she takes shortcuts, detours, and refuses to walk in an obligatory road (Certeau, 1984). It is a spatial metamorphosis from manged spaces to liberated places by opening new special meanings and directions through the individual's subjective experience with the space (Certeau, 1984). The tactics can also include subversive language such as obscene gestures and eroticised language in public that flout public decency and morality (Certeau et al., 1998). People do not just consume things, they erotise their environment and everyday things (Certeau et al., 1998). By relying on everyday tactics ordinary people shape the scientifically planned city to meet their genuine needs through their subjective experience with the city.

To go a step further, Asef Bayat's ideas on resistance should be examined. Bayat argued that the notion of everyday resistance fails to demarcate between the people's awareness about their condition and the act of resistance (Bayat, 2013). Although many people are aware of their marginal position, that does not mean necessarily that they are resisting (Bayat, 2013). These acts are not always intentional (Bayat, 2013). The quiet encroachment, on the other hand, entails an informal, prolonged and persuasive process that marginalised groups engage in to cope with the present situation, gain better opportunities, and to achieve autonomy from the disciplinary power of the state and other institutions (Bayat, 2013). In this context, these everyday unconscious acts can be properly understood.

The return of the messiah in the time of Kairos

To further demarcate between the notion of refusal that this dissertation uses and the conventional notions of resistance, the work of Benjamin and Agamben will be re-examined. Walter Benjamin famously said that revolutions are not the locomotive of history as Marx said; on the contrary, they aim to pull the emergency break of history (Ross, 2017). History is progressing in a path that does not favour the marginalised classes; it serves the powerful (Benjamin, 2007). The angel of history is forcefully pushed forward by wind while it is looking back (Benjamin, 2007). The wind of progress serves the ruling classes (Benjamin, 2007). The weak messianic power that every generation has should halt progress, not push it forward (Benjamin, 2007). It is in that sense that the practices of the ordinary are understood: not as an engine that pushes history; but, as modest acts to stop the train of history from moving.

Time is fundamental here. Instead of the empty homogenous time, there is the messianic time (Benjamin, 2007). According to Agamben, the messianic time is unexpected while the ordinary time is chronological and leaves the people powerless and weak (Boer, 2013). The Kairos, i.e. the messianic time, is a seized Chronos (Agamben, 2010). Messianic time is qualitative, cannot be quantified or measured (Harink, 2010; Kidwell, 2016). Thus, the messianic time is revolutionary, spontaneous, and radically different from the homogenous time.

Concluding notes on body, time, and the state

This chapter elucidated that the body and time of the modern subjectivities is constantly manipulated and modified by power. Sexuality, the

body movement and the time that passes are all sites of power. However, the ordinary people are not passive consumers. They have their own ways to cope and defy those regimes of discipline unintentionally.

This dissertation develops a skeptic view on reason and technology. Foucault's post-structuralist approach exemplifies this position. Also, Theodor Adorno and Horkheimer specify that modern science, reason and technology are tools of domination over nature and man (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2016). Reason became an instrument of domination by the powerful instead of being a force of critical inquiry (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2016). Althusser regarded the state apparatuses as ideological and oppressive (Althusser, 2001). However, this study will go beyond these ideas.

The power of the state is not just ideological, it targets bodies and the time that passes. Factories, railroads, medical knowledge they can all be tools of the state. Many of the theorists mentioned above, their discussion was in the context of capitalism. This study regards them as relevant in discussing the behaviour of the state in modifying bodies and time as the engine of modernity in Egypt. Even though capitalism is going to be discussed in later chapters. However, the state was the initiator of these technologies. The state takes control over the bodies and time of the individuals to ensure complete productivity.

However, ordinary people react to these modern inventions through unintentional everyday acts, they quietly assert their need for autonomy. Through these practices, people are halting progress that makes them heteronomous to dominate institutions. Thus, regaining their bodies and

constructing their messianic time. These acts are going to be termed as quiet assertiveness throughout this study.

Medicalising and moralising the Egyptian body: sexuality, marriage and perversions

In the process of modernising Egypt, the Egyptian body came under the influence of modern discourse of medicine. This chapter will examine how medical knowledge shaped the sexuality of men and women to make a productive and healthy population.

Entering modernity through medicine

The story of modern medicine in Egypt starts with Clot Bey. Clot bey is a French physician who was hired by Muhammad Ali as the Surgeon-in-Chief to keep the army healthy (Burrow, 1975). However, Clot Bey had a different vision and convinced Muhammad Ali that the whole population must be healthy to keep the army healthy (Burrow, 1975). He established Qasr Al-Aini medical school and hospital which was equipped with the modern medical knowledge of the time (Dib, 2015). He introduced modern medicine to Egypt (Burrow, 1975). In this moment Egypt entered the realm of modern European knowledge.

First the female bodies were captured

The control over sexuality started with constructing women's bodies. For Clot-Bey replacing village indigenous medicine by professional practitioners was essential (Hatem, 1997). He trained female doctors and recruited local midwives to collaborate with the doctors (Kozma, 2011; Hatem, 1997). This way, the state aimed to limit abortions, which was commonly practiced in Egypt, and aimed to limit the spread of sexually transmitted diseases in women, because the state medical agents can examine women

freely (Hatem, 1997). It is important to note that Clot Bey described Egyptian women as sexually voracious, which is a reason in spreading syphilis (ElSayed, 2011). The trained professionals and recruited midwives' role involved recording deaths and births (Hatem, 1997). Also, reducing infant mortality rates that had been triggered by the spread of smallpox (Fahmy, 1998a). They were to monitor whether abortions were performed (Hatem, 1997). These women became the agents of the state (Hatem, 1997). Local women did not see abortion as a crime or sin; although, Clot Bey regarded them as such (Hatem, 1997). For Clot Bey women who did not want to be mothers (i.e. committing abortion) were defying the natural order of their bodies to reproduce (Hatem, 1997). In the programme of the medical school women's natural cycle in life involves getting pregnant (Hatem, 1997). Clot Bey saw that women's bodies are in a natural process of menstruation, pregnancy, and childbirth (ElSayed, 2011). The female's reproductive organs are meant to receive (ElSayed, 2011). Women's natural role, according to their bodies, is to raise children in the family (ElSayed, 2011). When he discussed female circumcision, he did not advocate it, but he tolerated it as a social custom because it did not affect reproduction (Hatem, 1997). He said it is used "to lessen the desire of Egyptian women" and "it is likely to continue across generations" (Clot-Bey, 2011, P. 317). According to this medical discourse, women are naturally mothers. This medical discourse constructed the Egyptian feminine body as bodies for reproduction and childbirth, while pleasure is disregarded and trivialised. This is exemplified in the comparison between abortion and circumcision in Clot-Bey's writings.

Qasr Al-Aini continued to function throughout the nineteenth century. One of the graduates of the school (Ahmad Hassan al-Rashidi) stressed that when women engage in excessive sexual intercourse it will result in extreme health deterioration (ElSayed, 2011). Hence, women should be observed (ElSayed, 2011). The curriculum under the British colonisation, still informed by Victorian science, regarded domesticity and motherhood as ingrained in the nature of women (Abugideiri, 2016). Egyptian doctors embraced this discourse which led to the creation of republican motherhood by nationalist Egyptian doctors (Abugideiri, 2016; El-Shakry, 2007). Women's role is to deliver and rear healthy babies for the sake of the nation (Abugideiri, 2016). Again, only the reproductive role of sex is prioritised while sexual pleasure is marginalised. This medical discourse became internalised by Egyptians.

Medicine became a central tool for surveillance. In 1878 a man brought his daughter to the police station because he believed that his daughter had been deflowered while she denied this (Kozma, 2011). His female neighbour assured to him that his daughter is virgin (Kozma, 2011). However, at the police station a medical practitioner examined her and concluded that she had been indeed deflowered (Kozma, 2011). The investigations concluded that the girl was involved in prostitution (Kozma, 2011). This case is one from many (Kozma, 2011). This elucidates to what extent Egyptians trusted and internalised the medical institution's authority. The man did not believe his daughter nor his neighbour, but he believed the medical authority.

Then the male bodies were captured

Egyptian men were also under the influence of modern medicine, although some literature only focused on women and neglected men as if they were not regulated (Abugideiri, 2016; Hatem, 1997). For Clot Bey the male reproductive organs are meant to give (ElSayed, 2011). Sperm is vital in the process of reproduction (ElSayed, 2011). Men are naturally aggressive and sexual; but, men should direct their sexual desires in marriage only (ElSayed, 2011). It is advised that men have sex twice only per-week with their wives (ElSayed, 2011). Furthermore, men should avoid polygyny (ElSayed, 2011). Polygyny will make men's sperm weak because of overindulgence in sexual intercourse (ElSayed, 2011). He states monogamy does not contradict Islamic Sharia (ElSayed, 2011). Moderation in sex creates healthy sperm; thus, healthy offspring (ElSayed, 2011). Here, the male bodies are also prioritised for their reproductive capabilities not pleasure.

Increasing productivity was the goal. Since men were fundamental as a part of labour force and the military during Muhammad Ali's era, their sexual lives must be monitored to ensure a healthy body (Kholoussy, 2010a). From the 19th century onwards male bodies were constantly checked in the military and they were not allowed to have sexual intercourse while serving (Kholoussy, 2010a). Regulating prostitution (this is going to be discussed later) aimed to regulate the sexual behaviour of men so that they do not get infected (Kholoussy, 2010a; Fahmy, 2002a). Regulating prostitution aimed to regulate male sexuality (Kholoussy, 2010a). The Islamic thinker, Muhammad Abduh blamed the Egyptian bachelors for spreading venereal diseases due to their sexual interactions with prostitutes (Kholoussy, 2010a). Here, men's

bodies must be kept healthy in order to become productive in various social and economic activities.

Stop the prostitutes! Diseasing the female body

Prostitution was a major issue. Clot Bey and the medical institution located prostitution as the main reason behind the syphilis epidemic in the military because they are not medically checked (Fahmy, 1998a). He says since their profession has no shame, they will not mind getting checked by doctors (Fahmy, 1998a). He stressed that prostitutes do not only infect men but also free women (Fahmy, 2002b). In 1834 Muhammad Ali decided to ban prostitution then he banished prostitutes to upper Egypt (Hammad & Biancani, 2017). It was common since then that the people who engage in prostitution get arrested or flogged (Kozma, 2012). Clot Bey did not only condemn prostitution for health reasons only as historian Khaled Fahmy argued. Clot Bey writes prostitution is banned in all religions and it was rarely found in the Ottoman provinces; however, Egypt was unlike the rest of the east especially in the “disintegration of morals”, prostitutes were taxed however the government decided to “ban it to remove the stigma of their existence and the shame of its recognition” (Clot Bey, 2011, P. 327). Prostitution was practiced it public, after the ban it became practiced in secret (Clot Bey, 2011). Thus, he also presents a moral argument against prostitution not just a medical one. But definitely prostitutes as a risk for public health was the most vital. As it will be discussed later, morality and efficiency are intertwined.

During the British occupation prostitution was still an important issue. The British were worried about the health of their troops from the diseased

prostitutes (Kholoussy, 2010a). Thus, the British regulated prostitution by licensing prostitutes and medically inspecting prostitutes weekly for diseases (Hammad, 2014; Biancani, 2012). Here the British administration controlled the sexuality of Egyptian prostitutes.

This shows the change in the attitude towards prostitution. According to Clot Bey, prostitution was something public and normal (Clot Bey, 2011). By the late 19th century Egyptians were petitioning against the existence of brothels in their neighbourhoods calling them evil places (Fahmy, 2002b). During the British occupation, Egyptian nationalists called for the abolition of prostitution which they condemned as immoral, a source for diseases, and a waste of reproductive and economic capabilities of the youth of the Egyptian nation (Kholoussy, 2010a; Hammad, 2014; Biancani, 2012; Hammad, 2011). This change in the Egyptians tolerance towards prostitution indicates that the discourse of the state medical institution was internalised by the people. For the Muhammad Ali's state and the British administration prostitution was dangerous. Egyptians internalised this. This was novel to the Egyptians who did not see any threat in prostitution or a need to regulate it or abolish it. This changed after the introduction of the medical discourse on the danger of prostitution.

Stop the *Khawals*! Medicalising homoeroticism

Another central issue was homosexuality. In 19th century Egypt there were male belly dancers who were called *Khawals* (Boone, 2015). The dancers dressed in women's clothes and mimicked their behaviour (Boone, 2015). European orientalist were shocked by them (Boone, 2015; Fraser,

2015). They were assumed to desire men and engage in prostitution with men (Boone, 2015). For Clot Bey and later the graduates of Qasr Al-Aini homosexuality is unnatural and a product of mental or physical problems (ElSayed, 2011). Qasr Al-Aini graduate Ahmad Al-Rashidi saw that women become lesbians as a result of hysteria or enlarged clitoris (ElSayed, 2011). Clot Bey writes, the prohibition of prostitution led to “a vice more shameful than prostitution which is sodomy” (Clot Bey, 2011, P. 327). When he discusses the *Khawal* performance he specifies that “the one who watches cannot feel but disgust” and it “defiled Egypt” (Clot Bey, 2011, P. 403). Then he called on the state to intervene (Clot Bey, 2011). However, European accounts shows that those dancers were admired by many and had immense popularity in Egypt (Fraser, 2015). Here, the medical experts declare homosexuality as abnormal, a result of physical irregularity, and unnatural. Any expressions of homosexuality cannot be tolerated.

Medicine became a central mean in monitoring homosexuality. In the start of 20th century police were arresting homosexuals for violating public decency even if they were outside the public’s eye (Hammad, 2016). Medical experts were examining the bodies of the accused to deny or prove the allegations (Hammad, 2016). In one of the cases, the medical experts concluded that one of the accused had an anal itch which made him involved in homosexuality and he needs to be treated (Hammad, 2016). This shows that according the medical discourse, homosexuality is a result of physical irregularity e.g. anal-itch not sexual attraction. Medicine continued to be a tool for checking homosexual bodies.

Stop the perversions! A brief history of non-productive sex

Part of the regulation of sexuality was dictating what sexual acts should be performed. In Clot Bey's discussion of sexual intercourse, he only mentions the female and male genitalia (ElSayed, 2011). He does not mention any other forms of sexual interactions. In medical journals in the late 19th and early 20th century, masturbation was doomed to be a major cause of dangerous illnesses and a reason behind the decline of nations (Kozma, 2013). In a court case in the early 20th century, a woman complained to the judge that her husband had anal sex with her (Hammad, 2016). After the medical experts supported her claim after examination, the judge sentenced the man to jail with heavy labour (Hammad, 2016). Here, the judge did not regard anal sex as a proper reproductive sexual act (Hammad, 2016). The woman saw this as not private but something dangerous that needed to be reported to the state. These examples illustrate how the medical institution and the state concentrated sexuality on reproductive sex while tabooing non-reproductive sex e.g. masturbation and anal sex.

Public morality and marriage

The issue of public morality must be tackled. Edward William Lane in the 19th century, armed with his Victorian morality, wrote that Egyptian women were obscene, they curse in public and watch lustful dances (ElSayed, 2011). It was Muhammad Ali who banned public dancing as a part of combating prostitution (Roushdy, 2008). In Khedival Egypt the state was making sure that public order is maintained by purifying respectable neighbourhoods from prostitutes (Kozma, 2012). Then the colonial administration was keen on keeping public morality (Fonder, 2013). During the early 20th century the state insisted on preserving public morality (Hammad, 2016). Egyptian elite

internalised this and urged the state to have an active role in preserving morality (Lopez, 2004). Immorality was usually associated with crimes and chaos (Fahmy, 2002b; Lopez, 2004). The preservation of public decency was essential for the state. As illustrated above the various immoralities are unproductive and can pose health hazards. Thus, the state during different eras had to regulate or abolish these immoralities.

Another central issue was monogamous marriage. Edward William Lane wrote “polygyny, which is also attended with very injurious effects upon the morals of husbands and wives” (Lane, 1908, P. 188). On divorce he writes it “has depraving effects upon both sexes” (Lane, 1908, P. 188). He is shocked about Egyptian men and women who married a large number of partners in their lives whether due to polygyny and divorce in the case of men or divorce in the case of women (Lane, 1908). Colt Bey echoes the same sentiments. As noted above he was a fierce critic of polygyny due to its alleged negative impact on health (ElSayed, 2011). Regarding divorce, he regards it as the main cause behind prostitution in Egypt (Clot Bey, 2011). He writes about prostitution “is enforced by the freedom that husbands have to divorce their wives, more than the special attitude that motivates Egyptian women to fulfil their sexual lust in an excessive manner” (Clot Bey, 2011, P. 328). For Colt Bey divorce is more dangerous to public health (because it increases prostitution) more than the lustful nature of Egyptian women to which he attributed (as discussed before) to the spread of syphilis. Lane upholds this Victorian dogma. Excessive divorce and polygyny show a lack of sexual constraints and moral disintegration. Hence, monogamous European marriage was the answer to regulate the Egyptian sexuality.

Monogamy became instituted. The khedival elite started to adopt monogamous modern marriages instead of polygyny (Cuno, 2015). Modernising marriage served as a mean to show the Europeans that they were civilised (Cuno, 2015). Monogamy was central to the British occupation in Egypt, Lord Cromer stressed that monogamy is a condition for a healthy family life, while polygyny that Egyptians practice, destroys it (Pollard, 2005). Egyptian intellectuals (e.g. Rifaa Tahtawy, Muhammad Abduh, Qasim Amin) in the late 19th and early 20th centuries propagated the ideology of monogamous families until it became common in the wider society (Cuno, 2015). Those intellectuals fought polygyny and divorce (Cuno, 2015). The discourse of monogamous modern marriages became disseminated in the public press (Kholoussy, 2010b). The family is the central unit of the nation and the Egyptian men's national duty is to abandon bachelorhood (bachelorhood was related to the large number of prostitution) to form stable families (Kholoussy, 2010b). The nation needs healthy bodies (Kholoussy, 2010a). In the 1890s the police arrested girls who were suspected of having pre-marital sex (Kozma, 2012). In the early 20th century, the courts were prosecuting men and women charged with adultery (Hammad, 2016). By its preservation of public morality, the state was enforcing heteronormative sexuality in the context of marriage (Hammad, 2016). The press urged the state to end the epidemic of divorce (Kholoussy, 2010b). Marriage was legally codified in 1920 (Cuno, 2015). In law 25 of 1920, marriage was medicalised, which meant that female-initiated divorce was permitted if the husband had a venereal disease (Kholoussy, 2010a). Hence, divorce was only encouraged if

the family was a health risk. Here, Egyptians embraced the ideology of monogamous families

In many of the writings this is exemplified. Abduh discouraged polygyny and saw that monogamy is the Islamic ideal (Amir et al., 2012). Marriage for him is the institution which will discipline men, make them productive, and ensure a diseases-less population (Kholoussy, 2010a). he says that people abused Islam's permission of polygyny and "found it a way for only seeking lust and pleasure" (Abduh, 2012, P. 118). Qasim Amin talks about the importance of educating women to raise healthy children, since the children in early age "do not know idols but their mothers" (Amin, 2008, P.512). When he talks about physical attraction he says, "it withers away gradually" (Amin, 2008, P. 245). He attacks polygyny and prostitution as degrading to women and morally wrong respectively (Amin, 2008). The writings of these modern intellectuals show a complete internalisation of the Western discourse. Sexual gratification is only allowed through monogamous marriage and pleasure is not important.

Thus, the discourse on restricting sexual intercourse to monogamous families for productivity and health which was instituted in the 19th century by the medical institution, law in 20th century, and supported by European values was internalised by the Egyptians as the ideal.

Conclusion: medicalising and de-sexualising the body

The medical institution in Egypt regulated sexuality in many ways to ensure that the Egyptians are productive and healthy to perform various tasks for the state. Sexual gratification became restricted to the purpose of

reproduction and producing children. Sex for the state's medical institution is a pleasure-less task. Sex is only directed to the sexual organs. Thus, many sexual practices were tabooed and diseased such as homosexuality, polygyny, divorce, prostitution and non-reproductive sex. The state through different eras ensured through law or campaigns of public morality that this is ingrained in the Egyptians. Medicine became a tool of monitoring Egyptian bodies. This has also implications on time not just the body, the most intimate time of the Egyptians became under the influence of the state, the supposedly intimate free time is controlled by the state to serve a productive purpose. Sexuality became only allowed through monogamous families. Egyptians indeed internalised this discourse.

The techno politics of body and time: between the factory and transportation

The Egyptian subjectivities were not just under the influence of medicine. This chapter is going to tackle the new technologies of factory and railroads imported by the state, thereby aiming to increase the productivity of the Egyptians by taking control over their bodies and time.

Producing modernity through the factory

The factory structure played a vital role in disciplining the Egyptian body. The European-style factory was initiated by Muhammad Ali (Beinin, 1981). Khedive Ismail continued the process of industrialisation by building different factories for several industries (Beinin, 1981). Furthermore, he encouraged foreign investment which increased rapidly after 1882 with the support of the British administration (Beinin, 1981). In the early 20th century, the new Egyptian capitalist class began to own factories with the legal support of the state to bring about the Egyptianisation of industries by law (Clawson, 1981). Thus, the state introduced a new form of modernity, the factory.

Producing modern bodies and time

Muhammad Ali's state-led industrialisation introduced the European system of machinery that determined the speed and regularity of the worker (Kozma, 2010). The state forced peasants to work in factories and stamped the factory name on their bodies; these peasants were supervised by managers (Fahmy, 1998b). The factory discipline was harsh, which included frequent floggings and long working hours (Tucker, 1985). Yet Muhammad Ali's project failed to transform peasants into disciplined workers (Beinin,

1981; Fahmy, 1998b). However, in this moment the technology of the factory was imported which subjected the Egyptian body to the machine and enforced daily disciplined time system.

The technology became more advanced and effective. Khedive Ismail revived the process of industrialisation that was initiated by Muhammad Ali by building factories especially in the sugar industries (Owen, 2011). French engineering companies provided sophisticated novel machinery and factory architecture (Bodenstein, 2014). The process of sugar-production was entirely mechanised (Bodenstein, 2014). A photograph of a French factory similar to the Egyptian one, shows workers standing by their machine on a higher ground in front of them a short metal rail fence (Bodenstein, 2014). Here, the machinery ensures that the worker's body is moving according to fully mechanised process. Furthermore, the architecture allows the visibility of the worker by being in a high open place for facilitating surveillance. Modern factory also means a strict timetable of working hours.

The technology of the factory became more advanced by time. Nationalist capitalists continued the task of disciplining peasants into industrial workers (Hammad, 2009). The structure of the factory can be exemplified in Hammad's study of al-Mahalla al-Kubra textile factory. Strict hierarchal roles were established for supervising the workers (Hammad, 2009). The managers disseminated a feeling of fear among the workers (Hammad, 2009). The punishments for not being obedient can range from physical beating to firing (Hammad, 2009). The machine had to be constantly operated by the worker (Hammad, 2009). Physical violence was systematically used by guards and managers to discipline workers and guaranteeing docility (Hammad, 2016;

Hammad, 2009). To evade work, Egyptian workers started spending time in bathrooms; when the supervisors realised this, they hired a guard to stand by the bathroom doors and a permit became required for the worker to go to the bathroom (Hammad, 2009). Court cases show that the owners and managers of factories were aiding the state efforts in the preservation of public morality by reporting to the police if there are any homosexual activities between the workers (Hammad, 2016). Also, before joining the factory, the worker must pass by a medical check to examine his/her health (Hammad, 2009). This manifests the control over the body of the worker.

Here, the factory became a location of monitoring the Egyptian body and disciplining it. The body of the worker had to perform repetitive tasks to keep the machine operating. The Egyptian workers' body movements must be as regular as the machine; thus, mechanising his/her body. The constant supervision and punishments ensured that the repetitive movements will not stop. Even the call of nature was under the control of the supervisor. The sexuality of the worker was also monitored and disciplined by the managers by reporting homosexuality to courts.

The factory did not only regulate the body. Time keeping was a vital issue for the Egyptian elite as a part of modern industry (Hammad, 2009). The working day had a punctual starting hour and an end (Hammad, 2009). The workers were constantly looking at the clock, waiting for the time of departure (Hammad, 2009). The factory gates close at a certain time and no one can enter after it; thus, workers come running (Hammad, 2016). Every worker owned a clock to watch the time (Hammad, 2016). The disciplinary impact on time is clear.

Thus, the time of the workers became managed by a rigid schedule. The worker's time is not under his/her control. The worker must abide to factory hours. The Egyptian subject followed the rhythm of the clock in the factory.

There was a strong coordination with the state. Although the factories were privately owned, the state was supporting national capitalism (Clawson, 1981). The state provided criminal records to the company to ensure that the worker was not engaged in criminal activities (Hammad, 2009). The police were always present around the factory to capture any criminals or to repress strikes (Hammad, 2009). Furthermore, there were police stations built nearby places (Hammad, 2009). National capitalists and the state had the common goal of creating modern productive subjects (Hammad, 2016). This shows that although the factories in 20th century Egypt were privately owned, their interests coincided with the will of the state.

Navigating modernity through the railroad and the road

Another fundamental technology was the railway. Railway was first brought by the British by the acceptance of Abbas (Lutsky, 1969). However, the state expanded in constructing its own railways during Ismail's era to reach 1,590 kilometres of railways, exceeding many of the advanced capitalist countries of that time (Lutsky, 1969). In the late-19th century trains became more punctual, and accurate train schedules were introduced (Barak, 2013). Later in the late 19th century the tramway was introduced by the Empain group with the logistical support of the state (Barak, 2013). Setting fixed timetables for the trains was regarded as a mean to save time and money (Barak, 2013). This technology, administered by European experts, introduced the European

precise, linear, and accurate time to Egypt (Barak, 2013). The railway stressed on speed and the compression of space/time (Barak, 2013). Factory owners in early 20th century succeeded in convincing the railway company to adjust its schedule according to the shifts of the factory because the workers travelled by trains (Hammad, 2009).

Thus, the precise rhythm of the railroad forced the time of the Egyptian to be as precise. They had to adjust their time to meet the regularity of the train timetable. The fixed times of departure and arrival are punctual. After they get out of the train, their time is captured again when they enter the factory.

The railroad was not the only mechanism used. During Ismail's era a massive project of urbanism on the European model was created (Raymond, 2007; Chaichian, 1988). Later, the British in Egypt perpetuated the process of urbanisation (including the expansion in railways) to serve their interests (Raymond, 2007; Chaichian, 1988). Parallel to this was the expansion in building roads with the invention of the automobile (Hopkins & Saad, 2005). The automobile is another vehicle that manifested speediness and acceleration (Barak, 2013). The automobile like the trains accelerated the time of the Egyptians to make it more productive and efficient.

The body and its temporal discontents: the death of the donkey

The trains and automobiles did not only impact time. The body was at the centre. Traditionally the Egyptian peasant used donkeys or mules to travel (Clo Bey, 2011). This is qualitatively different from the experience of the train. The European passengers of the train who were travelling and passing

through Egypt record the dreamy experience of the Egyptian landscape that they view from the train window (Barak, 2013). These two images are fundamentally different. On the one hand, the Egyptian peasant riding his animal is not confined in a closed vehicle or a specific line. He/she can stop at any time and interact with the environment. On the other hand, the train passenger is confined within a closed space. The passenger is a spectator watching helplessly from the window things going by, cannot stop or change the lane. Thus, the replacement of the animal with the railroad restricted the movement of the Egyptian body to be dictated by the train movement.

The road and the automobile served a similar function in regulating the body's movement. The legal speed limit for automobiles was 15 kph (Barak, 2013). The law also stressed that the car must slowdown in narrow or crowded spaces for safety (Barak, 2009). Although the car allows more freedom than the train, still, it is not free as the donkey. Its speed was regulated by law. The body inside the car cannot move. It must observe the speed limits, regulations, and the road paved for the car.

Stop the laziness! The temporal perversion

The politics of time is also tied with productivity. Clot Bey wrote that “if Egyptians left alone, they resort to unemployment and laziness” (Clot Bey, 2011, P.289). He criticises the Egyptians for being lazy and only working when they are starving (Clot Bey, 2011). The Egyptians need a strong force to push them, without it they will spend their time endlessly in laziness (Clot Bey, 2011). One of the characteristics that Cromer attributed to the Egyptians are laziness and time-wasting (ElSayed, 2011). Qasim Amin internalised this

discourse and criticised the lazy Egyptian (Mazid, 2002). In practical terms the state in 1880 issued a law that allows the policing of people who wander as they please without work or home (Kozma, 2012). If they are men, they are regarded as a threat to public order, if they are women they are believed to have engaged in premarital sex or potential prostitutes (Kozma, 2012). The Western value system stresses that time is money (Barak, 2013). For the European mindset that shaped the Egyptian state laziness, is unproductive time, and time is money. Time must be task oriented. Thus, the state indeed translated this into law by arresting the unproductive people in public who just wander. They are time wasters.

The Egyptians traditionally did not know punctual timings, they organised their time according to vague conceptions of time related to the sun's movement and prayers (Hammad, 2009; Hammad, 2016). However, the modern state needed to discipline the time of the Egyptians to make it precise and productive (Hammad, 2016; Barak, 2013; Mitchell, 1988). Thus, after the introduction of the technologies discussed, people started to own watches to watch the time of work; before that owning a clock was rather rare and the few who owned it was for displaying social status (Hammad, 2009; Hammad, 2016). The vague undisciplined time of the Egyptian became disciplined and precise by the technologies of the factory and the train.

Conclusion: the regulation of bodies in the empty homogeneous time

The technologies of the factory, railroads, automobiles, and roads had a major impact on Egyptians. The state initiated these constructions and later supported its dissemination. The goal was to regulate the time of the

Egyptians to make it productive according to the European rationality. The timetables of the trains and factories divided the everyday lives of the Egyptians into fixed slots. In an eternal recurrence, Egyptians ran from their home to the train then to the factory then to the train in precise timings while watching the clock. Modern transportation accelerated the time of the Egyptians to make it more efficient. Because of these technologies, the Egyptians were trapped in the empty homogenous time. The Chronos took over their time. their time became repetitive, fixed and lost any spontaneity.

The body was another victim. The machinery of the factory made its movement mechanised and the surveillance ensured that the body performed repetitive movements endlessly. Furthermore, even the natural impulses of their bodies were manged. The railroads, roads, and automobiles restricted the movement of the Egyptian body and forced it to follow a linear pre-planned lane.

The leviathan's morality: body and temporality under the contemporary Egyptian state

The control over the time and body of the Egyptians did not end in the early 20th century. On the contrary, it became instrumental to the functioning of the contemporary Egyptian state in the 21st century to increase the productivity of the Egyptian subjectivities.

The legality

Law allows the state to intervene people's private lives. Prostitution is illegal (Zuhur, 2008). Adultery is also a crime by law (Sonbol, 2003). Thus, the state has the legal framework to institute monogamous marriages and restrict extramarital sex.

The virginity tests and the blue bra

The connection between sexuality and politics became apparent after the 25th of January revolution. On March 2011, seven women protestors were arrested by military forces and were forced to undergo state supervised virginity tests (Abdelmonem, 2015). Samira Ibrahim recollects that married and virgin women were separated and she was forced to undress to be examined by the doctors (Hafez, 2014a). An officer declared that they will check if they are prostitutes (Shenker, 2016). One of the generals gave a rationale for this examination. He said that they were not like "our daughters", they camped with men in tents; thus, they had to be examined to prove that they were not virgins in the first place, instead of the military being accused of violating them (Amin, 2011). Thus, they were not expected to be virgins (Abdelmonem, 2015). The rationale behind the tests illustrates that the state

agents assumed that since they are politically subversive, they had to be perverse also in their private lives. Conforming to the state politics entails conforming to the state ideals regarding sex. For the state these women are not respectable daughters, they are prostitutes in the most derogatory sense of the word. Hence, a danger to public order as political protestors; thus, potential prostitutes.

This is also illustrated in another case. In 2011 the military was violently repressing a protest. An image of a woman being dragged in the street by a soldier which lifted her abaya to reveal a blue bra haunted the people (Hafez, 2014a; Hafez, 2014b). The state sponsored media propagated that this girl is not respectable because she was only wearing a bra under her abaya (Hafez, 2014b). Again, the rationale of private virtue and political protest is employed.

These two famous cases exemplified the continuation of a state tradition goes back to the 19th century that was discussed before. By using medicine to monitor virginity, policing potential un-virgins and evoking public morality and family values. It is not a surprise that protestors were compared to prostitutes. Prostitutes being a major danger in the 19th century. These protestors constituted a new danger, the state officials connected it to the old danger of prostitution.

Stop the indecency! The guardians of public morality

The contemporary state is preoccupied with public morality. In the early 21st century the state was monitoring the internet and arrested people who disseminated obscene poems, and homosexuals (Bahgat, 2004). In 2016 the

novelist Ahmad Naji was arrested for violating public decency for his novel's sexual content (Flood, 2016). When the Egyptian singer Ruby appeared her music videos were banned in national TV for being too provocative (Comer, 2015). Recently the state became more violent in dealing with dancers. From 2015 to 2018, several Egyptian belly-dancers and pop-singers were arrested and sentenced for inciting debauchery due to the sexual content of their music videos (Richards, 2015; O'Connor, 2017; O'Connor, 2018). In 2018, the Russian belly-dancer Johara was arrested, and in 2019 she was sentenced to jail for inciting debauchery and dancing in immodest clothes (Bishop & McDougall, 2018; Russian belly, 2019). Any sign of indecency was confronted by the state.

As mentioned, SCAF members after the revolution were constantly invoking morality and family values to discredit the protestors e.g. the girls in tahrir are not good daughters, they are different from "our girls" (Hafez, 2014b, Amin, 2011). Former Interior Minister Habib al-Adly said in his trial defending surveillance, "I was ingraining the moral values" he said that he advised his men when they "find something related to morals and behaviours, leave it; but, bring our friend and tell him/her this is wrong" (ELMANSOURA TODAY, 2014). What al-Adly describing is not just a justification for surveillance. It is a genuine belief in the state's role in safeguarding morality.

This reflects perpetuating state traditions discussed in earlier chapters. Public morality is a central concern for the state because it is linked to public order and productivity. Even, prosecuting dancers also goes back to Muhammad Ali when he banned dancing due to its linkage with prostitution.

Stop the unproductive sex! Homosexuality, polygamy and pornography

There are many cases that illustrates the state obsession with preserving heteronormative monogamous morality. There are several cases where couples were arrested for organising swingers i.e. spouse-swapping activities from 2008 to 2018. They were charged with prostitution although there was no cash involved (Onians, 2008; Man and wife, 2009; Egyptian police, 2012; Egyptian couple, 2012; Married couples, 2016; Nabbout, 2018a). In a similar case a woman was arrested for marrying two men at the same time (Nabbout, 2018b). A voice recording was leaked of a woman discussing her sexual experiences with different men, the police tracked the recording to arrest her for debauchery (Youssef & Abdalaziz, 2018). Here, polygamy is being prosecuted to promote monogamy and any sexual explorations not in the context of monogamous marriage is prosecuted.

The state also has a problem of homosexuality. In 2001 several homosexual men were arrested after a police raid on disco known as an informal place for gay men in the case known as queen boat; the charge was debauchery (Pratt, 2007). From 2000 to 2013 there were 189 reported arrests, the number rose from 2013 to 2017 to reach 232 individuals (Abdel-Hamid, 2017). In 2017 there was a massive crackdown on LGBT people after a group of people raised the LGBT flag in Mashrou' Leila's band party (Michaelson, 2017; Abdel-Hamid, 2017). The media launched an attack on homosexuality, the supreme Council for Media Regulation called homosexuality a shameful disease and the Coptic church organised a conference to "cure" homosexuality (Michaelson, 2017). The police arrests people based on complaint or through a strategy of luring gay people through

dating sites by going undercover (Bahgat, 2004; Abdel-Hamid, 2017). The medical examiners use techniques that go back to 19th century French medicine to examine if an anal penetration occurred (Abdel-Hamid, 2017). The danger of AIDS/HIV is constantly evoked as a pretext for the arrests (Abdel-Hamid, 2017). Hence, homosexuality is another perversion that the state strives to eliminate. This reflects the cotemporary use of 19th century medical knowledge and linking homosexuality with the old fear of diseases.

There are other significant cases related to pornography. A court ordered the government in 2015 to censor pornography (Egypt's court, 2015). An Egyptian actress had to face trial because she encouraged youth to watch pornography for sexual education (Mortimer, 2015).

The previous cases manifest the state's attitude regarding sexuality. The state preserves heteronormative sexuality and morality (Pratt, 2007; Bahgat, 2004; Abdel-Hamid, 2017) polygamy and homosexuality are prosecuted and deemed as perversions. The logic of diseases is used in the homosexuality cases. Even watching pornography is not acceptable because it is another unproductive act. The state here is ensuring that only reproductive monogamous sexual acts in the context of marriage are allowed while other sexual acts are halted. Also, non-heteronormative acts can potentially lead to diseases. They are a danger to public order.

Stop the Shisha! The empty homogenous imperative

Another central aspect is time. There is a right-wing discourse by the economic and political elite blaming the people for the economic problems e.g. the people are sitting at cafes and not working (Adly, 2016). The Minister

of Immigration attributed unemployment to the Egyptians' laziness (Ragheb, 2017). The Minister of Manpower said that there are jobs available, but the youth are sitting at coffeeshops (Ibrahim, 2016). The media is constantly echoing this discourse (Assem, 2018; Adly, 2016). This rhetoric stresses that the Egyptians are lazy and wasting their time in unproductive manners.

The coffeeshop is particularly alarming. Thus, the state arranged massive raids on coffeeshops in Downtown Cairo, Heliopolis and Zamalek (Rios, 2015; Zamalek concerned, 2016; Coffee shops, 2017). Even before that the government had stopped issuing licences for shisha (Rios, 2015). The police were arresting political activists at the coffeeshops they frequented (Dozens of Egyptian, 2016). A famous coffeeshop closed by the government was propagated to be place for activists, atheists, gays and prostitutes (Rios, 2015). As indicated above the coffeeshop holds a special place in this right-wing discourse. For them this is a place of time-wasting. It is unproductive time spent in smoking shisha, talking and drinking tea. For the officials, the Egyptians should be inside a factory being productive and their actions and time being regulated, instead of sitting freely. Also, being unproductive according to the official narrative can lead to perversions e.g. political protests, homosexuality, and prostitution. The coffeeshop is considered a place for such dissenters.

Stop the tuk-tuk!

The obsession with time and the body does not end there. President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi said in a speech urging youth to lose weight "Tuk-tuk has created a huge problem" "people now move 100 meters inside their

neighbourhoods with tuk-tuk”, transportation should be only used in a distance over kilometre” (SadaElbalad, 2018). The Minister of Education stated that people should use the metro for eight station and walk two (Zeidan, 2018). It is also important to mention that tuk-tuk had been banned in main streets and the government has recently banned its import (Tuk-tuks banned, 2019).

This can make sense within the logic regulating the time and body’s movement. The president indicated a precise plan on how the Egyptian body should move. In order for the body to be healthy, the body should walk; however, when the distance is great transportation should be used. Here the minister elaborated and stressed the metro as the main transportation. The president and the government practices indicate a hostility towards the unregulated tuk-tuk (the reasons will be discussed later). The metro is the most precise public transportation technology in its regularity (the equivalent of the railroad). Thus, the minister stressed on the metro.

Conclusion: the unholy tradition

The contemporary Egyptian state is reproducing practices and discourses developed in the 19th and early 20th century discussed in previous chapters.

The state is the protector of monogamy, marriage, and public morality. Using medicine to monitor the bodies of girls and homosexuals, and the fear of diseases, homosexuality and prostitution are perpetuated. The de-sexualisation of the Egyptian body and focusing on reproductive sexuality is asserted.

The discourse of lazy Egyptians and the efficient use of time is employed. The state dictates how time should be spent and how the body should move in the urban spaces in specific vehicles. The disciplined empty homogenous time is asserted by the state to ensure productivity.

Embracing the perversions: sexuality and messianism in everyday life

Ordinary Egyptians are not passive recipients. In their everyday lives, they assert their autonomy quietly. These practices can take different forms, which counters the state's practices and discourse.

The last temptation of the Egyptians

In terms of sexuality, as discussed before, although prostitution was banned by Muhammad Ali; however, it was still practiced. Not only that but the *khawals* started to appear in public spaces.

Also, as discussed, in the early 20th century there were many cases of homosexuality, adultery, and non-reproductive sexual practices e.g. the anal sex case prosecuted in courts. There are many court cases where men claim that their wives committed adultery or women complained that their husbands desired sexual practices that they considered immoral (Shaham, 1997). Although these cases reflect of the internalisation of the state discourse by one of the partners; however, it sheds-light on what happens in people's bedrooms. It means that these sexual practices are indeed practiced.

In contemporary Egyptian society it seems that there is an explosion of sexuality. The queen boat case and other arrests exemplifies that there are gay activities practiced. The couples arrested for organising spouse-swapping networks, show that many Egyptians are defying the sexual monogamous norms. Young girls practice premarital sex despite the restrictions; they manipulate virginity through hymenoplasty in order to get married later (Wynn, 2016). Furthermore, empirical studies proved that a considerable number of

Egyptians are practicing premarital sex through non-penetrative sex (Bahgat & Afifi, 2004). New media outlets managed by youth explicitly discuss sexuality. Many Egyptians reported saying that they are using online dating sites as an escape from the conservative social norms (Sheils, 2014). Also, growing number of Egyptians are organise swingers and fetish parties (Sheils, 2014). In another article in Cairoscene website titled “7 things bad Egyptian boys do on the first day of Eid” specifies masturbation and going to the pharmacy to buy condoms in Eid (Cairoscene Team, 2015). In another article the author gives advice to people on how to get a “one-night stand” for men, women and homosexuals (Daoud, 2015). Hence, this constitutes encouragement and openness towards pre-marital sex for pure pleasure. The Egyptians are practicing unproductive, premarital, and non-monogamous sex daily despite the state control.

The Egyptian pervert’s guide to cinema

Egyptian cinema can reveal many things about Egyptian sexuality. In the movie *al-naama wa al-tawoos*, the two protagonists are married couple who are sexually unsatisfied with each other (Abou-Seif, 2002). The husband resorts to prostitutes while the wife resorts to fantasies (Abou-Seif, 2002). Finally, they decide to go to a psychologist to solve their issues and they do (Abou-Seif, 2002). At the end of the movie they call the doctor while trying to have sex. The camera cuts and shows the doctor with her husband sleeping while she is looking in despair. The couple fight in the bedroom and go to the kitchen, they get intimate and the camera cuts to the boiling milk as a sign of climax (Abou-Seif, 2002). This is a critique of monogamous marriages. Marriage leads to boredom and dissatisfaction. In the last scene, the director

is implying the medical expert cannot be relied on, she is also connected to frustration. When the couple leave their marital traditional place of intercourse (i.e. the bedroom) and go to the kitchen they reach a climax.

Another movie that discusses sexual frustration is *Film Thaqafi*. A group of men who are not able to marry are seeking to watch a pornographic film; thus, they are trying to find a film, place, and television. At the end they fail to see it, because as one of the characters says about the system of the television and DVD “the fault is in the system” (Fadel & Amin, 2000). This is important to reveal that the culture of pornography was prevalent even before the internet. Also, it is a critique of the constraints that face Egyptian youth to satisfy their desires which is only accessible in marriage. Thus, the fault is in the system.

Another important movie is *Before the Summer Crowds*. It is centred around two men from different classes, one is married and the other is single who desire a certain woman (Hefzy & Khan, 2016). It illustrates that desire transcends social class and marital states in Egyptian society. The director even engages the viewer (through camera shots) in the scenes of voyeurism.

Homosexuality plays a vital role in movies. Youssef Chahine's movies feature many queer characters (Khouri, 2010). In *Alexandria Why*, the protagonist falls in love with a British soldier (Khouri, 2010). In *Alexandria Again and Forever*, Chahine depicts a relation between the director and a young actor (Khouri, 2010). Youssry Nasrallah in *Mercedes* also depicts a relation between a middle-class man who came from Europe to fall in love with working class man in Egypt (Khouri, 2010). These movies were

sympathetic to homosexuality and critiqued the stereotypical image of homosexuality (Khoury, 2010). These movies do not only illustrate the prevalence of homosexuality in society but also a possibility of tolerance.

Another vital movie is *Dail al-samakah*. It tells the story of a poet who works as an electricity inspector who loves his neighbour and tries to fit in his new job (Hamid & Seif, 2003). In one of the scenes, a couple were having sex, the protagonist kept ringing the bell to inspect the electricity, the couple were trying to ignore him, the woman finally opened the door in frustration (Hamid & Seif, 2003). As if this scene is symbolising the relation between the state and sex. The couple were seeking pleasure however, it is constantly interrupted by the state agent.

However, the protagonist is not just a state agent. He is a loving sensitive poet who loves his neighbour and flirts with a maid in one of the apartments (Hamid & Seif, 2003). In one of his visits, he meets a homosexual man who tries to seduce the protagonist. The protagonist refuses. The man states in a dramatic moment that he was born this way. The protagonist says that he accepts and tolerates him, but he is not willing to have sex with him (Hamid & Seif, 2003). Again, this represents a possibility of toleration towards homosexuality. Thus, the protagonist has dual character as a sensitive poet and state agent i.e. inspector. His duty makes him interrupts pleasure (first scene) while his personality, loves, flirts, and accepts sexual difference.

The Egyptian pervert's guide to music

Another medium that expresses sexuality is music. The music of 'awalem i.e. female singers in the early 20th century discussed sexuality in

obscene language (Lagrange, 2009). Bahya Al-Mahallawieh in a song starts by asking for weed and alcohol, then she describes the size of the penis of 'm Abduh using direct obscene colloquial terms; she ends with seductive laughs (Rqs, n.d). In another recording that documents the peasants weeding songs she describes the bride's intimate parts and encourages the husband to lay with her (Zfh, 1905). In another recording she is seducing her lover and tells him what they will do together (Hlyk, 1907). In another song she tells her lover that she will only give her body to him, if he got her valuable gifts (Yā nhltyn, 1907a). Mounira Al-Mahdya was another famous singer. In one of her songs she fantasises about her lover and asks him to come and "play" (Al-Qady, 1925a). In another obscene song she describes her sexual encounter with Ali and how he touched her and gave her pleasure; then she ends by sexual noises (Yā wād, n.d). Naima al-Masrya seduces her lover to come with alcohol to "play" (Al-Qady, 1927). Aziza al-Masrya tells her lover when to meet her without her father knowing (Al-Qady & Kamel, 1927b).

The obscenity in music was not limited to women; but even more subversive in men. Abd al-Hay Helmy is singing as a woman telling her lover to come to her home while listing the reasons why he should not worry about her mother, father, brother and husband (Qmrh, 1907). Like Al-Mahallawieh, he sings as a woman the same song about a girl asking for gifts from her lover in exchange for sex (Yā nhltyn, 1907b). However, he is even more obscene because when she/he did not get the gifts he started cursing the lover by his mother (Yā nhltyn, 1907b). Abdel-Latif Al-Banna sings as a woman who tries to seduce her lover (eyh, 1930). He sings as a woman fantasising about her love and calling him to "play" (Al-Qady, 1925b) Amin

Hassanin also sings as a woman trying to secure a date with her lover behind her father's back (Al-Qady & Kamel, 1927b).

This obscenity perpetuated in the 21st century. News-reports are lamenting the semi-naked dancers in weddings and the prevalence of obscene and sexual language by the singers (Gohary, 2014; Hadidy, 2017). The conservative overtone of these reports fails to see that it is a continuation of an Egyptian tradition.

In media similar cases appear. Ruby with her seductive belly-dancing and moves (Sherifsheko, 2014). Ruby resembled the average Egyptian girl with her skin colour and body, she became a symbol for seduction (Hadad, 2016). As discussed in the previous chapter, several dancers and singers got arrested for developing songs with suggestive lyrics and gestures. One of them called her song "Bos Omak" which rhythms with an obscene Egyptian word meaning "mother's vagina" (O'Connor, 2018). This shows that Egyptians are still being obscene and sexual until today.

In all of these cases Egyptians were constantly sexualising their language and being obscene. In the early 20th century women were expressing their sexual desires and men were subverting gender norms by singing as lustful women which implies a sense of homoeroticism. This tradition perpetuated until today in local weddings and popular media. Thus, the Egyptians are being obscene to express themselves despite the state's moral values.

Dancing

Belly-dancing is an important part of Egyptian culture. The heart of Egyptian belly dancing is improvisation (Frost & Yarrow, 2016). Thus, it is the manifestation of spontaneous movement of the body. Thus, dancing is dangerous to the state because not only it entails expression of sexuality, but also an unregulated body movement. Egyptians, nonetheless keep dancing despite the state.

The Kairos in Cairo or the politics of 'Iwqya

This discussion is not complete without time. In contemporary Egyptian society the Egyptian time is vague and imprecise (Barak, 2013). Five minutes could mean an hour and Egyptians use vague expression such as later (Barak, 2013). This is a counter-temporality that emerged as a reaction and stood in opposition to the de-humanising effects of the precise European linear time (Barak, 2013). It is a rejection of the European punctuality (Barak, 2013). Hence, Egyptian time is about tarrying and delaying, against the state's punctuality.

Egyptians are known for procrastination. In an article in Scoop-Empire magazine it features Facebook posts where Egyptians are proudly expressing their procrastinating habits e.g. going late to work (Scoop team, 2015). They use the word "Iwqya" (Scoop team, 2015). This is an obscene word for procrastination. Thus, Egyptians are embracing laziness to assert their own spontaneous time.

What the Egyptians are doing is slowing progress. They are asserting their own autonomous messianic time. It is about tarrying and delays. it is

spontaneous and unpredictable against the state's precise empty homogenous time.

Egyptians love spending time in coffeeshops. Going to the coffeeshop daily is a central part of Egyptians' lives where they smoke shisha, drink tea and play dominos (Dean, 2015). The coffeeshop is a place for wasting time. It is a free place where people are not governed by schedules and timetables. That is why it is an enemy of the state.

Producing laziness

Egyptians have their ways in evading factory discipline. During Muhammad Ali's era there were several cases of desertion and resistance to discipline (Beinin, 1981; Fahmy, 1998b). As illustrated in chapter three, workers would go to the bathroom to escape discipline; when the permits were introduced the workers started urinating on the floor which caused a bad smell the managers did not know its source (Hammad, 2009). Contemporary Egyptian workers use different tactics to waste time and evade discipline e.g. slacking, sneaking out for fresh air away from machines and managers, talking and smoking in bathrooms, slowing the work process, and unintentional sabotage (Shehata, 2010). Thus, since the institution of factory discipline until today, Egyptian workers are evading it in various ways.

The urban experience: the new donkey

The introduction of the railway, tram and automobile was not as expected. These vehicles were a source of accidents and chaos in Egypt, not just regularity (Barak, 2013).

In the contemporary Egyptian society Egyptians found alternatives to the punctual public transportations. The tuk-tuk with its small size can go into narrow alleys (Russell, 2013). There is also the microbus which is known for violating traffic rules (El-Din, 2016). Unlike the metro or public bus. These unofficial popular modes of transportation do not have to follow specific roads or abide to a regular time.

Several news articles criticise Egyptians' behaviour in the streets. An article that criticise the Egyptians' laziness mentions passing on the train track instead of a pedestrian bridge or driving in the opposite direction of the street (El-Warh, 2016). Another article warns against the Egyptian popular practice of jaywalking (Eltigani, 2017). Thus, here the Egyptians refuse to walk according the pre-planned rules and streets. Their bodies interact freely with the urban-space through walking.

Chahine and the train

Chahine in his movie *Cairo station* presents a story of Egyptians. Kinawai a sexually repressed individual who lives in the train station descends into madness due to his desire for Hanomma (Talhami & Chahine, 1958). The movie climaxes with his attempt of kidnaping her and killing her. When he is tricked to leave to wear the "wedding attire" he wears the straight jacket and cries for help (Talhami & Chahine, 1958). The station represents modernity and the last scene is not about happy ending or relief (Gordon, 2012). As if Chahine was telling a story of an Egyptian who due to sexual frustration and boredom led him to a state of neuroses. The location of the film is the train-station the symbol of regularity and modernity.

The last sacrifice of the Egyptian messiah

Suicide in the metro is another major theme. Several cases reported of Egyptians committed suicide by jumping in front of the metro (Teen commits, 2018; Egyptian man, 2018). The metro spokesman commented that these actions by the disturbed delay citizens (Tawfeek, 2018).

What if this was the goal. Jumping in front of the metro could be the ultimate sacrifice to stop the acceleration and precision of the metro by the Egyptian body. The Egyptian body is throwing itself in despair to stop the train of progress. The ultimate symbol of modern punctuality. It is the last hope for delaying the train.

Conclusion: embracing the perversions

Egyptians are not passive. They quietly assert their autonomy against the state discipline. They engage in non-reproductive sexual acts and erotise language against the state's morality. They tarry the state's empty time to assert their own unpredictable spontaneous messianic temporality. They tarry progress. They stress on the free body and time. They have taken over the rationally planned urban-space to their advantage.

Conclusion: the second coming of the perverse messiah

The state using the institutions of medicine, transportation technologies, and factory was able to discipline and regulate the Egyptians' bodies and time to make it productive, efficient and docile. The discourse and practices of these institutions and experts created perversions and normalities. The ideal body image of the state is a mechanised reproductive entity. The state's ideal time is boring, monotonous, linear and predictable.

This study challenged the conventional wisdom by not focusing on macro-institutions and major figures. Real state power in Egypt existed in the so called "apolitical institutions".

The medical institution reduced the Egyptian body to reproductive entities and tabooed various sexual practices. Sexuality and Egyptians' intimate time became a mean for reproduction only. It also ensured that the Egyptian body is healthy and efficient. Also, the ideologies of monogamous marriage and public morality were emphasised.

The factory which was introduced by the state then later managed by capitalists with the state support mechanised the Egyptian body and made it docile. The factory also captured people's time to ensure precision and productivity. The time and the body of the worker became disciplined under strict surveillance.

The modern transportation technologies controlled how the body should move in urban spaces and controlled the time of Egyptians to make it

linear, accelerated, standardised, and punctual. In order to make the time of the Egyptians productive and efficient.

The Egyptians were subjected to the modern forces of discipline, productivity, efficiency, the machinery, keeping a healthy body, de-sexualisation for reproduction, and the empty homogenous time of the clock or the time of the Chronos.

The implication and discourses of these institutions perpetuated in the 21st century Egyptian state. The contemporary Egyptian state stressed the same values, discourses, and practices instituted in the 19th and 20th centuries in regard to how the body should act, and how time should be spent to meet a productivity ideal. The goal is to maintain productive and efficient subjectivities.

This study also challenged the traditional notions of resistance and revolt. Signs of refusal can consist of subtle forms that the Egyptians practiced daily without the intention of a direct clash with the state.

In the conventional wisdom, laziness and sexual deviances are seen as bad habits and apolitical. However, these judgments are artificially constructed. They served the interests of the modern state. Yet these judgments were internalised by many Egyptians. However, several Egyptians continued to practice these subversive acts to assert their autonomy and halt the wind of progress that is infringing on their freedom. Egyptians indeed reacted to the state's knowledge and technologies. This quiet assertiveness was practiced through obscenity in music and everyday language, reflecting critiques in films, practicing non-reproductive sex, practicing sex for the sake

of pleasure, belly dancing, being lazy, tarrying time, inventing alternative free modes of transportations instead of public transportation and walking without observing the rules.

Walter Benjamin was right; every generation has a weak messianic power to stop progress (Benjamin, 2007). The last chapter ended by the Egyptian sacrificing him/herself for the sake of the people. But the messiah does not die forever, the messiah is resurrected in the next generation. Different Egyptian generations exercised their weak messianic power through quiet assertiveness to establish their autonomy and undermine the state discipline. They stressed obscenity against morality, pleasure against reproduction, spontaneous-saturated time against dullness, free body movement against discipline.

This study opens different horizons for future research. This is not just a critique of the Egyptian state. It is a critique of colonial knowledge, the modern state, urbanisation, modern transportation, medicine, work, capitalism, modernity and progress. It revitalises the role of everyday practices that the ordinary make. It attacks the myth of the apolitical and reveals hidden places of power. Every aspect of life is political from medicine to streets.

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