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Disciplining bystanders: (anti)carcerality, ethics, and the docile subject in HarassMap's "the harasser is a criminal" media campaign in Egypt

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ABSTRACT

Theorizing situates bystander intervention approaches to combatting street sexual harassment as either an anti-carceral mode of social justice concerned with citizen responsibility and reshaping community norms or a carceral practice that shifts forms and sites of penal power. This article examines the intersection and effect of carceral and anti-carceral framing techniques in the 2015 "The Harasser is a Criminal" media campaign deployed by the Egyptian anti-sexual harassment initiative HarassMap to promote bystander intervention. Situated within a sphere of Egyptian gender activism that is transnational, secular, and feminist-oriented, and operating within a militarized, authoritarian political context, HarassMap's campaign complicates how bystander intervention is instrumentalized as a technology of power to shape subjective and intersubjective responses to Egypt's street sexual harassment problem. Carceral and anti-carceral currents flow together in their campaign not to promote a reliance on police or juridical structures for redress, but to cultivate new ethical dispositions as a means of mobilizing individuals to act. Through the figure of the bystander, HarassMap is engaged in a biopolitical project which seeks to create new neoliberal subjects who police themselves and assume responsibility for their own behavior in public space.

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Bystander intervention has emerged in recent years as a strategy to address street sexual harassment in a range of globally diverse locations, such as the United States, Egypt, and India (Karen Desborough 2018; Amal Fahmy, Angie Abdelmonem, Enas Hamdy, Ahmed Badr and Rasha Hassan 2014; Lauren Goodney Lea, Elsa D'Silva and Abhijith Asok 2017; Holly Kearl 2015). It is visible as a facet of social media campaigns (#EndSH), mobile phone applications (Hollaback!), and crowd-mapping platforms (HarassMap). Activist attention to bystanders reflects a shift in concerns around sexual violence prevention, from carceral modes centered on regulation, punishment, and reform to anti-carceral modes focused on community engagement (K.F. McCartan, H. Kemshall and J. Tabachnick 2014). Much sexual harassment activism and scholarship have emphasized the importance of legal frameworks, police enforcement, zero-tolerance policies, and transparent procedures to deter offenders, particularly in schools and workplaces where formal measures are often

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absent or ill-defined (Ronet Bachman, Raymond Paternoster and Sally Ward 1992; David DeMatteo, Meghann Galloway, Shelby Arnold and Unnati Patel 2015; C.M. Hunt, M.J. Davidson, S.L. Fielden and H. Hoel 2010; Vickie Schultz 2018). Critiques of legal or policy-driven measures, however, posit that they reproduce implicit gender bias, increase surreptitious forms of discrimination, and expand repressive disciplinary techniques that rely on incarceration (K. Borgwald and H. Theixos 2012; Justine Tinkler 2012, Justine Tinkler 2013). Bystander intervention has been positioned as an anti-carceral mode of transformative justice geared toward refashioning social and community norms, with some concern that it represents a carceral project that shifts forms and sites of penal control (Lauren Chief Elk and Shaadi Devereaux 2014; Doug Meyer 2016; Carrie Rentschler 2017). This article complicates these understandings of bystander intervention by examining a media campaign, itself part of a larger community-oriented program, where carceral and anti-carceral framing techniques are intertwined in a process that creates new neoliberal subjectivities.

The Egyptian anti-sexual harassment initiative HarassMap provides an opportunity to explore a feminist-oriented bystander intervention effort deployed in an authoritarian context. Their 2015 *al-mutaharrish mugrim* (the harasser is a criminal) media campaign highlights this complex entanglement of (anti)carcerality, produced as an effect of navigating Egypt's complex sociopolitical terrain. I argue the campaign is anti-carceral because it eschews reliance on police power and seeks to cultivate new ethical dispositions. At the same time, it employs carceral techniques to instill fear of punishment and imprisonment. Both intersect in HarassMap's effort to mobilize people to not harass and/or intervene against sexual harassment. The campaign promotes a neoliberal subjectivity predicated on individual responsibility, conveying to viewers it is their responsibility to create sexual security in public space. This approach has important gender and class implications. A campaign subtext is that bystanding masses are comprised of men as potential harassers or interveners. Within a new political economy around sexual harassment and its prevention in Egypt, HarassMap's goal is to produce safe and open access to public space for women by reshaping masculinity through intervention. Drawing on Foucault's notion of the docile subject, I argue that through the figure of the bystander, HarassMap reinscribes prevailing masculinity norms in ways that complicate class divisions to induce men to police themselves and their behavior. In a context where legal protections are insufficient, their larger bystander intervention program serves as a technology of power, and as part of this, their media campaign deploys an assemblage of carceral and anti-carceral techniques to discipline certain bodies.

Discipline, surveillance, fear: theoretical considerations

Discipline, surveillance, and fear are concepts central for understanding HarassMap's media campaign, which targets the mind and body as it seeks to cultivate new public notions of sexual harassment, the harassed, and intervention. Michel Foucault (1977) argues disciplinary power is concerned with the exteriority and interiority—the soul—of individual bodies. It shapes bodily operations and acts on “the heart, the thoughts, the will, the inclinations” to create docile subjects in ways that serve dominant interests (Foucault 1977, 16). In his analysis of the Western carceral turn, disciplinary power was not equivalent to state or top-down assemblages of power only, but emanated through

myriad relations of power in the everyday—including through institutions—to produce conformity. The docile body became the “object and target of power,” which could be “subjected, used, transformed, and improved” (Foucault 1977, 136). While carcerality references prison, police, and law (state functions), Foucault notes the lines between legal punishment and discipline blurred as “penitentiary techniques” were “transported ... from the penal institution to the entire social body” (Foucault 1977, 298). Carcerality is disciplinary power reliant on forms of punishment to train and elicit docility. A carceral tension is visible in *al-mutaharrish mugrim*, centered around disciplining bodies deemed deviant through the threat, but not deployment, of punitive measures.

A disciplinary measure underpinning this tension is surveillance. Feminist activists and scholars have long been concerned with how international organizations, states, and non-state actors represent women and/or gender in processes of surveilling, disciplining, and managing populations or advancing particular agendas (Rachel E. Dobrofsky and Shoshana Amielle Magnat 2015). Foucault’s notion of the panopticon underpins many scholarly analyses of surveillance, though many note the limits of the concept, particularly in the era of mass/social media and the use and circulation of video (Thomas Mathiesen 1997; see Darren Kelsey 2015 about the omnipticon). Gilbert Caluya (2010) argues what gets overlooked regarding the panopticon is how surveillance does not rely solely on states or other institutions to observe (via observers, whoever they are) and identify deviant behavior. In fact, he argues analyses overemphasize “the power of the observer over the observed,” i.e., people watching other people (2010, 623). Of relevance for considering HarassMap’s campaign is Foucault’s concern with how surveillance automizes power, where discipline does not require the act of watching but the internalization that one could be watched, such that individuals serve as their own observers, i.e., people watching themselves. Foucault’s concern is not the panopticon but *panopticism*, not just the power of vision or viewing but a microphysics of power inscribed within and between individual bodies “across extra-penal domains” (Caluya 2010, 625).

Such automization of power relies on another disciplinary measure: fear. According to Sara Ahmed (2014), unlike a more generalized anxiety, fear is an emotion with an identified object (threat), though that object may be “structural and mediated, rather than an immediate bodily response to an objective danger” (78). Fear exceeds an individual’s affective interiority; it is “the objectivity of the subjective under late capitalism” (Brian Massumi 1993, 12). Modern social, political, and economic life, Massumi notes, has been “colonized” by capital and consumption, such that fear of threats to the body’s ability to consume (to live) within the capitalist system structures how people perceive the world. Fear conditions the possible; disciplinary power gives face to threat (Massumi 1993, 23). Similarly, Anna M. Agathangelou, M. Daniel Bassichis and Tamara L. Spira (2008) contend neoliberalism has elicited economies of affect that involve “the circulation and mobilization of feelings of desire, pleasure, fear, and repulsion, utilized to seduce all of us into the fold of the state” (122). HarassMap’s media campaign, emerging within a particular neoliberalized political economy, instrumentalizes (or mobilizes) fear and gives face to threat (in this case, punishment for offenders) in its effort to discipline and shape individual behavior.

Bystander intervention: carceral and anti-carceral logics of sexual violence prevention

Much literature in feminist studies, criminology, and/or political science situates carceral and anti-carceral logics of sexual violence prevention as oppositional rather than intertwined facets of disciplinary power (Anna Terwiel 2019a, b). Activists and scholars differ on the extent of and problems with the state's role in this process, and the effects and efficacy of legal or extra-legal modes of reframing individual subjectivities and praxes. Carceral logics emphasize a "law and order approach" that seeks the criminalization of sexual violence perpetrators, which entails support for legal frameworks, juridical structures, police enforcement, and prison systems to arrest, prosecute, and punish offenders (Elizabeth L. Sweet 2016, 203; Elizabeth Whalley and Colleen Hackett 2017). A problem for many is the law is a problematic site through which individual rights might be attained and that reform of patriarchal state structures and practices requires expansive social, economic, and political transformations (Hind Ahmed-Zaki 2012, 9–13; Lise Gotell 2015). Yet, community structures are argued to be no less problematic than the law and carceral logics can be reproduced outside of prison structures (Elk and Devereaux 2014; Meyer 2016; Terwiel 2019a). Kristin Bumiller (2008) argues carceral logics of sexual violence prevention are imbricated in the rise of neoliberalism and an expansion rather than a retraction of the state's bureaucratized disciplinary and therapeutic functions. Such logics are dialectically a product of and reproduce a larger political-economy that has witnessed the growth of the prison system, a new service sector around "victims," and forms of precarious labor.

Bystander intervention programs to combat sexual violence have been imbricated in this larger tension around carceral and anti-carceral forms of justice. Such programs became a feature of college campus anti-sexual violence efforts beginning in the 1990s. Victoria L. Banyard, Elizabeth G. Plante and Mary M. Moynihan (2004) highlight the significance of such efforts as a community-based (or oriented) model of prevention. They reference intervention as "helping" sexual violence survivors, which includes "direct" methods of disrupting incidences, such as physical intervention or simply being present, or "indirect" methods, such as reporting to authority figures—in this case, university administrators (Banyard, Plante and Moynihan 2004, 68). Intervention also includes challenging the "social norms that support sexual violence" and serving as an ally to survivors (Victoria L. Banyard, Mary M. Moynihan and Elizabeth G. Plante 2007, 464). The authors' arguments are not concerned with carceral or anti-carceral logics of sexual violence prevention per se, but their discussion may be viewed as situating bystander intervention as a transformative, bottom-up approach to promoting citizen responsibility and refashioning sociocultural norms.

Recent critiques maintain that bystander intervention programs reproduce racist, sexist, and class-biased community norms (Elk and Devereaux 2014), reinscribe systems of surveillance, and shift accountability for violence to bystanders (Meyer 2016). Drawing on Foucault's panopticon, Meyer notes intervention programs expand control, particularly over low-income communities of color, in which "individuals operat[e] under the assumption that they are always being observed" (2016, 357). Conversely, Renstchler highlights how Black feminist activists, such as Feminista Jones, use online forums not to police harassers but to engage bystanders to transform norms that make racialized

sexual violence possible. This feminist bystander intervention promotes community responsibility by “cultivating relations of care for survivors and targets of violence,” (2017, 566). For Rentschler, this approach “replaces—and calls out—a politics of punishment associated with criminal justice anti-violence solutions” (2017, 578). While greatly attentive to how feminist activists technologize affective labor to cultivate caring selves, Rentschler stops short of explicating a process by which subjectivities are shaped and the possible implications of this work. The HarassMap example discussed in this article addresses this, moving beyond these polarized positions, which I argue elide the carceral complexities of bystander intervention programs.

HarassMap: between carceral and anti-carceral logics

HarassMap was founded in October 2010, three months prior to the January 25 2011 Egyptian revolution, to promote a bystander intervention model of sociopolitical change. They quickly rose to attention within international development for their deployment of the web 2.0-based Ushahidi platform to crowd-map sexual harassment in Egypt, where users could—and still can—report an incident by selecting from a list of sexually harassing behaviors, pin those to a map, and provide a narrative of their experience. Prior to this use, Ushahidi was largely deployed in disaster relief or short-term events necessitating real-time responses (Vaughn Hester, Aaron Shaw and Lukas Biewald 2010). HarassMap’s use of Ushahidi represents one of the earliest attempts to utilize crowd-mapping technology to address a long-term, non-emergency problem more generally and sexual violence more specifically (Loubna Skalli 2014; Chelsea Young 2014). HarassMap maintains an active presence on Facebook and Twitter, through which they also receive sexual harassment reports but are able to push out/link to social/media campaigns, such as *al-mutaḥarrish mugrim*. Social media and crowd-mapping provide complementary tools for HarassMap to engage bystanders and cultivate new personal ethics of individual responsibility toward their communities.

HarassMap operates within a transnational framework shaped by decades of governance feminist activism, in which reforming state/legal institutions to criminalize sexual violence and prosecute offenders is essential for local human rights implementation (Janet Halley 2008; Janet Halley, Prabha Kotiswaran, Hila Shamir and Chantal Thomas 2006).¹ The 1994 UN Conference on Population (ICPD) in Cairo connected secular Egyptian women’s organizations to a global network of women’s rights activists and expanded their activism on gender-based violence, focused primarily on female genital mutilation/circumcision (FGM/C), domestic violence, and rape (Nadje Al-Ali 2000; Mariz Tadros 2016). Al-Ali and Tadros note the heavily policy-oriented nature of this early work, grounded in activist desires to improve legal frameworks and state commitments to women’s equality. Since the 1990s, the NGOization of women’s activism in the Middle East and North Africa has enfolded Egyptian women’s groups within the larger structure of international human development work (Islah Jad 2003), through which neoliberal tenets have circulated to reshape notions of freedom, intervention, and the nature of governance—what Aihwa Ong (2006) calls neoliberal exceptionalism. HarassMap emerged within this context of NGOized, secular, Egyptian feminist activism and they are well networked with donor and/or partner institutions in and outside of Egypt.² They do not espouse an explicitly feminist identity over fears the Egyptian populace sees

“feminism” as a Western construct that imposes external gender and sexuality norms. Most HarassMap members are feminist in their identities, which infuses their approach to activism. HarassMap does not advocate for state reform, police protection, or creating new laws, but they promote criminalizing sexual harassment through new disciplinary techniques. For instance, their bystander intervention work, grounded in neoliberal notions of individual responsibility, seeks to encode rights and responsibilities not in the law but in individual bodies.

Foucauldian notions of discipline, surveillance, and fear resonate in HarassMap’s work to mobilize bystanders against sexual harassment. In her work on Egyptian feminist self-defense, Galan discusses how a perceived lack of security in the streets following the January 25 2011 revolution generated a “... heightened fear of sexual violence among women,” particularly within but not limited to Cairo’s upper/upper-middle class (Susana Galan 2016, 74–75). A result was the emergence of new individual and collective strategies for self-protection, where responsibility for ensuring bodily integrity in public moved from the state and its absent police force to individuals. Galan’s concern is with affective regimes—specifically, fear—that elicited certain responses from individual women and social initiatives, which emerged to fill a security void in the streets during the revolution, namely feminist self-defense. She does not situate fear within a political economy where emotion is mobilized as a technology of power to discipline bodies in particular ways. Liberalization since the 1970s has ushered in a shifting political economy, visible in the emergence and expansion of gated compounds, private security services, Western-style shopping malls and cafes, new consumer desires, and an industry in private schools, all underpinned by a growing fear of lower-class others (Mona Abaza 2006; Anouk De Koning 2009; Timothy Mitchell 2002). De Koning argues Egyptian public space is masculinized and that middle or upper class people see walled-off spaces as protecting women from lower-class men rendered as harassers. HarassMap’s activism grew out of and is entrenched in this political economy, in which they mediate fear to discipline certain bodies.

However, HarassMap’s bystander intervention work is grounded in its founders concern with carceral currents in Egyptian civil society work. Prior to its founding, two of its four co-founders worked at the Egyptian Center for Women’s Rights (ECWR), an advocacy NGO that implemented one of Egypt’s first anti-sexual harassment programs in 2005 (Helen Rizzo, Anne M. Price and Katherine Meyer 2012). These cofounders report that while at ECWR they became discontent with civil society tactics centered on state reform, which resulted in a dearth of community outreach efforts they believed could have a transformative effect.³ Advocacy-based approaches concerned with reform emerged as a result of tensions between the Egyptian women’s movement and the state, which has long sought to limit their mobilizational power and contain or coopt their efforts (Al-Ali 2000). HarassMap’s co-founders worried (and still do) the emphasis on political and legal reform was problematic in the context of authoritarian politics, where the state paid lip service to women’s rights and disenfranchised civil society organizations. HarassMap’s co-founders did/do not question the efficacy of a law and order approach, but felt Egyptian civil society was missing the kind of street activism that would allow them to confront public perceptions and behaviors. A bystander intervention approach that challenged the prevailing system of gender and promoted citizen responsibility, HarassMap believed, would foment a transformation of the very cultural norms informing individual subjective and intersubjective responses to sexual harassment.

More pressing for HarassMap is their concern with police enforcement in a militarized context where the police are frequent perpetrators of sexual violence. HarassMap's bystander intervention approach eschews a reliance on police; in their work with volunteers, they argue the police are a source of the sexual harassment problem. This sentiment is an effect of the history of sexual abuse by a police force marked by its increasing brutality. The Black Wednesday incident of 2005, where women activists were sexually harassed and assaulted by police forces and hired thugs (*baltigiyya*, sing. *baltagi*), is one example of state-sanctioned police abuse activists recount as part of the history of sexual harassment in Egypt (Rabab El-Mahdi 2010). The waves of sexualized violence that police, hired thugs, and military forces unleashed on women protestors in Tahrir Square to forestall protests likewise signaled to many anti-sexual harassment groups that police power was an integral element of the country's sexual harassment problem (Sherine Hafez 2014; Vickie Langohr 2013, Vickie Langohr 2014). HarassMap's distrust of the police reflects their perspective that police are cultural subjects, enculturated within a patriarchal system that blames women for sexual harassment. Through its bystander intervention approach, HarassMap seeks to avoid police entanglements and to foment a bottom-up shift that will impact police and state practices by reframing the sociocultural norms that infuse individual perceptions and behaviors.

The “Al-Mutaharrish Mugrim” media campaign: disciplining bystander bodies

In May 2015, HarassMap launched a media campaign called *al-mutaharrish mugrim* (the harasser is a criminal), originally conceived of as what a former marketing and communications director called a “through the line” marketing campaign because it was intended to incorporate mass and non-mass media outlets. Three commercials aired on seven television channels during Ramadan, an ad was broadcasted over three radio stations, and posters were circulated via print and social media platforms. The initial goal was to deploy positive messaging that tapped into some element of local ethico-moral sentiments to make standing up to sexual harassment “cool” and mobilize people to intervene. In early 2014, a series of focus groups were held with men and women over several months in the Egyptian cities of Cairo, Tanta, and Minya toward this end. In mid-2014, HarassMap hired a marketing consultant, whose advice was that fear—not positive messaging—would mobilize people to stand up against sexual harassment. Based on this advice, the media campaign HarassMap released diverged from their original goal in significant ways. HarassMap did not eliminate some positive messages it hoped to promote, but forefronted the campaign with carceral themes to cultivate a fear of sexually harassing and a moral obligation to intervene against harassers. The goal was the production of a citizenry capable of self-policing its own public behavior.

In the first campaign commercial, a narrator reads the text of the new sexual harassment law, Article 306 established by presidential decree in 2014, against the image of a handcuffed man sitting in a police van, while a red police light flashes and a siren sounds in the background. Commercial two shows bystanders watching while a woman is

harassed after entering a city bus. A man stands close and fondles the edge of her hijab before she turns to stare the harasser down. A narrator notes the frequency of sexual harassment on transportation and how no one intervenes to stop it. The video ends with bystanders watching police take away the harasser. Commercial three shows a young woman looking fearful as a man follows her on a quiet neighborhood street. She reaches her car, pulls out her keys, and drops them. A hand extends to pick up the keys and the camera pans to a second man, who intervenes to assist her by directing a threatening stare at the harasser, who then walks away. Relieved, the woman thanks the second man and watches him return to wash a car with his wife and child. A narrator renders bystander silence criminal and urges people to help “her” and not “him.” Finally, campaign posters provide guidance on how to intervene against sexual harassment, illustrating figures of men and women outlined in white against blank but colorful backdrops: men position their bodies between a woman and her harasser (a man), point in the distance, point at their watches, shake a finger at a harasser, even grasp the figure of the harasser. These media campaign commercials and posters provide critical context for considering (anti) carcerality vis-à-vis bystander intervention, discussed below.

Docile subjects: cultivating ethical selves to mobilize intervention

Al-mutaharrish mugrim is a disciplinary project that weaves together carceral and anti-carceral threads, complicating understandings of gender justice activism. It aims to cultivate an embodied sense of care or obligation. Toward that end, it technologizes fear, which has emerged as part of a new political economy around sexual harassment, itself part of the neoliberalization of Egypt’s public space, to induce people not to harass and/or to mobilize intervention.

Carceral framing techniques are salient in the three campaign commercials and do two things. First, they seek to arouse viewers’ fear by establishing sexual harassment as illegal and illustrating the ramifications for transgressing the law. Commercial one highlights the text of the penal code article criminalizing sexual harassment, while commercials one and two both deploy a visual and sonic mediascape surrounding arrest, from flashes of handcuffs, police vans, and strobing lights to siren sounds. To heighten the emotional response, both commercials dramatize the consequences of violating the sexual harassment law. In commercial two, the narrator renders harassers as equivalent to thieves and murderers, noting that prison is a legal punishment for sexual harassment. It culminates in the harasser’s arrest and seeks to arouse viewers’ fear that breaking the law will result in the loss of liberty. However, offenders are only part of the message framing. Bystanders figure prominently in the second and third commercials. While there are no legal structures to address bystander apathy in Egypt, the message emphasizes that all individuals bear responsibility for ending street sexual harassment. Before the harasser is taken away, the narrator implores *mayinfash tiskut aley* (we can be silent no more). Complicity through silence situates the bystander in a narrow field of representation, in which they are no better than a harasser and where silence or apathy is homologous to theft and murder.

Second, these commercials make use of carceral framing to transfer fear of arrest from harassers to bystanders, asserting that bystander apathy is criminal (even if not legally codified as so) to mobilize bystanders to intervene against sexual harassment. Commercial three attempts to generate sympathy for victims, largely shown as women,

by appealing to people's moral sensibility. While the first two commercials manipulate bystander fear for their personal freedom, commercial three renders it an obligation for bystanders to alleviate the fear women feel when they are sexually harassed in public space. The young woman in the final commercial refers to the bystander and his wife as *gedaan* (sing. *gedaa*), a complex term referencing a person as upstanding, good, or serious because they meet their obligations and responsibilities (See Sawsan El-Messiri 1978, who defines it as manliness, toughness, and/or bravery in describing the identity of the *ibn al-balad*, "son of the land"). This obligation includes speaking up for harassed women; many in Egypt ostensibly agree with speaking up, but sexual harassment and its expressions in the street are contested domains so if, when, and why people intervene is complicated by various factors. Legal and moral responsibilities for bystanders are blurred here, rendering moral behavior an effect of punishing legal structures. To be *gedaa* or moral, therefore, is to be law-abiding, regardless of problems with/in the law and even if the police are not called.

In addition (and in some ways distinction) to these commercials, the campaign posters deploy a blend of carceral and anti-carceral framing techniques to regiment behavior in particular ways. The posters serve as a tool to discipline bystander bodies, demonstrating the corporeal operations of intervention: modeling postures, mannerisms, and actions to emulate, e.g., forms of comportment to enact legal and moral obligations to protect women in the street. Interestingly, bystanders are usually, though not always, shown as men. Poster texts urge the bystander to tell the harasser his actions are *mish maqboul* (unacceptable) or *ayb* (wrong or shameful) and to leave, or it directs the bystander to distract or even *ifdah* (shame or scandalize) the harasser. Through a reliance on bystanders in the street rather than police, these posters create an ethical landscape that lays responsibility for ending sexual harassment on individual societal members. Terminologies such as *ayb* and *ifdah* signal a local moral domain of knowledge around honor (L.L. Wynn 2018), which highlights the shame around engaging in sexual harassment and implies the bystander should remain on higher moral terrain. However, the link to the legal remains present. At the top of each poster, the term *al-mutaharrish* (the harasser) includes the image of handcuffs dangling from the text—a reminder that not only is the harasser a criminal but from an ethical standpoint people (not the police) have the responsibility for stopping such criminal behavior and failure to do so is no less criminal.

The campaign commercials and posters promote a political anatomy that revolves around the individual subject, cultivating an individual rationality in which people make decisions based on an understanding of the punishable limits of their behavior. HarassMap is engaged in a biopolitical project underpinned by an economic logic that treats the individual as a type of enterprise, capable of taking in certain inputs and producing certain outputs and who can be governmentalized toward this production (Michel Foucault 2004). Foucault (2004) notes there is an economic grid of intelligibility to how crimes are defined and the law is applied in neoliberal systems, allowing for the problematization (250) and the governmentalization of bodies (253). By deploying the law and defining criminality the way they have, HarassMap is problematizing and governmentalizing individual behavior to elicit change within a collective or cultural consciousness. Via the bystander, HarassMap has a community-oriented goal of constructing an "environment that does not tolerate sexual harassment" (HarassMap 2018).

They do not define the relationship individuals have to communities they are tasked with protecting; community is multiply synonymous with vague notions of “neighborhood,” “environment,” or “society.” This vagueness around “community,” however, reflects HarassMap’s primary interest in reforming individuals, who form the indivisible base upon which some notion of community exists and which underscores their project of neoliberal subject-making. Yet, in their larger project it remains unclear how individual reform, even when considering an aggregate number of individuals, leads to a larger ideological or metaphysical structural shift.⁴

To be upstanding: reinscribing the physics of panoptic power

Scholars and activists have expressed concern that bystander intervention reproduces penal power by expanding surveillance, where bystanders are responsible for reporting to police or authority figures (Elk and Devereaux 2014; Meyer 2016). By using carceral framing techniques to cultivate moral obligation in their *al-mutaharrish mugrim* media campaign, HarassMap does not seek to encourage surveillance of others or police reporting to punish offenders. Rather, they seek to automatize power and turn the bystander’s gaze on the self within their individual set of social and community relations. The goal here is for bystanders to police their own behavior and comport themselves in principled ways. This attempt to reorient the gaze relies on mediating bystander concern for their individual social position. The campaign plays on how bystanders should want to be seen in their communities and is tied to HarassMap’s larger program of promoting bystander reflexivity to induce intervention against sexual harassment. The compelling mechanism in this process is role modeling (visible in the campaign) where standing out as exceptional in the community will make individuals want to intervene and impel others to follow suit -this social mechanism replaces juridical forms of control. HarassMap activists have been conflicted over improving police practice, but their bystander intervention strategy eschews this and encourages public reporting to their crowd-map to break the silence around sexual harassment and promote a sense of individual obligation to the community. As Meyer (2016) says for US-based school anti-bullying programs, the effect is to produce a “perfectly calibrated subjectivity” (368), linked to neoliberal efforts at creating a new kind of citizen.

One important element of HarassMap’s larger program is that the bystander is rendered a potential “anyone,” regardless of gender, race, and class. Yet, bystanders in the *al-mutaharrish mugrim* commercials and posters are overwhelmingly men. Harassers are similarly men and “victims” are women, signifying a gendered victim-perpetrator framework in the campaign’s overall mediascape. For HarassMap, the bystanding mass, emblematic of the wider population, includes men who at any time may be potential harassers or interveners (though not all men will be one or both). The bystander in the campaign serves as a proxy not for an every(wo)man, but for segments of the male population who do not recognize or admit to their harassing behavior and/or who allow such behavior to persist. HarassMap addresses these men via the bystander to reframe masculine identity in ways that are not accusatory or entrench implicit gender bias (see Tinkler 2012, 2013 on sexual harassment policy and implicit gender bias). A subtext of the campaign is the solution to sexual harassment rests with men. Situating men as perpetrators or saviors and women as victims is not overt in their overall bystander intervention strategy and, indeed, other facets of their work problematize the notion of the male savior. Still, the

presence of this underlying framework in *al-mutaharrish mugrim* reflects how HarassMap works within and seeks to reshape, though not disrupt, Egypt's dominant heteronormative gender order, where the bystander allows them to draw on and reframe gender norms in culturally resonant ways.

HarassMap's campaign situates harassers and interveners in an oppositional relation. It reinscribes a locally understood binary visible in Egyptian masculine identity constructions, that of *baltagi* (thug) and *gedaa* (upstanding). In her ethnography on Egyptian masculinity, Ghannam (2012, Farha Ghannam 2013) analyzes this binary, which revolves around perceptions of the appropriate use of violence. She notes popular culture holds that to be *gedaa* means fighting against injustice and speaking up for the weak; violence is deployed "in the proper contexts, including defending oneself, aiding friends and relatives, and protecting vulnerable individuals and family members" (Ghannam 2013, 122, citing El-Messiri 1978). A man who uses violence to "impose his own will" and "further his personal interest" is a *baltagi* (Ghannam 2013, 122). The term *baltagi* has had mixed use, with the Egyptian state more recently rendering the *baltagi* a terrorist or one who threatens the social order in its effort to discipline working-class men (Paul Amar 2011; Ghannam 2013). *Al-mutaharrish mugrim* adds new metaphoric and metonymic associations to this binary. Metaphorically, the harasser is imbued with the qualities of *baltaga* (thuggery) and the intervener of *gedaana* (uprightness, dependability). Metonymically, recognizing the harasser as inferior rests on recognizing the intervener as superior, as someone to emulate, such that men are induced to not harass and/or to speak up against sexual harassment. HarassMap's campaign illustrates how the harasser must strive to become the intervener in ways that recall the nature-culture binary, where harassers must overcome a perceived animalistic nature on their way to acceptable cultural subjecthood (see Sherry Ortner 1996 on structural gender binaries).⁵

This reinscription of the *baltagi-gedaa* binary in HarassMap's campaign has a class and racial inflection to it that complicates historic understandings of these identities. In his analysis of sexual harassment in Egypt, Amar (2011) argues that processes of racialization are visible in how the bodies of subordinate classes are marked by fear and desire, such that they become the hypervisible, sexualized subjects of repressive disciplinary practices by the state, police, or media (305). He is concerned with approaches that reproduce visions of the neocolonial Arab Street and how some activist groups are complicit in the state's repressive security project by holding poor, young men accountable for the country's sexual harassment problem (rather than the state itself). Amar connects the *baltagi* with harasser vis-à-vis state practice, as "thugs" hired by state entities to harass protesting men and women. HarassMap's work in reproducing the *baltagi-gedaa* binary adds a new dimension to this racialization process. While young, working-class men are not their targets per se, their campaign casts the moral struggle between *baltaga* and *gedaana* as taking place among the lower or working-classes. HarassMap argues that anyone regardless of gender or class may be a harasser in their larger program, yet contestation over morally acceptable public behavior plays out on the bodies of lower or working-class men in their media campaign. Through *al-mutaharrish mugrim*, harassers and interveners are marked in ways that create a hierarchical social ordering, where being *gedaa* offers the promise of higher

status over being a *baltagi*, even if in social/cultural and not socioeconomic terms (see John Scott 2002 regarding social and economic classes).

Higher status for lower or working-class interveners provides an impetus for self-policing behavior and mobilizing intervention, and is part of HarassMap's neoliberal project of subject-making. It turns on the nature of lower or working-class masculine power, communicating that marginalized men have agency and through discipline and self-betterment, they can improve themselves and effect community change. This dynamic is visible in campaign commercial three, where the lower/working-class harasser and intervener clash over morally appropriate behavior and the intervener gains the upper hand by driving away the harasser. Interestingly, the harasser's class status seems ambiguous. A younger man in an upper class area, he is shown wearing Western-style clothing, including skinny jeans and white converse shoes. Cairo's upper class areas exhibit wide class admixture, where young, working-class men are employed in cafes, restaurants, and other businesses. Certain styles, such as skinny jeans, have become popular among younger men and women across class in Egypt, complicating the role of clothing in serving as a class marker and making it difficult to distinguish the harasser from other working-class men. The intervener/bystander is easily recognizable as a *bowab* (a doorman), wearing less fashionable clothing and washing a building resident's car. His position as a *bowab* confers an even lower class status than the harasser. HarassMap's marketing unit head noted their intent when creating the commercial was to ensure the intervener was portrayed as of lesser class status than the harasser, though the harasser could be read as working-class, to avoid the idea only upper class people could be the "good guys" (personal communication 2019). It is the intervener's moral standing visible in his willingness to angrily stare down the harasser that confers on him a higher social or cultural status, despite his lesser socioeconomic circumstance. The message here is that class is not a barrier and individual comportment (or initiative) can serve as a pathway to improved status, even if that does not translate into increased economic opportunities and improved living conditions. This framing conveys a neoliberal vision of the possibilities for effecting individual self-discipline to produce new subjective and intersubjective responses to sexual harassment.

Conclusion

This article has argued that carceral and anti-carceral politics are complexly intertwined in HarassMap's *al-mutaḥarrish mugrim* media campaign. Bystander intervention here is not singularly carceral or anti-carceral as discussed in the scholarly critique of such programs, but both at the same time. It is anti-carceral in its focus on reshaping community norms and practice as the solution to Egypt's sexual harassment problem, yet carceral in its reliance on the law and threat of arrest to mobilize people to act. Fear is the medium and arrest is the threat through which they seek to discipline, promote care for and obligation toward survivors and community, and mobilize. HarassMap's campaign, indeed their more general bystander intervention program, has emerged within a context of humanitarian development work, which promotes a neoliberal subjectivity centered on individual responsibility. Bystanding men, in particular, are urged to exercise self-discipline and restraint to not harass and/or to intervene. The focus on men in *al-mutaḥarrish mugrim* signifies

HarassMap's belief that they are a solution to sexual harassment. For this reason, the campaign draws on and reinscribes prevailing gendered logics to induce men, particularly lower/working-class men, to police themselves. This is done in ways that challenge class structures, such that the message is class cannot be a barrier to intervention.

HarassMap's media campaign highlights the complexity of bystander interventions in terms of their relation to carceral or anti-carceral politics and their intersection with neoliberal projects aimed at reshaping individual subjectivity and praxis. Their work demonstrates a need to better understand and contextualize the ways that bystander interventions simultaneously challenge and entrench dominant forms of power and how they serve as disciplinary techniques to create particular kinds of cultural subjects. Understanding the efficacy of such programs in bringing about desired sociopolitical change requires a deeper examination of how they converge with and diverge from the institutional and cultural structures they seek to upend. Increased attention to this complexity is urgent as bystander intervention programs are increasingly becoming a preferred non-punitive option for many feminist anti-sexual harassment groups and movements both in the United States and globally. As their popularity grows, so does the need for critical research into not only their promises but also their potential perils.

Notes

1. Governance feminism is a term coined by Halley, referring to the "installation of feminists and feminist ideas in actual legal-institutional power," (Halley et al. 2006, 340). It refers to a complex history of feminist activists working with/in institutions locally and internationally to produce policies and practices—and criminalization—in support of women's and gender equality, particularly against sexual violence.
2. It is important to note there is a split between secular and religious women's activism in Egypt (and the MENA region). HarassMap is secularly oriented and does not use religious rhetoric in its messaging because they see the problem as linked to social apathy and heteronormative patriarchy, transcending Islam and Christianity. Muslim and Christian women's groups in Egypt have not addressed the sexual harassment problem.
3. Based on interviews conducted with HarassMap cofounders.
4. HarassMap seeks to inspire a "critical mass" of bystanders who will intervene against sexual harassment, but have not defined what constitutes critical mass and how to recognize it if achieved.
5. Egyptians, including activists, frequently use *hyawaan* (animal) to describe harassers. In 2013, HarassMap participated in a joint campaign, *salahha fi dimaghak* (Get it Right), which circulated posters depicting harassers as wolves and dogs.

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