Where the dust settles: fieldwork, subjectivity and materiality in Cairo

Author:

Aya Nassar

Affiliation:

Department of Politics and International Studies (PaIS), the University of Warwick, Coventry, the United Kingdom

Correspondence:

Department of Politics and International Studies
Faculty of Social Science
The University of Warwick
Coventry
The United Kingdom
CV4 7AL
E-mail: A.M.I.Nassar@warwick.ac.uk
Tel.: +44 (0) 7539908350

Biographic note:

Aya Nassar is a PhD Candidate in the department of Politics and International Studies (PaIS), the University of Warwick. Her research focuses on the politics of urban space production in the post-independence state in Egypt. Her research interests include political geography, post-colonial cities, and Middle East studies.

Abstract:

This article uses the very materiality of the city, namely its dust, to reflect on the processes of researching the city and writing about it. By using 'dust' as both a material and an imaginative metaphor that assembles architecture, urban space, archives, and history, I argue that field environments, in a very material sense, seep through our fieldwork methodologies. Written through a series of four vignettes; this article reflects on conducting archival fieldwork in urban space, as a non-risky methodology, yet within a politically turbulent context where research in itself could be a cause of risk. By acknowledging the very materiality of the field environment, a space is created to reflect on how *the field* constitutes our subjectivity as researchers, in the city, in the archive, or elsewhere. Attention to dust allows us to write *with* – rather than against- the entanglement of field notes. It makes space for an autobiographic incision and reclaims a subjective voice that writing on being in the field needs. Further, it allows us to trouble the clean and disentangled constructions of our subjectivity as academic knowing subjects through the orchestrated everyday practices of conducting fieldwork.

Keywords: dust, fieldwork, archives, the city, Cairo, researcher subjectivity, autobiography, materiality.

Introduction:

What if we disrupt the sovereign space and time of the state through the 'small and invisible'(Amato, 2000) ? What if we follow a 'sociology of the miniature' material of the city as we question the various constructions upon which histories of the state depend (Hallet & Fine, 2003)? What if we do that through the very dust of the city we usually brush against? This article seeks to brush along the grain of fieldwork, in a very literal sense. It is an article that grew out of brushing away the dust of Cairo, and trimming excess field notes,[1] specifically the disposable material I wrote thinking they will be purged out of my research manuscripts once I am out of it. It thus picks up left over notes that were written on the city's *dust.* It argues that in the margins of these notes, where we might throw our everyday encounter with the small and insignificant elements of research, lies the potential to question our very sense of self as researchers in the field.

A sense of self is tied to a never-ending quest of finding voice. Throughout this paper I try to find a voice, a mode of thinking, through which one can write about Cairo. Initially this would not seem so difficult given the sheer volume of literature on the city, both academic and non-academic[2]. But perhaps, it is exactly this cacophony of Cairo voices that drowns one's own. Ever since I took an academic interest in researching my city, this interest has been accompanied by questions about why I do research on Cairo, and what I hope to achieve with it. Colleagues have pressed me on finding an honest voice that does not clean up the city for the sake of academia. I was repeatedly reminded of how movies on Cairo are alienating when their lenses do not show the city's dust in the final cut, and it was frequently suggested that perhaps a form of writing and thinking about the city needs to come to terms with its fragmentation.[3] These personal and individual anxieties, as well as collegial and academic concerns, have implications for research beyond the focus of the politics of the city, or the political geographies of the Middle East. They echo the methodological need to attune to mess (Squire, 2013), the expressive need to accommodate our personal narrative as researchers into our own expert and academic discourses (Inayatullah, 2011; Strausz, 2013), and the moral need to make sense of and relate to the world in which we are subjects. Through dust, I aim to write about Cairo in its fragmentation and haphazardness, without *cleansing* it as the empirical subject of research.

Dust is resourceful as a metaphor, but also pervasive and unavoidable in its materiality. Dust is multifaceted. It is both of the inside and the outside, of the living and the dead, it is everything and nothing. It is not only domestic and domesticated, but also an unstoppable force of nature that 'pervades no matter how desperately you fight against it' (Marder, 2016, p. xi). Dust, therefore, is inevitable. It has even moved from the margins of my notes to become the centre of this article. In her Dust- Architecture project Teresa Stoppani argues against thinking of dust as a residue; but rather as a resourceful tool to think of the inevitable dispersion and reassembling of fragments (Stoppani, 2007a, 2007b, 2007b, 2014). Dust is differentiated from its associated friends (like dirt) by being fine and dry (Amato, 2000, p. 4).

---

[1] On using field notes as a reflection on private experiences, where the researcher is herself a research instrument see (Crane-Seeber, 2013)

[2] A small sample of a 'Cairo' reading list would include: Abu-Lughod, 1971; Golia, 2004; Singerman, 2009; Singerman & Amar, 2006; Sims, 2010.

[3] I owe Mohammed Ezzeldin this and many other conversations on Cairo as a personal, academic and historical subject.

> Dust is less dirty than dirt. Dry, deprived of wetness and greasiness, dust is light, volatile, mobile. It settles and accumulates, but it is then easily airborne again. Dust travels. It is for this reason, heterogeneous. It collects and incorporates particles of different origin, bearing traces of its movements and whereabouts *in* – rather than on- itself, by exchanging parts of itself with its environment(s). It gathers and it leaves itself behind. Constantly engaged in a mutual exchange with its place. Even in apparent stillness, dust moves with gravity, and growth (Stoppani, 2007b, p. 437 emphasis in original).

Dust can be exotic as interstellar dust, eventful such as dust storms, or mundane as house dust, comprised of our shed skin, insects, and fabrics. We ignore it and wipe it, yet it constantly invades. For Bataille:

> One day or another, it is true, dust, supposing it persists, will probably begin to gain the upper hand over domestics, invading the immense ruins of abandoned buildings, deserted dockyards; and, at that distant epoch, nothing will remain to ward off night-terrors, for lack of which we have become such great book-keepers…(Bataille et al., 1995, p. 43)

Even as it appears passive, it covers, shelters and settles on surfaces, dulling them, at times corroding them, but also making them more visible. It hovers in the invisible ray of light, and makes it appear (Marder, 2016, pp. 20–21; Stoppani, 2007b, p. 437)

Stoppani's formulations on dust, architecture and the city has guided this article while thinking though the linkages between the material dispersion of the city; its history, and its space in turbulent political times (Stoppani, 2014, p. 118). Dust here is seen as a fragment that opens new possible assemblages after the explosion of established orders, and the loss of established forms. Taking dust seriously was further encouraged by calls to appreciate the marvels and wonders of dust (Amato, 2000; Marder, 2016), and more importantly by invitations to think what its minuteness can tell us about the big questions of social sciences; the archives, time, history, memory, gender and nationalism, as it links them to our very own individual experience (Hallet & Fine, 2003; Steedman, 2001). To think with a metaphysics of dust, is to argue for a political geography, and indeed an anthropology, that looks at the world and its matter and elements not as a surface onto we which we act, but rather as a world in which we are entangled (Ingold, 2011; Nieuwenhuis, 2016). My main aim concern here, however, is not to tell a story of dust, but to tell stories *with* dust. These are methodological stories of how I decided to acknowledge it, wade through it, and allow it to retrace my being a researcher-in-the-field back home, rather than brushing off all the dusty specks from my field notes as residual or excess – which must have been my intention when I wrote them in the first place. Therefore, these are methodological stories that navigate my own negotiation with dust, rather than assume and argue for its centrality from the start.

In this article I use dust – materially and metaphorically- to assemble my drifting between space and time, place and history, city and archive, and materiality and representation, in a way that does not deploy arbitrary *neat* concepts to my messy fieldwork. This paper, hence, is about the city, its archives, its pasts, and its dust. It is an attempt to reflect on my fieldwork in and on Cairo, as part of a research that looked into the spatial political order of the city in post-1952 Egypt. My field methods were primarily archival, and my fieldwork was spent among different types of fragmented and scattered repositories, with fragmented and scattered results. Among these, I oscillated most of the time between the national library (*Dar al-*

Kutub),[4] and the 'Regional Architectural Collection (RAC)', a division under the rare books collection in the 'American University in Cairo (AUC)' [5],— two sites in which I encountered material and metaphorical dust as everyday practice of conducting research.

What follows in this paper is a personal account of methodology, based primarily on excess stories of dust in Cairo— the literal dust of fieldwork. It does not follow a linear narrative of field entry, establishing field rapport, field exit, and reflection/reflexivity. Moreover, it does not offer a thriller plot centred on risk and danger in an exotic distant field. Instead, I proceed through four fieldwork vignettes that are brought together by dust, as both a materiality and a metaphor. In attempting to use vignettes, I want to write *with* –rather than against- the entanglement of my notes.[6] The field is not perceived here as a backdrop against which our questions and research activity are performed. Rather, by acknowledging the very materiality of the field environment, I argue, a space is created to reflect on how *the field* constitutes our subjectivity as researchers, in the city, in the archive, or elsewhere.

Escaping the dust storms

[Figure 1 here]

Every spring seasonal hot dust storms blow over Cairo and deposit sand and dust. The maximum deposition occurs in April, though the season itself extends until June (Salam & Sowelim, 1967). These storms are commonly known as *Khamasin*, described as a 'regional predicament' (Goodfield, 2008, p. ii) that drops 'like a blanket' (Moon, 2003). Khamasin was represented by Egypt's lead modernist sculptor Mahmoud Mukhtar in 1929 (Figure 1). The subject of the statue has been commonly considered as an Egyptian peasant (Seggerman, 2014, p. 42), the most common motif of representing the modern Egyptian nation (Baron, 2005; Gershoni & Jankowski, 2004). Nevertheless, I do prefer to consider the name of the piece as

[4] The National Library or was established in 1870 by Ali Pasha Mubarak (then referred to as the Egyptian Khedieval *Kutub Khana*). Since 1952, the bureaucracy of the library was reordered several times by an arsenal of legislation; a 1956 law was dedicated to re-ordering the functioning of the national library, and a 1966 a presidential decree effectively merged the national library with the national archive as one entity under the directive of the Ministry of Culture. This is seen to be a move that marginalised the role of the library as it simultaneously drained and incapacitated the national library. 1971 will see another presidential decree that merges both the library and the archives within a broader umbrella of the 'General Egyptian Book Organization'which acts a national publishing body. Not only legally, but also spatially, the library moved from its original *Bab al-Khalq* location to the Nile Corniche in *Boulaq*. The decision was taken in 1961, and the building was planned to be twenty-two floors high. The migration of the depositories occurred from 1971 to 1978 to the new and incomplete building. The building opened in the late seventies with only eight out of the twenty-two floors, and a three storey high annex that served as the national archives.

[5] The Regional Architectural Collection is only a small division which works under the lead archivist of the Rare Books Collection in the American University in Cairo, to acquire and preserve the collections of leading Egyptian architects. Alongside the archiving and exhibiting of the work, the archivists' work is predominantly focused on restoration of original plans and renderings, and some architectural models. The central core of the archive is the collection of world famous architect Hassan Fathi which was donated by his heirs in 1994. In 2004 Ramsis Wissa Wassef's family donated some of his collection. Wassef's work continued the same trend of neo-vernacular, local environmental architecture. In 2006 Sayid Karim's family donated all of his works to the RAC which marked a broadening of scope to include an explicit modernist movement in Egyptian architecture. The fourth collection was donated by Gamal Bakry's family after he passed away, and the most recent is Kamal Amin's, an Egyptian architect who is a student of Frank Lloyd Wright (Dalia Nabil; Curator, conservation specialist and archivist in (RAC)- Interview 12/4/2016.).

[6] On the use of vignettes see the prelude and the first vignette 'Exquisite Corpse' in (Zalewski, 2013, p. xvii-2)

also its subject; the sculpture is about *being in Khamasin*. It is about the dust storms in as much as it is about the peasant or the nation. The sculpture is of a woman walking against the wind. She is simultaneously wading forwards and being blown backwards, with an elbow to fence off the world. Mukhtar's peasant is in the windy dusty outside, rather than waging a fight against it in the domesticity of the interior[7]. She faces dust by wading through it, brushing it off while being pulled back, rather than controlling, cleansing, 'dusting', or vacuuming it as her modern counterpart[8].

I planned my 'designated' field research visit to end before the Khamasin season usually starts. This was reasonably planned to fit the regular academic commitments like yearly reviews and conferences. But, it was also to escape the season of dust. It seemed to be practical research planning to avoid the time when everything will be swept over with dust, and arrested by its enforced rhythm and temporality, when the city would come to a standstill by force of nature rather than by everyday traffic congestion.[9] I only started to think systematically about dust after fieldwork while I was in the very clean English countryside. Miles away from Cairo, dust appeared in all my fieldwork material. Dust, physical dust, was lingering on the shoes and clothes I usually wore in the archives. Dust, the word, appeared in all my fieldwork notes in different formats. I have been thinking about it, and writing about it way too much. I had managed to escape Khamasin but not its dust. In fact, it is almost all of what I had carried with me from the field research.

This exiting the field tactic echoes with defeating voices of escapism. In the end I write from 'clean' elsewhere on the 'dusty' city I come from. Altorki and El-Solh have written about the questions of methodology that haunt Arab women researching their own field (1988). To research one's own is to face a myriad of methodological spectres: are the motivations for research personal or academic (Altorki, 1988, p. 50)? Can they be separable? Is it guided by how much or how little we know? How are we complicit in this knowing/not-knowing? Why do we write? From where? And do we really ever exit the field?

My escape happened even before I started fieldwork. The more consequential escape from Cairo was taking a break from the city and moving elsewhere to conduct a doctoral research project on it. That happened after a roller coaster four years of an 'Arab Spring', where Cairo was centre-staged in terms of research in Middle East studies and beyond. Tahrir Square was brought to bear on corporeality (Butler, 2011), resonance (Gordillo, 2011), spatiality (Gregory, 2013), alongside the other traditional concerns of social movements and public space (Said, 2015). Throughout these years, scholars from and of Egypt navigated emotional as well as professional confusions, their (my?) everyday rhythm acquired new punctuations of violence in the streets, hopes and despair of the future, bitter contestations of memory, and a redefined relationship with death in everyday life.

'Bombing begets pedagogy' writes Inayatullah (2011, p. 1). Cairo at the time of the revolution was already risky, but it was resourceful, attractive and researchable (Abaza, 2011). Events, risky events, create a lack, a need of experts and expert discourses, and researchers stepped into it. My response to this lack, however, was to avoid the dance with this enigmatic explosion. For my doctoral research I avoided working on the Arab Spring, or continuing any of the animate research projects I was doing before, and that ebbed and flowed with an ever-present sense of urgency. I might have wanted to avoid the guilt of building a career on the

---

[7] On dust and the interior see: Stoppani, 2011, p. 51

[8] On the shifting significance of vacuum cleaners and other consumer goods in a post-1952 Egypt see: Bier, 2011, pp. 83–84

[9] On speed, slowness, and the temporality of dust and sand storms see: (Nieuwenhuis, 2017, forthcoming).

revolution.[10] Be that as it may, one cannot escape the dust storm. The revolution (and what followed) was characterised as an event (Badiou, 2012), a rupture in the spatiality of the city and the temporality of the state of national independence. It opened up a critical vantage point for scholars who seek to question the inheritance of the Egyptian post-colonial state. At the risk of overstating its effects, one might wonder if it is possible for any current research on the Middle East to be written outside of 2011's spring.

'Metaphors are political actors…they are never precise'(see for example: Jadaliyya Egypt Editors, 2016). The metaphor of the Arab Spring stuck, only to be qualified later with the 'so-called' prefix. In Egypt, a spring is the season of Khamasin, of dust storms, of renewed fear of the end of the world, and of difficulties in breathing. By the mid-2010s, Cairo was exhausting and exhausted (see for example: Bayat, 2015). I was escaping it. I had -as I would write later in my field notes- '*internalized an irrational apprehension towards my own city, and I have chosen to study it as means of reconciliation*'.[11]

Conducting clean research

> *Keeping safe personally, entails that I always feel guilty about the way I am conducting my research. I know I easily internalise the rules of dos and don'ts; hence I understand that I am not as a good researcher as I should be because I move around safe spaces fit for an Egyptian middle class girl. I have carried this not-good-enough feeling around before going on my PhD. I have never sought to overcome it by staging the performance of someone who I am not…. and hence I have also grown accustomed to swallowing up the annoying remarks of how I don't really know the city because I don't really experience its risks* [12]

January the 25th of 2016 marked the anniversary of the revolution. Being in Cairo on that day during fieldwork was paradoxical. This marked five years of the beginning of the revolution in Egypt; which meant that the academic sphere of scholars of the Middle East was thriving with informed articles and commemorative conferences (see for example: Jadaliyya Egypt Editors, 2016). The best intellectual capacities were busy trying to make sense of the tragic[13] five years of the Egyptian revolution. In the academic sphere, Egypt was in the centre stage as an object of analysis even if it was not on a happy note. In Cairo, however, it was clear that the revolution would not be remembered in the streets. The commemorative day of the revolution was preceded by a high profile presidential visit from a Chinese delegation ('China's Xi visits Egypt, offers financial, political support', 2016). To secure the convoys of presidential and diplomatic meetings, the streets of the city saw some of its most intensive security personnel presence, effectively bringing traffic to a standstill and diffusing a sense of emergency in the air. There were no calls for marches or protests. On January the 25th, 2016, the streets were abandoned, downtown turned into a ghost town, and nothing politically significant or risky occurred. Except that on this day a PhD researcher went missing. His body was found on February the 3rd with signs of torture. Until the moment when this article is being written all the facts around his absence, torture and murder remain scattered (Ragab & al-Marsafawi, 2016).

---

[10] On guilt and research ethics see Naeem Inayatullah's discussion of Elizabeth Dauphinee's The Politics of Exile ((Inayatullah, 2013, pp. 337–339)

[11] Field note, 4/10/2016.

[12] Fieldnote, 4/10/2016

[13] I follow Scott's conceptualisation of tragedy here. See: (Scott, 2014)

Death has an affinity with dust. Dust reminds us of death; perhaps this is why we dread it. It is 'the residue of discarded life'(Amato, 2000, p. 19). The tortured body and its fragmented story have stirred an academic storm from which the dust has not yet settled. For the first time in its history the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) issued a security alert on conducting research in Egypt stating that 'there is reason for serious concern regarding anyone's ability to carry out research safely'(MESA, 2016). Spin offs included concerns and worries about the state of knowledge production on the area, debates on mailing lists and in articles about researchers' security, risk, and responsibility of universities, and more proactively, initiatives for supporting scholars 'afield' (see for example: https://researchersafield.com/, and Scholars at Risk, 2016). Once the primary destination for researchers on the Arab World, Egypt as a node of a complex and old web of knowledge production about the region was quickly becoming inaccessible. At the heart of this shock and anxiety about academics at risk in the field lie not only the assumption that the field could be a risky environment (Lee-Treweek & Linkogle, 2000), but that the researcher's *own subjectivity* could be a source of risk. Research could be a risky process in itself and of itself.

While these and other debates raged, I was conducting my safe research in the same dangerous place appearing on the headlines and the mailing lists. I was paradoxically safe. I was safe, initially, because I promised to be careful. Before going on fieldwork, my institution as well as my supervisors exerted all the efforts to make sure that I was comfortable and felt safe in conducting research in my home. Even though I was a national of the country I was going to, I was also a student of a British university. So I wrote the ethics forms, and an additional safety plan. I disciplined my movement and my routine while being in Cairo in ways that I would not do if I were there on vacation. In short, I abided by all the risk management regulations set in western universities to deal with researchers in field. But I was also safe, because even though I was a student of a British university, I was also researching my own home city. There, I had learned how and when to move in the city, what clothes to wear, what means of transportations to use, and when I might need to use one of my privileges; class, education, or otherwise to avoid danger. My self-disciplining acts had deeper roots. In my research project I would like to question that disciplining effect of the city, however it operated uncontested in my everyday practice of conducting my research.

There is an ambivalent way in which danger works through research methodology. On one hand, it is the avoidance of harm (for the researcher and the research participants) that makes research ethical. On the other, the more the research avoids danger in risky environments, the cleaner it is, the more detached it becomes from the relationships of violence, and of the rubble and dust that constitutes the reality it claims to make an account of[14]. Taking risks mediates detachment and attachment, and inevitably finding a balance will be marred by one sense of guilt or the other. While a fellow researcher was missing, tortured, and dead, presumably because he conducted proper ethnographic field research; I was deploying a non-risky methodology and probing non- risky research questions. I constantly oscillate between belief in the relevance, and perhaps necessity, of being in the archive, not only as a source of knowledge, but as experiencing the field of the state's power (Stoler, 2002); and self-doubts about the pragmatism of this project, its relative security, its performativity of research normalcy. This paradox of normalcy wouldn't have glared at me in the face, had another researcher never went missing doing a different type of methodology. The archive instilled a rhythm. I still went to –almost held on to- the very dusty archives where time did not pass, where the regularity of the everyday continued as usual, where other foreign researchers walked around, alive, doing what they are supposed to do.

[14] See for example how danger is presented as double-sided in Lee-Treweek & Linkogle, 2000, p. 4.

'To stop running away from the dustbin of history'[15]

While I was escaping dust storms in the first vignette, I escaped to dust as metaphor for temporality in the second. However, that was not how I encountered it from the beginning. To position myself as a researcher entering a field, I experimented with the multiple hats available to me. I have tried to prepare for a re-encounter with Cairo as a research subject rather than my home city, through reading the methodological accounts of ethnographers researching their own communities (Altorki & El-Solh, 1988). I experimented with the researcher as a detached tourist first, noting everything while I am on the move *as if* it were new, and trying to recreate a sense of astonishment of rendering the familiar strange.[16] Except that the city is not only a research field. This is the theoretical premise of my research. The city is not a passive space, not a container, not a background for social relations (Lefebvre, 1991). Space is political and it constitutes who we politically are. In unsettling it, one unsettles one's self.

Inevitably, being on the move, led to tracing familiar routes and encountering voids and ruins where worlds once existed. In the first few weeks, for example, I wrote about how

> *'..the 1960s building of the National Democratic Party that was burnt in January the 28th, 2011, has been demolished during the summer and is now a sad pile of rubble, and the Nile front has been purged from the memory of the revolutionary intermission of 2011. The site of the building has created a physical memory void in the space of downtown, the riverfront, and the view from the 6th of October Bridge; the three vantage points it has been dominating as an oppressive space for about 50 years, and as a revolutionary icon for four.'*[17]

City spaces of the recent past were pulverised into dust; and ruination went along with whitewashing downtown. Both dust, and its effacement, meant a risk of forgetting. With the first drive through downtown the foreign researcher persona shrunk to reside dormant in a British University ID card.

Hence, in the first blogpost I wrote during my fieldwork, I regarded dust with utmost hostility. I almost wanted to fight it:

> *'I hate dust because it is the materiality of noise. It interrupts the presences and the voids of the city. It either covers the past or takes its place in its entirety. It settles on the surface of the buildings that are shut down. It is what remains of buildings that are torn down. Downtown is currently the opposite of the Gordillo's celebration of the square as a site of resonance'* (Nassar, 2016)

It is because of dust's capacity to pull out this implicated researcher from behind a researcher who really just wanted to get fieldwork right, that I have come to see it as methodologically resourceful. Stoppani argues for dust as a disruptive tool for exploring the city (2014, p. 117). Dust is what remains after, even if it is usually what is not accounted for in the future, even if it doesn't appear for architects' plans for the future. For example, in modern architectural planning- the same discourse I was interested in researching- dust is usually purged from future city plans (Stoppani, 2007b, p. 437). Modern architecture according to one of its pioneers would be 'a plenum that gathered and circulated sunlight and air '(Puryear, 1996, p. 11). Le Corbusier's modern city is one without dust, but with a white coat of paint (Bonnett, 2000). I saw the cleansing modern ambitions in the archives I was working on.[18] But

---

[15] The full quote is 'To make space in dust, while ridding ourselves of the expectation that the interstices would stay open indefinitely. To stop running away from the dustbin of history. To breath there, finally.' (Marder, 2016, p. 114)

[16] Field notes from 20/11/2015-6/12/2015.

[17] Field notes from 20/11/2015-6/12/2015.

[18] The archives I refer to are that of Arch. Sayed Karim, one of the lead Egyptian modernist architects and planners. He is regarded as leading a national modernist architectural practice; a practice that was influenced by

all the pictures of very clean and white architectural models were covered in dust. A ruinous condition that translated into the very city spaces I was moving through, and that were once modern utopian ambitions.

Dust therefore says something about temporality as well as spatiality. 'Dust has the air of destructible indestructibility, which is a circuitous way to say *time*' (Marder, 2016, p. 45 emphasis in original). In Arabic one of the meanings of dust (*ghabara*) is to pass, to go old, and to be in the past (Barak, 2012). Dust is thus intertwined with writing history, it stays and cannot go away, and it acts as a witness (Stoppani, 2014, p. 123) and as fragments of memory and oblivion (Stoppani, 2007a, pp. 545–546). It echoes our understanding of the archive as a system that represents 'any corpus of selective forgetting and collections' (Stoler, 2002, p. 94).

Dust, therefore, is paradoxical. It shelters the materiality of architecture, but it also corrodes it (Stoppani, 2007b, p. 439). It is both grounding and un-grounding.[19] It is fragmentary and unsettling, but also re-assuring. It will never go away. Dust is both of the earth and of the air. It holds the opposite meaning of change and not-going-away-ness, but without dichotomies, or ambiguity, rather 'perfect circularity' (Steedman, 2001, p. 160; Stoppani, 2007b, pp. 439, 445–446). Dust is both the material condition of the city and of its archive. It is reassuring in the ways it layers in the city and in the archival material. Within a short time, finding dust in the archive became synonymous with conducting research. I had a good research day if I ended up uncovering lots of dust. I first worked in the archives without ever reading 'Dust', Steedman's book on the archives (2001). It is only after the field visit, that I read her invocation of a philosophy of dust that is not necessarily about dispersal, but rather about history never going away (Steedman, 2001, p. 466). It was comforting to know that the past will never go away in the archive as she argues, even if it was slipping away in flux outside it. I used dust to compare different spaces of archives, different sources, different materials, to negotiate the light and darkness in which I was reading and working, and to think through the lingering scents my hands and clothes gathered every day. After a while, I would stop looking at the newspapers and magazines to watch someone wiping a table or mopping the floors with utmost fascination. I gradually stopped running away from it, and learned to breathe there, finally.

The dust of the archives: Prayer mats and white gloves

A temple, a cemetery
Shadows and footprints inscribed on paper
With a seal of secrecy
Concealed in half-light
A labyrinth of building and documents
Death is an architectural event

A trade with Death
To thwart the dispersion of these traces
All would be heirs to a time;
woven together by the archive
To bring the dead back to life
in fantasy
Less to remember than to forget

international discourses at the time, including the works of Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright and Mies van der Rohe, which were being translated into Arabic and incorporated in university curricula.

[19] The author is grateful to reviewers for bringing the opposing qualities of un-grounding, and uprooting to bear on earlier formulations here.

The curious thing is
the long-held belief that
the state rested on something
other than to free itself
from one or another debt.[20]

Mbembe's text, on which this poem is founded, invites us to look at the spectral presence of the archive, its imaginary as a space for death, remembrance and forgetting, as well as its implication with the sovereign space and time of the state. The space of the archive is a space that houses the enigma of sovereign power (Lobo-Guerrero, 2013, p. 123), it is also a space where one encounters sovereignty's everyday 'mundane texture' of paper and ink (Hallet & Fine, 2003, p. 2). The archive is a monument of the state, and a technology of rule, and that both conceals and reveals power as Stoler has argued (2002, p. 97). It is also the bureaucracy of the government of paper, of deciding on the line separating the excessive, and the allowed amount of photocopies and scans, of budgetary negotiations for fixing a broken microfilm viewing machine, of bargaining for days-off, and of filling in forms and neglecting them as they pile up and collect dust.

I first approached the idea of considering archival work with uneasiness. I knew that the archives of the post-colonial-state are mired by neglect, gaps and inconsistencies (Basu & De Jong, 2016; Mbembe, 2002). I even knew that that a history of the recent past is a 'history without documents'. A history without documents refers both to the absence (or inaccessibility) of the formal archive, as well as the alternative histories we conjure, to fill in the archive as a constitutive imagination (Di-Capua, 2009; El Shakry, 2015). The material ruination of the past, the actual withering away of paper, along with the physical demolition of the city, the literal death of a researcher, came together to form an evocative image of loss, lack and absence (Meier, Frers, & Sigvardsdotter, 2013; Stoler, 2013).

Rather than dismissing this image of loss as just a personal nostalgic sentiment, Mbembe reminds us how this is embedded in a sovereign power of the state to consume time, neutralise the past, and write a new history afresh (Mbembe, 2002), in short the preservation or neglect of the archive is political. In the absence of an accessible state archive, archival material is pulverised, fragmented and spread around personal collections and family memorabilia, to be woven long with multiple registers. Among these, I alternated most of the time between the national library (*Dar al-Kutub)*, and the 'Regional Architectural Collection (RAC)', a division under the rare books collection, in the 'American University in Cairo (AUC)'.

***

Dar Al-Kutub has a record of all the newspapers and periodicals and –in principle- every book ever printed in Egypt. It requires no permissions or fees to access. It houses no secrets. This is in contrast with its sister institution, the National Archive, which would require a security clearance and a research proposal.

> '*There are ambivalent facades of securitisation. There are metal detectors that do not work, and rolling spoke gates, and three security men at the gate who do not search my bags. I have to pass by a concierge who takes my*

[20] Found Poem based on (Mbembe, 2002). On found poetry as creative analytical practice see (Prendergast, 2006). The poem was developed within the workshop 'Creative analytic writing as an orthogonal method to the scientific style', The Social Theory Centre and Warwick Politics and Performance Network with Elina Penttinen, September 15, 2016.

national [Egyptian] ID and gives me a security authorisation (which is practically a numbered plastic ticket) in return.' [21]

My national ID states that I am a member of staff in Cairo University- which is also true, it grants me an assuring sense that I am a completely legitimate subject of the Library. I find it convenient to stick to my Cairo University identity and to forget to mention to the curious employees that I am affiliated with a British University. In contrast to Dar Al-Kutub; the AUC's securitisation is not ambivalent in any way. The Campus recently relocated from downtown Cairo to the Fifth Settlement, the new eastern extension of Cairo (On Cairo's desert expansions see Sims, 2014), and it is clearly gated with multiple security stop points. I have always had issues of accessibility as a visitor who is not affiliated to the university, a non-AUCian outsider. In contrast to a governmental institution, here my Cairo University affiliation is not as helpful as showing the security personnel my British University ID. Once granted an AUC library card, my outsider status is resolved; and the ritual of accessibility is almost invisible and uneventful. I do not need to enact my entitlement to my identity as a researcher any more.

I wanted to become equally visible inside the archive, that is, to make my presence there comfortable, commonplace, and almost at home. To be as close as possible to the image of the researcher that each institution invokes. The second task was to make the archive itself visible, and in that I looked for its dust.

'Interesting theory tells us to give due attention to the materiality of the Archive. In Dar al-Kutub, this materiality hits me in the face…there is dust of course. But there is also this machine that I encounter for the first time, with the roller handle broken, and with my hand on the zooming lens to play along a very shabby picture of a newspaper that is only 50 years old. The machine has the smell of old metal and dust, which will linger on my hand for the rest of the day, and the light coming from the window makes a glare that doesn't help vision. '[22]

In the following days I came to understand that light, darkness, and dust are not just auxiliary materialities of the library's archive, but are the constitutive lines through which the interaction between researchers, their research material, and the administrative employees is carved.

'In the following days I got the chance to take a better look at the room I was staying in. All the machines had thick prayer mats on them, stabilised by some books and magazines on top of the screens, and the staff referred to them as curtains. Besides their original function as prayer mats for the staff, they also serve to dim the screens in the bright room. Prayer mats are small rugs and are the perfect medium to smell dust, if a researcher is on a machine next to the window; s/he might consider diving underneath it and accepting some dust for necessary darkness …there is a tension that revolves around the light, and the dusty prayer mats help resolve it by offering readers the darkness they need to see- even with cracks of light creeping in and hiding the history laid bare on the screen, while at the same time offering the staff the brightness they need -and regard as their due- to be able to socialise together killing the hours away.' [23]

In Dar al-Kutub, dust piled on my hands, clothes, and bags, even though I worked through microfilms and did not access historical documents. The physical copies of the newspapers themselves where supposed to be protected from the ruining hands of the researchers. The documents I accessed in the library were publications rather than original state documents; and

---

[21] Field notes from 20/11/2015-6/12/2015.

[22] Field notes from 20/11/2015-6/12/2015.

[23] Ibid.

they were material that was most probably politically pre-approved for publication, and thus represent the propaganda of the time. It is then when reading the archive along its grain (Stoler, 2009) becomes the only mode to make sense of the power that arranged and ordered the past in this way. In Dar al-Kutub you wade through the dust, you know through darkness, not through light, and the material you access is disintegrated by the hundreds of researchers before you.

***

> *'One of the things about the AUC is the quite remarkable lack of dust, even though it is surrounded by the desert. When I come in the early morning the floors of the significantly large campus are washed clean...I have to wear white cotton gloves all the time, while handling the collection.* '[24]

The American University in Cairo is not an Egyptian public institution like the national library or the national archive, and that means less bureaucracy and more financial capacities. The archival sources I work on in the RAC are significantly different than the newspaper, magazine, and the publication archive of Dar al-Kutub, since its domain is more curatorial than archival. Not everything ends in the archive (Steedman, 2001). The collection I was primarily interested in was still neither sorted nor catalogued. As far as I know I was the second researcher to look into the boxes, and some of the material I might have been the first one to look at. Everyone in the RAC wore white cotton gloves all the time while handling the collection. This created a very different relationship with the archival material itself. Despite being mediated by gloves, it seems more 'authentic', more 'real' than the worn out copies of microfilmed mass-produced public material. I unfolded some of architect's work and documents as they have been boxed by family members. There were no microfilm machines, and no call numbers (yet) that shroud the material behind a rationale of order and categorisation. In fact, part of my time spent in the archive was to do a short volunteering work of documenting and sorting some boxes of the collection, and hence question first-hand the logics of separation and relation of these collected things. The dust I gathered in this archive was not of the endless number of researchers before me. It was not of an ignored state of cleanliness of the archive. It was the dust of the collection itself, a new and fresh dust of a dead architect.

> With the exception of Amin's, these collections were all acquired by the RAC after the death of the architect, and I felt we were *doing a job similar to an undertaker*. But I wanted a different role to the RAC than simply an archive… I was uncomfortable of the idea of me working as an archivist. The image one has of the archive is a clerk who is *buried under dust*, and *who works with files that pile dust*. *You have seen the dust, haven't you?* This assumes that the collection is dead, and I am against that. Just because the architect is dead does not make his/her collection dead, they are a continuation to the choices s/he made in his/her life. These are living things.[25]

The dead architect is like Walter Benjamin's collector struggling against the inevitable dispersion of his traces (Benjamin, 2002, p. 211). I understand that the privileged access I had to the yet-to be sorted collection allowed me to grasp it as such: as a collection. To touch – literally- the ways through which one architect who had access and power to shape the city chose to assemble, and replicate himself, his work, his opinions, his plans, drafts and clutter

[24] Field notes, 28/12/2015.

[25] Dalia Nabil; Curator, conservation specialist and archivist in (RAC)- Interview 12/4/2016 (my emphasis).

into a collection. Steedman describes this as a moment of 'extreme satisfaction', of untying and undoing, of reading papers that tell the reader that what she is reading was not intended to be read by her (Steedman, 2001, p. 74). The physical contact with that particular dust, eventually fed into my own perception of self as a field researcher, who is finding out 'things', dusting them, bringing them to light, and returning them back to their boxes.

Conclusion

I have found that as soon as I started thinking in terms of dust as the very material characteristic of Cairo; the less guilt I felt while writing about the city. Dust always related to how I conducted myself in the field, how I waded through it, usually not knowing where I am heading, or trying to escape some fearful memory or present tragedy. I usually wrote about dust in the instances when I was forced to question my subjectivity as a researcher and citizen in the field. Through this personal account of methodology, I want to argue for reconciliation with the materiality of fieldwork, and an attention to the material grains of our field environments and the multiple ways they make, and disrupt our subjectivities as field researchers.

Moreover, I can only imagine that a form of writing about fieldwork methodologies in spaces of hazard, in the study of politics, will have to call on a personal discourse. This autobiographical incision troubles what Inayatullah calls a 'fictive distancing', where the academic writer is both present and absent in the text (Inayatullah, 2011, pp. 4–5). Strausz argues that this fictive distancing allows for the fixity of the authority of the knowing subject, and that this fixity in turn is reinforced by the everyday practices of academic life; reading, speaking, thinking and writing (Strausz, 2013, p. 3). Indeed, I also add that being in the field plays a role in fixating this knowing subject. Fieldwork as an orchestrated experience of 'being there' reinforces our claims for a specific authority of knowledge. We *know* because we have been *there* (Steedman, 2001, p. 145), and we are writing *here*. Dust allows me to traverse my troubling relationship between here and there, without promising to resolve it. It allows me to address fieldwork instances in a way that facilitates – even begs for – an autobiographical writing about methodology. That is a mode that makes space for an 'I' that is often purged out of academic manuscripts, and that reclaims a subjective voice that writing on being in the field needs. In the end, field *reports* come from field *diaries*.

Besides fixating our subjectivities as knowers; being in the field also works as a disruptive event. Rather than being an experience brought about by a knowing subject, the field troubles this persona, even while conducting, ethical and safe research. Reflexivity is never a finished project. While dust has helped me already to write a methodological personal story of a material element through which I can reflect on my being in the field, I still have not escaped the desire to use it as a claim to an academic experience. The white dusty glove and a wade through a dust storm, both remain seductive imageries.

Theoretically, therefore, writing *with* a metaphysics of dust poses even more subjective challenges. Dust is always in flux, in perfect circularity of eroding, shedding, and picking up materiality. Dust storms flow globally and carry the very earth in an act of global worlding. Dust is both of the earth and air (Amato, 2000, p. 1; Nieuwenhuis, 2017, forthcoming). As such, it problematises our tendency to think of life as divided between a solid ground and a swirling air, which reinforces the agency/materiality binary (Ingold, 2011, pp. 73–74). I have argued that to make sense of the researcher's agency in the field, we have to account for the materiality in which we are entangled. I have, however, not resolved how - and to what extent- we might want to swirl with dust storms rather than settle temporarily, that is, before getting picked up again and swept to other fields.

Acknowledgements:
This article is indebted to long and generous conversations with, comments from, and recommendations of James Brassett, Jack Copley Mohamed Ezzeldin, Tereza Jermanová, Marijn Nieuwenhuis, Nicola Pratt, Te-Anne Robles, and Erzsébet Strausz. The hospitality of Dalia Nabil and Ahmed Osman (RAC). I would also like to thank Emad Abou Ghazi for his permission to reproduce pictures from Mahmoud Mokhtar's archive, Alistair Bonnett, and Anthony Iles for their help, and Julten Abdelhalim, Monique Marks, the two reviewers, and the participants in International KOSMOS Workshop 'Identity, Agency and Fieldwork Methodologies in Risky Environments'.

Works cited:

Abaza, M. (2011, September 26). Academic tourists sight-seeing the Arab Spring. *Ahram Online*. Retrieved from http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/22373.aspx

Abu-Lughod, J. (1971). *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Altorki, S. (1988). At Home in the Field. In S. Altorki & C. F. El-Solh (Eds.), *Arab Women in the Field* (pp. 49–68). Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press.

Altorki, S., & El-Solh, C. F. (Eds.). (1988). *Arab women in the field : studying your own society*. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press.

Amato, J. A. (2000). *Dust: A History of the Small and the Invisible*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Badiou, A. (2012). *The Rebirth of History: Times of Riots and Uprisings*. Verso.

Barak, O. (2012). 'Egyptian Dust: The Social Life of Endangered Spaces'. In X. Nikolskaya, *Dust: Egypt's Forgotten Architecture*. London: Dewi Lewis Publishing.

Baron, B. (2005). *Egypt as a Woman* (1st ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Basu, P., & De Jong, F. (2016). Utopian archives, decolonial affordances Introduction to special issue. *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale*, *24*(1), 5–19.

Bataille, G., Lebel, R., Waldberg, I., Brotchie, A., White, I., & society), A. (Secret. (1995). *Encyclopaedia Acephalica: Comprising the Critical Dictionary & Related Texts*. Atlas Press.

Bayat, A. (2015, January 25). Revolution and despair. *Mada Masr*. Retrieved from http://www.madamasr.com/opinion/revolution-and-despair

Benjamin, W. (2002). Convolute H: The Collector. In H. Eiland & K. McLaughlin (Trans.), *The Arcades Project*. Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Bier, L. (2011). *Revolutionary Womanhood: Feminisms, Modernity, and the State in Nasser's Egypt*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bonnett, A. (2000). Dust (1). In S. Pile & N. Thrift (Eds.), *City A-Z* (pp. 62–63). London and New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (2011). *Bodies in Alliance and the Politics of the Street*. Lecture, Bryn Mawr College. Retrieved from http://www.eipcp.net/transversal/1011/butler/en

China's Xi visits Egypt, offers financial, political support. (2016, January 21). *Reuters*. Retrieved from http://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-china-idUSKCN0UZ05I

Crane-Seeber, J. P. (2013). Learning by Feeling. In M. B. Salter & C. E. Mutlu (Eds.), *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An Introduction* (pp. 72–76). London and New York: Routledge.

Di-Capua, Y. (2009). *Gatekeepers of the Arab Past: Historians and History Writing in Twentieth-Century Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

El Shakry, O. (2015). AHR Roundtable: 'History without Documents': The Vexed Archives of Decolonization in the Middle East. *American Historical Review*, 920–934.

Gershoni, I., & Jankowski, J. P. (2004). *Commemorating the Nation: Collective Memory, Public Commemoration, and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Egypt*. Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center.

Golia, M. (2004). *Cairo : city of sand*. London: Reaktion Books.

Goodfield, E. (2008). From the Editor. *Khamasin*, (1), ii.

Gordillo, G. (2011, February 6). Resonance and the Egyptian Revolution. Retrieved from http://spaceandpolitics.blogspot.co.uk/2011/02/resonance-and-egyptian-revolution.html

Gregory, D. (2013). Tahrir: Politics, Publics, and Performances of Space. *Middle East Critique*, *22*(3), 235–246.

Hallet, T., & Fine, G. A. (2003). Dust: A Study in Sociological Miniaturism. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *44*(1), 1–15.

Inayatullah, N. (ed.). (2011). *Autobiographical international relations : I, IR*. London and New York: Routledge.

Inayatullah, N. (2013). Pulling Threads: Intimate systemicity in The Politics of Exile. *Security Dialogue*, *44*(4), 331–345.

Ingold, T. (2011). *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*. Routledge. Retrieved from https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=IaaOQwAACAAJ

Jadaliyya Egypt Editors. (2016, January 25). January 25 at Five. Retrieved from http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/23692/january-25-at-five

Lee-Treweek, G., & Linkogle, S. (2000). *Danger in the Field: Risk and Ethics in Social Research*. London and New York: Routledge.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.). Oxford: Blackwell publishing.

Lobo-Guerrero, L. (2013). Archives. In M. B. Salter & C. E. Mutlu (Eds.), *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies: An introduction* (pp. 121–124). London and New York: Routledge.

Marder, M. (2016). *dust*. New York and London: Bloomsbury.

Mbembe, A. (2002). The Power of the Archive and its Limits. In C. Hamilton, V. Harris, J. Taylor, M. Pickover, G. Reid, & R. Saleh (Eds.), J. Inggs (Trans.), *Refiguring the Archive* (pp. 19–26). Dordrect, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Meier, L., Frers, L., & Sigvardsdotter, E. (2013). The importance of absence in the present: practices of remembrance and the contestation of absences. *Cultural Geographies*, *20*, 423–430.

MESA. (2016, February 10). Security Alert for Study and Research in Egypt. Retrieved from http://mesana.org/about/board-letters-statements.html#Egypt-Security-Alert

Moon, C. D. (2003, November 11). 'Hell' Alamein. *BBC- History-WW2 People's War: An Archive of World War Two memories- El Alamein 1942*. Retrieved 15 September 2016, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/stories/88/a2017388.shtml

Nassar, A. (2016, January 10). On Townhouse gallery and dust as a condition of the city. Retrieved 18 September 2016, from https://ayasmargins.wordpress.com/2016/01/10/on-townhouse-gallery-and-dust-as-a-condition-of-the-city/

Nieuwenhuis, M. (2017, forthcoming). A grain of sand against a world of territory: experiences of sand and sandscapes in China. In K. Peters, P. Steinberg & E. Stratford (eds.), *Terra beyond Territory*. Rowman & Littlefield

Nieuwenhuis, M. (2016). The emergence of materialism in geography: Belonging and being, space and place, sea and land. *Social Science Information*, *55*(3), 300–320.

Prendergast, M. (2006). Found Poetry as Literature Review: Research Poems on Audience and Performance. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *12*(2), 369–388.

Puryear, E. C. (1996). Dust in the machine: Le Corbusier's Gaffite à Cap Martin. *Inventory*, *1*(2), 10–29.

Ragab, A., & al-Marsafawi, M. (2016, July 3). Giulio Regeni: Scattered Facts. Retrieved from http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/24019/giulio-regeni_scattered-facts

Said, A. (2015). We ought to be here: Historicizing space and mobilization in Tahrir Square. *International Sociology*, *30*(4), 348–366.

Salam, M. S. A., & Sowelim, M. A. (1967). Dust deposits in the city of Cairo. *Atmospheric Environment (1967)*, *1*(3), 211–220.

Scholars at Risk. (2016). *Free to think*. New York: Scholars at Risk network: New York University.

Scott, D. (2014). *Omens of Adversity: Tragedy, Time, Memory, Justice*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Seggerman, A. D. (2014). Mahmoud Mukhtar: 'The first sculptor from the land of sculpture'. *World Art*, (1), 27–46.

Sims, D. (2010). *Understanding Cairo: a Logic of a City out of Control*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Sims, D. (2014). *Egypt's Desert Dreams: Development or Disaster?* Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Singerman, D. (Ed.). (2009). *Cairo Contested: governance, Urban Space and Global Modernity*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Singerman, D., & Amar, P. (Eds.). (2006). *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture and Urban Space*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Squire, V. (2013). 'Attuning to mess', in Salter, M. and Mutlu, C. Research methods in critical security studies (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 37-41. In M. B. Salter & C. E. Mutlu (Eds.), *Research methods in critical security studies* (pp. 37–41). Abingdon: Routledge.

Steedman, C. (2001). *Dust*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Stoler, A. L. (2002). Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance. *Archival Science*, (2), 87–109.

Stoler, A. L. (2009). Along the archival grain. *Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stoler, A. L. (ed.). (2013). *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Stoppani, T. (2007a). Dust projects: on Walter Benjamin's Passagen- Werk and some contemporary dusty makings in architecture. *The Journal of Architecture*, *12*(4), 543–557.

Stoppani, T. (2007b). Dust revolutions. Dust, informe, architecture (notes for a reading of Dust in Bataille). *The Journal of Architecture*, *12*(4), 437–447.

Stoppani, T. (2011). Dust, vacuum cleaners, (war) machines and the disappearance of the interior. *Idea Journal: Interior Economics*, 50–59.

Stoppani, T. (2014). Antigone's Dissident Dustings: Coatings, Revolutions and the Circularity of Dust. In I. Weizman (Ed.), *Architecture and the Paradox of Dissidence* (Vol. 9). London and New York: Routledge.

Strausz, E. (2013). Being in Discourse with Foucault: The Practice of Life. *Theory & Event*, *16*(4).

Zalewski, M. (2013). *Feminist International Relations: Exquisite Corpse*. London and New York: Routledge.

Figures:

Figure 1: Mahmoud Mukhtar, *Khamasin*. Pictures archive of Mahmoud Mukhtar. Curtsey of Dr. Emad Abu Ghazi