

## Introduction: *Living 2016* and the *In 2016* Project

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### Abstract

This introduction presents the idea as well as the theoretical, methodological and ethical background of the *In 2016* project, a research project that looks into the realities of everyday life and other post-revolutionary lifeworlds (*Lebenswelten*) in Egypt and Tunisia. Its aim is to provide a kind of ‘encyclopedia of 2016’ that enables users, in a snapshot portrait of one year, to ‘jump right into’ and move around (via cross-references) in post-revolutionary Arab realities; a tool that allows readers to approximate the experience of ‘how it feels/felt’ to live in these countries in this period of transition and historic change that the Arab World is currently going through. Taking its inspiration from Hans Ulrich GUMBRECHT’s *In 1926*, an “essay on historical simultaneity,” the project focuses on two key fields of cultural production where salient issues and ‘the meaning of life’ are regularly discussed and from where reflections of bodily experiences, emotions and affects can be collected: fiction and social media.

The present *dossier spécial* emerged from a first, exploratory workshop connected to the *In 2016* project. The dossier’s objective is twofold: while the introduction will give the reader an idea of background of the project in general, the contributions will mirror a first stage in the project group’s experience: the collection of an overwhelmingly huge amount of fresh relevant material, its ‘close reading’ or ‘thick description’, and the individual researchers’ first, preliminary attempts to find the “arrays”, “codes” and “collapsed codes” that seem to be typical of living the ‘2016 experience’.

*Keywords:* Historiography of the ‘Arab Spring’, social media, fiction

The present dossier contains the ‘proceedings’, enriched by a few additional contributions, of a workshop, held in May 2016 at the University of Oslo, Norway, under the title *Living 2016: Cultural codes and arrays in Arab everyday worlds*. The workshop was the first in a series of both smaller and larger gatherings, to be continued in 2017 and 2018, connected to the NRC<sup>1</sup>-funded research project *In 2016: How it felt to live in the Arab World five years after the ‘Arab Spring’*.<sup>2</sup> It gathered a number of researchers who share an interest in everyday life and popular culture in the contemporary Arab world, with a particular focus on Egypt and Tunisia, with the aim of an initial collection of observations and impressions as well as a preliminary discussion of some theoretical and methodological issues arising from the project’s objective to produce a historiographical work on life in the present-day Arab world.

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1 Norwegian Research Council (NRC) / Norges forskningsråd (NFR), <[www.forskningsradet.no](http://www.forskningsradet.no)>.

2 Project website: <<http://www.hf.uio.no/ikos/english/research/projects/the-arab-world-five-years-after-the-arab-spring/>>.

In the Call for Papers, the organizers had explained the case of the project as follows:

In contrast to the overwhelming focus on political and security issues that dominates not only Western media reports but also much of the research on the contemporary Middle East, the *In 2016* project places the socio-cultural sphere at the core of its interests. It aims to foreground salient aspects of the everyday life, the concerns and the expectations of ordinary Arabs five years after the 2011 uprisings.

Instead of assuming that 2011 is a threshold year and the 2011 uprisings are a turning point, the project deals with ordinary time lived by ordinary people. The target year—2016—was chosen on this basis, when it was still to come. The arbitrariness of this choice aims to enable a look at cultural dynamics without a prefixed set of topics and a pre-oriented reading frame.

The main incentive behind the effort the project designers made to submit an application to the NFR~NRC was indeed to try to get funding for a kind of research that seemed to be almost completely lacking from the media coverage on the contemporary Middle East, but to a large extent also from academia, an approach that would go beyond the mostly superficial day-to-day reporting about elections, a focus on ‘big politics’ and attempts at political prophesy, the sensationalist accounts of violent clashes, the many clichés that regrettably often border on something one is tempted to term ‘neo-Orientalism’.<sup>3</sup>

As specialists in modern Arabic Literature (Stephan GUTH) and Arabic Media studies (Albrecht HOFHEINZ), the two main project designers were, and still are, convinced that a look into cultural production and social media has a high potential to fill evident gaps, mainly because, in our opinion, these spheres are closer to what matters most—the individual human being—; because they are much richer and therefore also more adequate; and also because we have some tools at hand already that allow for a deeper analysis.

The purpose, then, of the project is to identify phenomena that are, or have the potential of becoming, cultural trends or ways of life, as well as concepts used by people to categorise and structure their experiences and to locate themselves in space and time. This ap-

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3 ‘Neo-Orientalism’ is termed a perspective that “recapitulate[s] key elements of Orientalism in a contemporary setting” – Zachary LOCKMAN, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004: 219; cf. also Dag TUASTAD, “Neo-Orientalism and the New Barbarism Thesis: Aspects of Symbolic Violence in the Middle East Conflict(s),” *Third World Quarterly*, 24/4 (Aug. 2003): 591-599 <DOI: 10.1080/0143659032000105768>. – On the feeling of ‘unease’ that many researchers on the Middle East experienced already earlier, particularly after the 9/11 attacks, as academics whose expertise was challenged both by the events themselves but also by politicians and the media, cf. the collection *Das Unbehagen in der Islamwissenschaft: Ein klassisches Fach im Scheinwerferlicht der Politik und der Medien*, edited by Abbas POYA and Maurus REINKOWSKI, Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2008 (available only in German, unfortunately); as an especially enlightening description, contained in this volume, of the challenges in face of all kinds of prejudices and neo-/Orientalist discourses about Islam (‘Islam spectres/phantoms’, as the author labels them), I would like recommend Manfred SING, “Auf dem Marktplatz der Islamgespenster: Die Islamwissenschaft in Zeiten des Erklärungsnotstandes” [roughly: At the Fair of Islam Phantoms: *Islamwissenschaft* in Urgent Need of Answers], *ibid.*: 171-192. – For an attempt at an update in light of recent developments, cf. my forthcoming article: Stephan GUTH, “A Losing Battle? ‘Islamwissenschaft’ in the Times of Neoliberalism, IS, PEGIDA... and Trump,” scheduled for a *festschrift* to be published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, presumably in early 2018.

proach takes its intellectual inspiration from Hans Ulrich GUMBRECHT's<sup>4</sup> famous study *In 1926*.<sup>5</sup> Published at a time when the writing of history was itself undergoing a severe crisis (in the wake of Hayden WHITE's discovery of the fictional aspects of historiography and Francis FUKUYAMA's proclamation of the 'end of history'), Gumbrecht intended his book as "an essay on historical simultaneity"<sup>6</sup> in which he as an author rather than writing *about* the past would retreat as far as possible behind his material and instead let the original sources 'speak themselves', as *directly* as possible. In this way, the reader should experience historical time as *immediately* as possible; when opening the book, s/he should become able to 'jump right into' the world of 1926.

Like any other world of a synchronous section, the year 1926 was of course a complex system of correspondences, oppositions, concepts, etc., a fact that Gumbrecht tried to accommodate by arranging his material like an 'encyclopedia', with entries in *alphabetical order* and the many cross-references between them mirroring the "myriad labyrinthine paths of contiguity, association, and implication"<sup>7</sup> within the large variety of phenomena observable in the world of 1926. This arrangement would allow the reader to choose his/her own way through this world and to move around in it in an associative manner, exploring one phenomenon after the other.

Gumbrecht was also eager, and so are the contributors to the *In 2016* project that aspires to emulate his model, to underline the fact that the result of what can be achieved via such an approach can never claim to represent the totality of the worlds of 1926 or 2016; rather, what we can hope to get is "an asymmetrical network", a "rhizome"<sup>8</sup> of sometimes connected, sometimes unconnected individual aspects, phenomena, traits, structures, etc., a loosely woven fabric that, ideally, does cover a lot, but that also will always have considerable holes.

Like Gumbrecht, the contributors to the *In 2016* 'encyclopedia'<sup>9</sup> will try to describe "the most frequently observed phenomena and configurations" met in the 'target year', and

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4 Born 1948, Professor of Comparative Literature at Stanford University, California; website: <<https://dcl.stanford.edu/people/hans-ulrich-gumbrecht>>. For more general information cf. <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans\\_Ulrich\\_Gumbrecht](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_Ulrich_Gumbrecht)>.

5 H. U. GUMBRECHT, *In 1926: Living at the Edge of Time*, Cambridge Mass. & London: Harvard UP, 1997. – The first acquaintance of the writer of the present Introduction with Gumbrecht's study goes back to the late 1990s / early 2000s when I dealt with the problem of historical periodization (in the context of my post-doctoral thesis, a comparative study of the history of the Arabic and Turkish novel). I did, however, not make systematic use of it earlier than 2005/06 when I prepared a case study on an Egyptian short story written—presumably—in (or at least around) the very same year 1926; cf. Stephan GUTH, "The Modern School and Global Modernity: The Example of an Egyptian Ghost Story of the mid-1920s (Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Lāshīn, *Qiṣṣat 'ifrīṭ*)," *Middle Eastern Literatures*, 10/3 (2007): 231-250, <DOI: 10.1080/14752620701664597>.

6 GUMBRECHT 1997: 433.

7 GUMBRECHT 1997: 435.

8 GUMBRECHT 1997: 435.

9 Here and in the following, the term 'encyclopedia' is used for the sake of convenience only. The reader should however always remain aware of the fact that neither Gumbrecht nor the *In 2016* project have an 'encyclopedic' ambition (in the original sense of the word as a general, all-encompassing education and

with this the general cultural atmosphere—Gumbrecht would prefer the German term *Stimmung*—according to three main categories: *arrays* (French: *dispositifs*), *binary codes*, and *codes collapsed*.<sup>10</sup>

**Arrays** are ways in which “*artifacts, roles, and activities influence bodies*”, because these “artifacts, roles, and activities [...] require the human bodies to enter into specific spatial and functional relations to the everyday-worlds they inhabit”.<sup>11</sup> For instance, for the year 1926 Gumbrecht identified the following arrays (my selection):

*Artifacts:* Airplanes | Assembly Lines | Automobiles | Bars | Elevators | Gomina | Gramophones | League of Nations | Movie Palaces | Mummies | Ocean Liners | Railroads | Revues | Roof Gardens | Telephones | Wireless Communication

*Roles:* Americans in Paris | Employees | Engineers | Hunger Artists | Reporters | Stars

*Activities:* Boxing | Bullfighting | Cremation | Dancing | Endurance | Jazz | Mountaineering | Murder | Six-Day Races | Strikes

What Gumbrecht calls **codes** are *clusters of arrays* that coexist and overlap in a space of simultaneity and “tend to generate discourses which transform [their] confusion into [...] *alternative options*”,<sup>12</sup> e.g.,

*Codes:* Action vs. Impotence | Authenticity vs. Artificiality | Center vs. Periphery | Immanence vs. Transcendence | Individuality vs. Collectivity | Male vs. Female | Present vs. Past | Silence vs. Noise | Sobriety vs. Exuberance | Uncertainty vs. Reality

Since such binary codes “provide *principles of order* within the unstructured simultaneity of everyday-worlds, one might”, according to Gumbrecht, “reserve the concept of ‘*culture*’ for the ensemble of such codes.”<sup>13</sup>

When the codes lose their de-paradoxifying function, Gumbrecht calls them **collapsed codes**. Collapsed codes, he says, “are *particularly visible* because, as *areas of malfunction and entropy*, they attract specific discursive attention and, often, specific *emotional energy*.”<sup>14</sup> Here are the collapsed codes the author identified for his target year:

*Codes Collapsed:* Action = Impotence (Tragedy) | Authenticity = Artificiality (Life) | Center = Periphery (Infinitude) | Immanence = Transcendence (Death) | Individuality = Collectivity (Leader) | Male = Female (Gender Trouble) | Present = Past (Eternity)

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training in the essentials of liberal arts and sciences). What is meant here is simply a collection of articles/essays/entries, arranged alphabetically.

10 GUMBRECHT 1997: 434.

11 GUMBRECHT 1997: 434 (my emphasis, S.G.).

12 GUMBRECHT 1997: 434 (my emphasis, S.G.).

13 GUMBRECHT 1997: 434 (my emphasis, S.G.).

14 GUMBRECHT 1997: 434.

It goes without saying that work in the *In 2016* project has not yet reached the stage where we would be able to identify the most prominent arrays, codes and collapsed codes of our target year—in the moment I write this introduction the group has just finished the first step—though a very important one: the collection of ‘raw data’—on its way to the final product (which is planned to come not only in book form but also as a website with the help of which the reader/user will have the possibility to re-visit the year 2016 by ‘clicking him/herself through’ it, the cross-references in the book corresponding to active links in the web version). Even less far had we arrived in May 2016 when the workshop from which the following papers emerged, was held. Yet, both the fruitful discussions triggered by the presentations as well as the time that has elapsed between the workshop and the submission and editing of the papers have without doubt contributed to a deepened engagement with the issues treated in the papers, not the least thanks to the fact that every contributor to the present *dossier spécial* has had the chance to be each other’s peer-reviewer and to profit from being peer-reviewed by everybody else.

As the dossier is now it mirrors very faithfully not only the large variety of the material that the project has to cope with and that will—I believe this can be said with some certainty already now—without doubt provide valuable insight into many aspects of life and many lifeworlds that until now are only rarely, if at all, written and talked about in the media (from language practices to dark humour, from the approach to the past to the imagination of the future, from soap operas to ‘New Age sufism’, from the feeling of alienation in one’s own country to attempts to uphold some sparks of humanity in an increasingly anti-human environment). But the dossier also provides some nice examples of the many ways of collecting our 2016 material and of somehow processing it. While Ragnhild J. ZORGATI and Mona ABAZA contribute with personal impressions and reflections, underlining the fact that (unlike Gumbrecht) the researcher is now also often a personally involved observer, other colleagues prefer to present their thoughts in a more ‘processed’ form, trying to identify at least *some* arrays, codes, or collapsed codes in a Gumbrecht’ian spirit, without however leaving the classical genre of a research article. Others, including myself and Albrecht HOFHEINZ, focus on a more or less uncommented presentation of the ‘material itself’ and the voices of the sources, while not refraining from suggesting some ‘candidates’ that seem to have the potential of deserving an entry in the final ‘2016 ency’. Furthermore, as will be clear from some contributions, both of the impressions- and the article-type, we, the editors, have ourselves often added a Gumbrecht’ian or pre-Gumbrecht’ian layer to the texts of our colleagues by highlighting in **bold** some terms that struck us, based on our experiences and readings of other 2016 material, as obviously worth to be taken into consideration and discussed when Stage II of the project will gather way.

There is probably no better way to conclude this introduction than to draw a list of all these terms. Together with the list of keywords and preliminary suggestions of arrays, codes and codes collapsed that has been created in another place—an online working platform we called our “*In 2016* Researchers’ Notebook”—this list serve as one of the starting points from where we will set out in 2017. It goes without saying that the list is still unedited and not double-checked for those entries that could be treated as one. This, and many other things, will be subject to inspiring group discussions—as well as two other workshops... But first, the list:

4share.com	Auto-documentary	Chewing gum
Absurdity	Autonomy	Child: ~ labour; importance of ~hood
Academic unemployment	Average apolitical co-citizen	Christian
<i>Adab sākhir</i>	Back to the roots	Civil disobedience
Adventurous	Bardo	Clash(es)
Advice	<i>Barrah</i>	Close-up
Affluence	Bāsim Yūsuf	Collaborate
Affordable food & affordable housing	Be yourself	Collapse
Ahli massacre	Beard	Collective memory
Airport	Beautiful Islam	Comfort
Alarming	Beauty	Coming-of-age
Alexandria	Belief	Commentary
Alienation / <i>ghurbah</i>	Belly-dance	Commitment
Alone	Belonging	Common destiny
Alterity	Bereaved parents	Commuting
Ambivalence	Bestsellers	Comparing: past vs. Present
American dream vs. nightmare	Betrayal	Compounds
American pop	Beyond repair	Concrete: ~ building, ~ walls
<i>‘ammiyyah</i>	Big brother	Confidence
Amnesia	<i>Bildungsroman</i>	Confrontation
Anarchy	Black humour	Conscience
Ancient regime, old regime	Blackmail	Constitution
Anger	Blasphemy laws	Consumer society
Anonymity	Blind young man	Contemplative
Anti-authoritarianism	Blind young man	Continuity
Anticlimactic	Bodily, body	Contrasting/contradicting
Anti-colonialism	Boring	Conversion, the convert
Apocalypse, apocalyptic	Bourguiba	Copt
Appealing	Boyfriend	Corruption
Arab spring; ~ as ‘export model’	Breaking taboos	Cosmopolitanism
Armed forces land projects agency	Bureaucracy	Courage, ~ vs. Fear/Timidity
Army	Bureaucracy, bureaucratic routine	Cramped confines
Arranged marriages	Cairo: downtown, city centre, the divided city, urban de- composition, militarization	Creativity
Arrogance	Capital vs. Provinces	Crime, organized ~
Artist	Care = imprisonment	Critical assessment, ~ of the recent past
<i>‘ashwā’iyyāt</i>	Carthage film festival	Culture, pre-Islamic ~al herit- age, ~al emancipation of “the South”
Asphyxia	Cartons and boxes	Daily life as slow torture
Assessment: of the ‘Arab spring’, of the deeper past	Cartoons	Daily routine
Authenticity	Centre vs. Periphery	Dancing
Authoritarianism	Challenged stereotypes	Danger
Autobiographical	Challenging	Dark comedy
	Chaos	
	Check point	

Dates: Prize of ~	Emancipation	Frustration
Dead end	Emasculation	Garbage, filth
Death threats	Emigration	Gated communities
Decay	Emotional: ~ mobilization, ~ism	Gender inequality
<i>Déclassement social</i>	Empowerment	Generation stuck <i>ghurbah</i>
Decline	Emptiness of public spaces	Goodreads
Defy all odds	Empty battery	Graft
Dehumanising	Endurance	Grief
Demanding	Europe	Grief
Depression	Everyday life	Guidance
Derision	Exciting	Guilt
Desire “to live a life to the full”	Exemplary story	Handicapped protagonists
Desolation	Exhaustion	Hands of God
Desperation, Desperate hope	Exile	Head scarf
Detective	Existential and creativity crisis	Health problems, health sys- tem
Detention	Exodus, to leave	Heat
Determination	Expat/immigrant milieu	Hectic pace and routine of modern life
Dialect	Explain: the present, re- cent/contemporary history, taḥrīr events, find explana- tions for what happened	Helicopters
Dichotomies	Exploitation	Hell
Dignity	Explore the past	Helpers
Dire living conditions	Facebook	Helplessness
Disappearance	False: ~ appearance vs. True being, ~ Islam	Hijab
Discussing politics	Family: constraints imposed by ~, ~ honour, ~ pressure, familial solidarity	Hip-hop
Disillusionment	Fantastic	History
Disintegration	Fear	Holistic approach, portrayal
Document	Feel the beat	Homosexual
Dog	Few people	Honesty
Domestic violence	Fights: constant ~, street ~, skirmishes	Hope: dazzling~, ~-inspiring, condemned to ~, defiant ~, no illusions
Double life	Flag	Horoscope
Doubt	Flight	Horror fiction
Drama	Foreign experts/specialists	Hospital
Dreams	Foreign machinations	Hospitality
Dress	Fragmentation, fragmented society	Housing shortages
Drop-out	Freedom, ~ of expression, ~ = anarchy: the ambivalent revolution	Humanity, human togetherness
Drugs		Humour
Dust		Husband and wife
Duty		Hush!
Dying father		Hygiene
Dying of human emotions		Idealism
Dystopia		Identity
Economy, weak		
Education		
Egyptian soil		
Egyptian-Tunisian competition		

Idle man vs. Hard-working woman	Language: native, standard, dialects, ʿammiyyah/dārijah vs. Fuṣḥā, arabic vs. French, langue-pont	Moustaches
Ignorance	Lawlessness	Moving
Immorality	Learning a lesson	Mubarak regime
Imperialism	Leaves everything behind	Muḥammad Maḥmūd Street
Importance: of cultural production, of education	Less well-off	Music
Imports	Lessons to draw	Muslim Brotherhood
Impotence	Lives may be rebuilt	Nail polish
Incompleteness of the revolution	Logic of control	Narrow spaces, closed rooms
Independence	Loose morals	Nation: ~, ~ state, ~al pride, ~alist hero, ~-rebuilding
Individual = collective: pre-taḥrīr conditions	Loss: of identity, of home	National imaginary
Individual appropriation	Love	Naturalness
Individual happiness	Loyalty	Neighbour: the treacherous ~
Indoctrination	Lynching	Neo-liberal commodities, ~ market
Inferiority	<i>Mada masr</i>	New Humanism
Injustice	Male vs. Female	Newcomers
Inner struggle	Malta	Nightmare
Innocent average citizen	Marginal, ~ized groups	Nike
Insignificance	Marry	Niqab
Internet: as source of know-how, internet café	Maspero	No one dares to confront
Intransigence	Maturation	Noise
Introspectiveness	Meandering, wandering, pondering, reflecting	Nostalgia
Inventiveness and creativity	Medical report, ~ treatment	Nouveaux riches
IS, ISIL, Dāʿish	Mediocrity	Observe
Islām Ġāwīsh	Megacity	Official discourse/narrative vs. Hidden truth/lived reality/visual evidence
Islamic networks	Melancholic	Older generation
Isolation	Memory	Open vs. Secret
January 25	Metafictional reflection	Oppression
Jews	Metamorphosis	Order = Chaos
Jihadist	Metro line	Ordinary citizen = Hero / The Nobody = Omnipotent (Enduring everyday life)
Journey	Metropolis	Ordinary people
July 1952 coup/revolution	Migrant labour	Originality/authenticity
Juxtaposition: reality vs. Official discourse	Migration	Oscillation
Keep appearances	Militarization of daily urban life	Outside, <i>barrah</i>
<i>Khawāga</i> complex	Military and financial aid	Outsider = insider
Kitsch	Miniskirt	Pan-Africanism
Know one's place	Minorities, non-Muslim	Pan-Arab
Laboratory, trying out	Mistrust	Panoramic/holistic approach
“La vie en vert”	Mobile phone	Paralyzing
Lack of security	Modern architecture	Paramilitary
	Modesty	

Pardon	Psychiatrist, Psychology	Rolls vs. Volkswagen
Participation, political, elections	Public morality	Romance
Parvenus	Public space	Rubbish
Passport	Punico-berbère	Ruin
Past: ~ as treasure box, ~ vs. Present, recent ~	Puritanism	Sacrificing
Patient	<i>qillat adab</i>	Safe-haven
Patriotism	Quest for oneself	Safety
Pending	Questions	Salafi look
People vs. Elite	Rābi‘ah al-‘Adawiyah	Salafi looks
Persistence	Racism	Satire, <i>adab sākhir</i>
Persistence of society’s discrimination	Radicalisation	Schengen
Personal	Real estate, ~projects	Screen world
Pessimism	Reality: ~ vs. Fiction, ~ = a joke (satire)	Sea
Pharaohs: Egypt’s modern ~	Re-assessment of the past	Search for meaning
Physical	Rebalance	Second generation Arabs
Piety vs. Blasphemy	Recent history/past	Secret
Pity	Reconciliation	Secret past
Pleasure	Reformism	Secularists
Poetry	Refugee	Security, lack of ~
Police, ~ state, ~ = criminals	Regime, despotic system	Self-confidence
Political rock	Register	Self-determination
Pollution	Reintegration	Self-realisation, be oneself, feel yourself
Pornography	Rejection	Self-reliance
Posthuman	Relatives	Sense of duty
Potential	Religiosity vs. Humanity	Sense of loss
Poverty	Religious intolerance	Sexual harassment
Powerlessness, impotence	Religious symbols	<i>shabāb</i>
Prayer mats: Islamism occupying public spaces	Religious-political activism	Shaken
Pre-‘Arab Spring’	Remains from the colonial past	al-Shāri‘ al-Tis‘īn
Present = future (dystopia)	Remake	Shaving/depilation (whole body)
Present tragedy	Remembering, ~ vs. Memory loss, erasure of reminiscence	Sheesha
Pride	Resilience	Shouting
Prison	Resistance: (non-violent) ~ , ~ vs. Terror	Silent resistance
Privacy	Resoluteness	Singing
Private clinic	Resourcefulness	Slavery
Processing	Restaurants	Slow-motion
Progress	Return	Slums
Proprietors	Reveal the truth	Small shops
Prostitution	Revenge	Sneakers
Protest marches	Revolution	Soccer
Provinces: Tunisian south	Rhetoric of opposition	Social conditions/poverty, inequality
	Risky	Social control

SODIC	Terror, “war on ~”, ~ists, ~rist	Uphill
Soldier heroes	attacks	Urban violence
Solidarity	Threatened by extinction	Urban wars
Spatial distance	Thugs	Utopia
Speaking up	Time pressure / hectic rush	Vanity
Speculation, financial	Timidity	Villette condos
Stagnation	Tolerance	Violence
State violence	Torn between two women	Voice from the radio
Steadfastness	Torture	Voice: to have a ~, listen to me!
Strangeness	Tourism, tourists, tourist re-	Vulnerability
Street café	sorts	War crime
Strong will	Tradition	<i>Waraqah, al-</i>
Subversion	Traditional songs	Waste
Superiority	Traffic jams	<i>waṭan</i> ‘homeland’ = <i>ghurbah</i>
Survival, ~ in dignity	Transfiguration	‘exile’ (alienation)
Suspicion	Translocate	Water, ~ supply
Symbolic-mythical abstraction	Trauma	Wedding errands
System	Travesty	West, ~ernized
Systematic alteration	True identity/self	Whistle-blowing
Taboos	Tuk-tuk	Will to life
<i>ta’dīb</i>	Unauthentic/false	Wish to understand
Tahar Cheriaa	Uncertainty	Women
Taḥrīr	Undecided	Xenophobia
<i>Taḥyā maṣr</i>	Underground	You vs. Us / We vs. Them
Take the challenge	Underprivileged	Young generation
<i>tamarrud</i>	Unemployment	Youth
Taxi	United States	Youthful love
Tears	Unreliable	<i>zaḥmah</i>
Temptation of faith	Unvarnished	
	Unveiling	

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