



MEI presents

# Whither the Gulf?

Accomplishments,  
Challenges & Dangers

19-20 May 2011

[Shangri-La Hotel](#), Singapore

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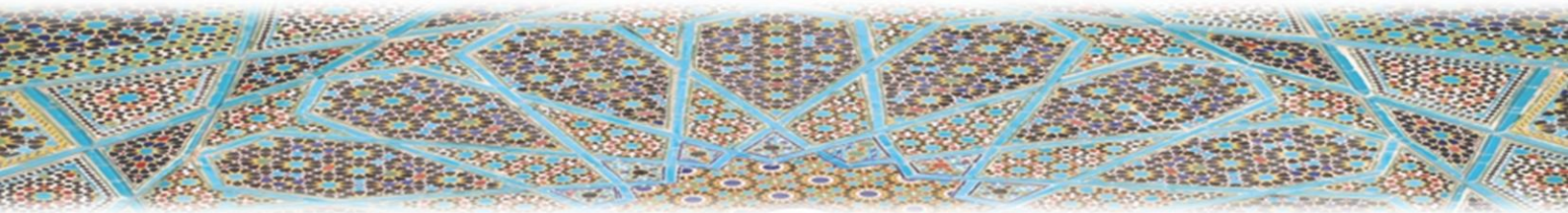
Middle East Institute



**NUS**  
National University  
of Singapore

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## Welcome

MEI's flagship symposium, "Whither the Gulf?" is an academic conference with important policy implications. It will feature about 40 distinguished & emerging scholars from Asia, the Middle East, & the West, from a variety of academic disciplines.

The Gulf is a site of historical & contemporary convergences between Asia & the Middle East. Given increasing points of juncture resulting from markets, technological advances, shared interests, & increased capabilities & awareness, these relations will only increase in the coming years. Facilitating a forum for collaboration & research will undoubtedly benefit a range of interested observers in Singapore.

The purpose of the conference is to assess current political, economic and social developments in this vital region comprising the Arab Gulf Cooperation Council states, Iraq, and Iran. The Gulf area lends itself to scholarly assessment from a wide range of disciplines. Through sociological, strategic, and economic approaches, *inter alia*, a nuanced understanding of the accomplishments, challenges, and dangers facing the Gulf may emerge.

## Special Thanks to our Sponsors

Our sponsors have helped make our annual conference and the accompanying concert possible. We are grateful for their generous support and hope that it will mark the beginning of an ongoing relationship with these important institutions of Singaporean society.

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## The Middle East Institute

MEI was established in 2007 as an autonomous research organization, with a mission to become the research and academic hub of Middle East studies in Southeast Asia. Our researchers hail from the major disciplines of the social sciences and humanities to develop scholarship and debate in three broad areas: politics & security, economics & business, and society & culture.

## The National University of Singapore

Considered among the best universities in the world, NUS boasts 22 research institutes and maintains ties with international institutions such as Duke University, Technische Universitat Munchen, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, and JFK School of Government at Harvard University. NUS is the quintessence of a global university.

### Our People

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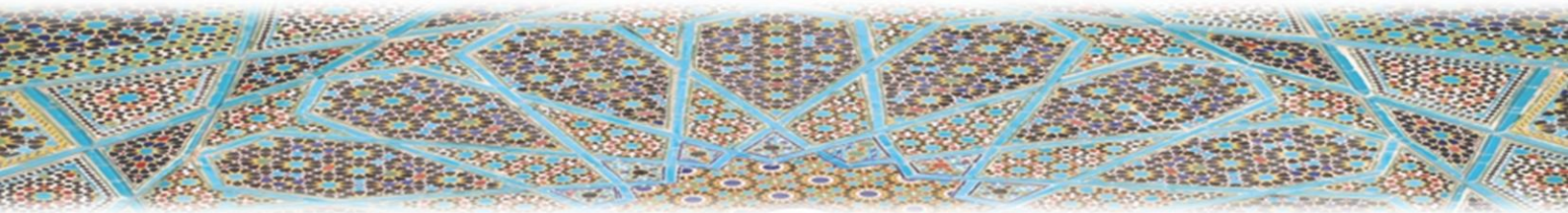
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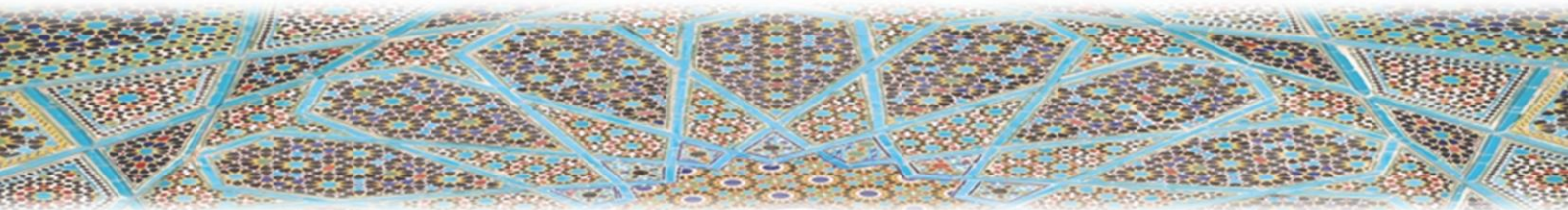






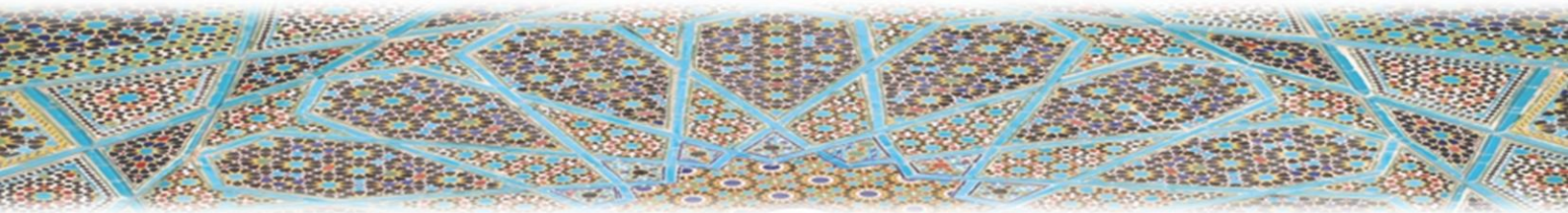
Start	End		
Thursday 19 May 2011			
8:00		<u>Registration will be open throughout the conference</u> <i>Level 1, Foyer, Island/Tower Ballroom, Shangri-La Hotel</i>	
8:30	8:45	Opening Remarks by MEI Director <u>Dr Michael C Hudson</u> <i>Tower Ballroom</i>	
8:45	10:45	<b>P1: The Strategic Context</b> ( <a href="#">abstracts</a> ) <b>Chair: <u>Amb Gopinath Pillai</u></b>   Institute of South Asian Studies, NUS <i>(Tower Ballroom)</i>	
		<u>Dr Gregory Gause</u>   University of Vermont	<i>American Policy in the Persian Gulf: From Balance of Power to Failed Hegemony</i>
		<u>Dr Alain Gresh</u>   Le Monde Diplomatique	<i>Neither East, nor West? The Gulf in a post-American World</i>
		<u>Dr Degang Sun</u>   Shanghai International Studies University	<i>Bridgehead for Power Projection: US Military Bases in the Gulf and the Dynamics of Redeployment</i>
		<u>HE Dr Abdulrahman Hamad Al-Saeed</u>   Royal Court of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	<i>The View from Saudi Arabia</i>
10:45	11:00	<b>Tea Break</b> <i>Foyer</i>	
11:00	13:00	<b>P2: Governance: The Challenge of Democratization</b> ( <a href="#">abstracts</a> ) <b>Chair: <u>Dr Michael C Hudson</u></b>   The Middle East Institute <i>(Tower Ballroom)</i>	
		<u>Dr Aftab Kamal Pasha</u>   Jawaharlal Nehru University	<i>An Indian Perspective on Governance and Democratization in the GCC States</i>
		<u>Dr Abdulkhaleq Abdulla</u>   United Arab Emirates University	<i>The Urgency of Political Reform in the Arab Gulf States</i>
		<u>Dr David Mednicoff</u>   University of Massachusetts	<i>Whither the Rule of Law in the Contemporary Arab Gulf?</i>
		<u>Dr Munira Fakhro</u>   University of Bahrain	<i>The Uprising in Bahrain</i>





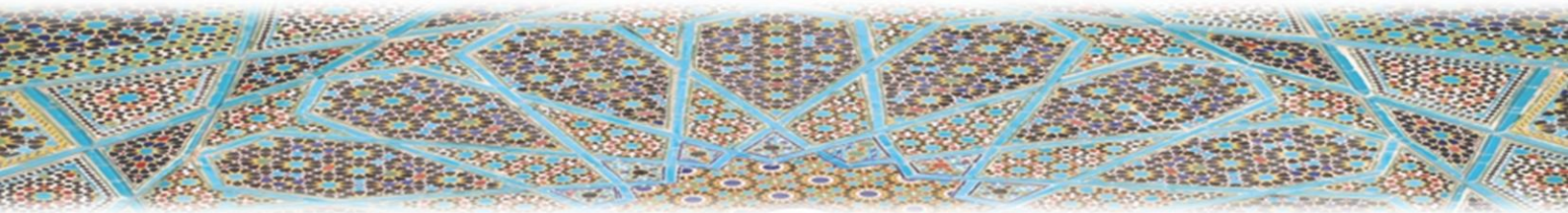
13:00	14:00	<div>Lunch</div> <div>Keynote Address: <a href="#">Mr Bilahari Kausikan</a>, Permanent Secretary, Singapore</div> <div>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</div> <div>Tower Ballroom</div>	
14:00	16:00	<div>P3A: Economic Trends &amp; Development (<a href="#">abstracts</a>)</div> <div>Chair: <a href="#">Mr Anthony SC Teo</a>   Nanyang Technological University</div> <div>(Tower Ballroom)</div>	
		<a href="#">Dr Steffen Hertog</a>   London School of Economics	<i>Rentier States without Rentiers: Redesigning the Distributional Bargain in the Gulf</i>
		<a href="#">Mr James Redman</a>   The University of Utah	<i>The Dynamics of Distribution in the Gulf: The Impact of Selective Allocations of Agency and Bureaucratic Accessibility in Kuwait</i>
		<a href="#">Dr Marc Valeri</a>   University of Exeter	<i>State-Business Relations in the GCC: The Role of the Business Actors in the Decision-making Process of Reform</i>
		<a href="#">Dr N Janardhan</a>   Political Analyst, UAE	<i>Towards Sustainable Growth: The Economic Diversification-Knowledge Economy Link</i>
		<div>P3B: Landscapes, Seascapes &amp; Valuescapes (<a href="#">abstracts</a>)</div> <div>Chair: <a href="#">Ms Camille Germanos</a>   Middle East Institute</div> <div>(Pink and White Azalea Room)</div>	
		<a href="#">Dr Tim Kennedy</a>   American University of Sharjah	<i>Encoded Visions: The Floating Life of Dubai Creek</i>
		<a href="#">Dr Samia Rab</a>   American University of Sharjah	<i>Seascape Urbanism in the Gulf</i>
		<a href="#">Mr Kevin Smith</a>   University of California, Davis	<i>Misty Materialities: Dubai, Mythic History, and the Burj Khalifa</i>
		<a href="#">Mr Omer Ali Saifudeen</a>   Ministry of Home Affairs	<i>The Game: The Content and Discourse in websites of Iraqi Insurgent Groups and the Reconstruction of Perceived Political and Social Agendas</i>
<div>Tea Break</div> <div>Foyer</div>			





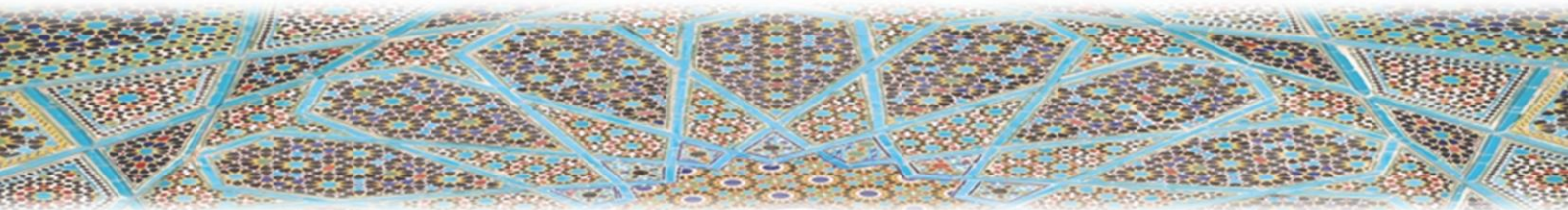
16:15	18:15	<b>P4: Convergences: Southeast Asia &amp; the Gulf</b> ( <a href="#">abstracts</a> ) <b>Chair: <a href="#">Dr Prasenjit Duara</a></b>   National University of Singapore (Tower Ballroom)	
		<b><a href="#">Dr Zheng Yongnian</a></b>   East Asian Institute, NUS	<i>Governance: China and the Arab World</i>
		<b><a href="#">Dr Tim Niblock</a></b>   University of Exeter	<i>Southeast Asia and the Gulf: Convergence and Competition in the Wider Asian Context</i>
		<b><a href="#">Mr Ismail Farjie Alatas</a></b>   University of Michigan	<i>Between Abu Dhabi and Java: Mobility and Narrative of a Hadrami Family</i>
		<b><a href="#">Dr Jacqueline Armijo</a></b>   Qatar University	<i>Turning East: The Social and Cultural Implications of the Gulf's Increasingly Strong Economic and Strategic Relations with China</i>
18:15	18:30	<b>Closing Remarks: <a href="#">HE Dr Abdulrahman Hamad Al-Saeed</a></b>   Advisor to the Royal Court of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	
<b>Free Evening</b>			





Start	End		
Friday 20 May 2011			
8:00		<u>Registration will be open throughout the entirety of the conference</u> Level 1, Foyer, Island / Tower Ballroom, Shangri-La Hotel	
8:45	10:45	<b>P5: Whither Iraq?</b> ( <a href="#">abstracts</a> ) <b>Chair: <a href="#">Dr Syed Farid Alatas</a></b>   National University of Singapore (Tower Ballroom)	
		<b><a href="#">Dr Toby Dodge</a></b>   University of London	<i>Iraq's National Pact, the Civil War and the Future</i>
		<b><a href="#">Dr Raad Alkadiri</a></b>   PFC Global Risk	<i>The Fate of the Post-War Political Order in Iraq</i>
		<b><a href="#">Dr Joseph Sassoon</a></b>   Georgetown University	<i>Iraqi Economics: From Saddam to Future Plans</i>
		<b><a href="#">Dr Cherine Chams El-Dine</a></b>   Cairo University	<i>Business Elites and the Emergent Political Process in post-Saddam Hussein Iraq</i>
10:45	11:00	<b>Tea Break</b> Foyer	
11:00	13:00	<b>P6: Whither Iran?</b> ( <a href="#">abstracts</a> ) <b>Chair: <a href="#">Amb Ong Keng Yong</a></b>   Institute of Policy Studies, NUS (Tower Ballroom)	
		<b><a href="#">Dr Juan Cole</a></b>   University of Michigan	<i>Challenges and Opportunities for Iran and the New Middle East</i>
		<b><a href="#">Dr Mahmood Sariolghalam</a></b>   Shahid Beheshti National University in Tehran	<i>Sources of Continuity in Iran's Foreign Policy Behaviour</i>
		<b><a href="#">Dr Jeongmin Seo</a></b>   Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul	<i>The Iranian Nuclear Issue and the Arab Media Response</i>
13:00	14:00	<b>Lunch</b> Film Screening: Floating Life on Dubai Creek by <a href="#">Tim Kennedy</a> Tower Ballroom	





14:00	16:00	<b>P7A: Asians Living &amp; Working in the Gulf</b> ( <a href="#">abstracts</a> ) Chair: <a href="#">Dr Md Mizanur Rahman</a>   Institute of South Asian Studies, NUS (Tower Ballroom)	
		<a href="#">Dr Ami Angell</a>   Nanyang Technological University, Singapore	<i>The Issue of Human Trafficking and Modern-day Slavery in the GCC States</i>
		<a href="#">Dr Neha Vora</a>   Texas A&M University	<i>Urban Citizenship and Dubai’s Indian Diaspora</i>
		<a href="#">Dr Gwenn Okruhlik</a>   Trinity University	<i>Politics of Perception: Cultural Insecurity and Foreign Labor in the Arab Gulf</i>
		<a href="#">Dr Attiya Ahmad</a>   Wesleyan University	<i>Conversion to Islam or Becoming Muslim? Da’wa, Domestic Work and South Asian Migrant Women in Kuwait</i>
		<b>P7B: Whither the Gulf Cooperation Council?</b> ( <a href="#">abstracts</a> ) Chair: <a href="#">Mr James M Dorsey</a>   Middle East Institute (Pink and White Azalea Room)	
		<a href="#">Dr Christian Koch</a>   Gulf Research Center	<i>The Changing International Relations of the Gulf Region</i>
		<a href="#">Dr John Duke Anthony</a>   Georgetown University	
		<a href="#">Dr Martin Hvidt</a>   University of Southern Denmark	<i>The Development Trajectory of the GCC States: an Analysis of Aims and Visions in Current Development Plans</i>
		<a href="#">Dr Malik Dahlan</a>   Institution Quraysh	
Tea Break Foyer			
16:15	18:15	<b>P8: Social Trends, Cultural Challenges &amp; Educational Development</b> ( <a href="#">abstracts</a> ) Chair: <a href="#">Amb Tommy Koh</a>   Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore (Tower Ballroom)	
		<a href="#">Mr Sultan Sooud Al Qassemi</a>   Dubai School of Government	<i>Social Networking and the Arab Spring</i>
		<a href="#">Dr Hatoon Ajwad Al-Fassi</a>   King Saud University	<i>Saudi Women: Power and Resistance</i>
		<a href="#">Dr Peter Heath</a>   American University of Sharjah	<i>Recent Trends in Higher Education and Research in the Arabian Gulf</i>
		<a href="#">Dr Adel Iskandar</a>   Georgetown University	<i>Immunity, Impunity, and Community? The Precarious and Combustive Terrain of New Media in the Gulf</i>
<a href="#">MEI Presents Marcel Khalife</a>			



Abdulkhaleq  
Abdullah



Dr. Abdulkhaleq Abdulla, a UAE national, is a professor of Political Science at United Emirates University. He is the chairman of the cultural committee at the Dubai Cultural and Scientific Association and a member of the Global Agenda Council on Population Growth. He was a member of the Dubai Cultural Council, the General Coordinator of the Gulf Development Forum, director of the research center at AlKhaleej newspaper, editor of the Gulf Strategic Report, editor of the Journal of Social Affairs and the lead author of the Arab Knowledge Report 2008. He is the recipient of the Cultural Personality of the Year 2005 Award and Taryam Omran Intellectual Pioneer 2010 Award. He holds PhD in Political science from Georgetown University and MA from American University in Washington D.C. He was a Fulbright Scholar and a visiting professor at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University.

Attiya Ahmad



Attiya Ahmad is an Assistant Professor of Religion and Feminism, Gender & Sexuality Studies at Wesleyan University (CT, USA). In 2009-10, she was a postdoctoral fellow at the Center for International and Regional Studies at Georgetown University in Qatar. She has previously studied international development studies at the University of Toronto, and anthropology at Duke University, where she obtained her masters and doctorate. Her work focuses on the interrelation between gendered transformations of labour and economic relations, transnational migration, and religious movements in the Gulf and Indian Ocean. She is currently revising her book manuscript focusing on Islamic da'wa, domestic work, and migrant women in Kuwait.

Hatoon Ajwad  
Al-Fassi



Hatoon al-Fassi, originated from Makkah, is a historian specialist in women's history at History department, King Saud University, Riyadh. At the moment she is working at the International Affairs Department, Faculty of Arts & Science, Qatar University. Her interest, devotion, research and action cover Women's history: ancient and Islamic, modern women's issues and Islamic rights, Gender studies, Women's religious rights, History of the Arabian Peninsula & Human Rights. She expresses her opinion in her writings as a columnist (currently writes in al-Riyadh national newspaper, in Arabic). Dr AL FASSI has three published books and many other articles in Arabic and English. The most recently: *Women in Pre-Islamic Arabia: Nabataea*. Published by Archaeopress, Oxford, 2007 (in English). She recently in 2009, received a French award and was decorated a Knight in the Order of Academic Palms 'Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques' that dates back to Napoleon Bonaparte, in 1808.



Sultan Sooud  
Al-Qassemi



Sultan Sooud Al-Qassemi is the Founder and Chairman of Barjeel Securities, a financial products company, as well as the Managing Director of Al-Saud Co., Ltd., which specializes in equity markets, real estate and construction. Mr. Al-Qassemi received a master's degree in Global Banking and Finance from the European Business School, where he graduated with distinction in 2004. He received his B.Sc. in International Business Administration from the American University of Paris. In addition to teaching Middle Eastern history and entrepreneurship as a Lecturer at Dubai Men's College, Mr. Al-Qassemi co-hosts *Business Tonight*, a weekly show on Dubai Eye radio providing analysis and debate of business headlines from the region and around the world. He is a frequent commentator on political, social and economic issues whose columns appear regularly in *The National* and *MoneyWorks*. His columns have also appeared in such international publications as *The Financial Times (UK)*, *The Independent (UK)*, *The Daily Star (Lebanon)*, *The Huffington Post (US)* and others.

Abdul-Rahman  
H. Al-Saeed



Dr. Abdulrahman Hamad Al-Saeed is the Advisor to the Royal Court of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Chairman of the board of the King Abdulaziz Library and Foundation for Humanitarian Studies in Casablanca, Morocco. He is also the President of the Specialized Studies Center. He was Associate Professor at King Fahad University for Petroleum and Minerals from 1978-1981, and Dean of Faculty & Personnel Affairs until 1984, in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. He has delivered lectures in many international forums around the world and published several articles in foreign and regional newspapers. He has participated in the "Saudi Outreach" delegation to the United States and in the Two Kingdoms Dialogue in Chatham House, London.

Ismail Fajrie  
Alatas



Ismail Fajrie Alatas is a student in the joint doctoral program in Anthropology & History at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He received his MA in History from the National University of Singapore and his BA (Hons) in History from the University of Melbourne Australia. His current research is on the history of the Ba'alawi (the descendants of the Prophet who traced their origin from Hadramaut) in post-colonial Indonesia, their Sufi order the *Tariqa Alawiya*, as well as the connection between Indonesia and Hadhramaut after the second world war. In particular he examines Ba'alawi knowledge practices and the processes by which religious knowledge becomes embodied. Ismail has published two monographs in Indonesian. The first, *Renungan ditengah Kemurungan* (Terajumizan 2005) focuses on identity and border crossing. The second, *Sungai tak Bermuara* (Diwan 2006) examines Sufi epistemology. He has also authored several journal articles in English and Indonesian, mainly dealing with Hadhrami diaspora in Indonesia.



Syed Farid  
Alatas



**Syed Farid Alatas** is Head of the Department of Malay Studies and Associate Professor of Sociology at the National University of Singapore. He obtained his PhD in Sociology from the Johns Hopkins University in 1991. His books include *Democracy and Authoritarianism: The Rise of the Post-Colonial State in Indonesia and Malaysia* (Macmillan, 1997); and *Alternative Discourse in Asian Social Science: Responses to Eurocentrism* (Sage, 2006). He has also edited *Asian Inter-Faith Dialogue: Perspectives on Religion, Education and Social Cohesion* (RIMA and the World Bank, 2003) and *Asian Anthropology*, with Jan van Bremen and Eyal Ben-Ari (Routledge, 2005). His articles include “From Jami’ah to University: Multiculturalism and Christian-Muslim Dialogue”, *Current Sociology* 54(1), 2006; “Ibn Khaldun and Contemporary Sociology”, *International Sociology* 21(6), 2006; and “The Sociology of Ibn Khaldun”, in George Ritzer & Jeff Stepnisky, eds., *The New Blackwell Companion to Major Classical Social Theorists*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011 (forthcoming). He is preparing a book manuscript for publication on the thought of Ibn Khaldun (Oxford University Press, forthcoming) and is also working on another book on the Ba‘alawi Sufi order.

Raad Alkadiri



Raad Alkadiri is a Partner and Head of Global Risk at PFC Energy, the Washington-based strategic advisory firm. A country risk specialist with over 15 years experience, Raad focuses on the political, economic and sectoral factors that influence decision-making in oil and gas producing states, particularly those in the Middle East and Africa. He leads PFC Energy's Iraq Advisory practice, providing in-depth analysis of Iraq's ongoing political and oil and gas developments, and engagement strategies for companies interested in investing in the country's hydrocarbon sector.

From 2003-2004, Raad was seconded to the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) as the Policy Advisor and Assistant Private Secretary to the UK Special Representatives to Iraq. From 2006-2007, Raad was Senior Policy Advisor to Her Majesty's Ambassador in Baghdad. Raad holds a D.Phil. in International Relations from St. Antony's College, Oxford University, and an M.Phil. and M.A. from the University of St. Andrews.

Ami Angell



Ami M. Angell, PhD, LL.M. is currently a Research Fellow at the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research in Singapore and a volunteer with the Not For Sale Campaign based out of Half Moon Bay, California. She has spent a substantial amount of time working in the Middle East including 44 months in Iraq (2005-2008) and 24 months in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Israel. She has also worked and lived in Lebanon, Jordan, Qatar, Italy, Switzerland, England and most recently Singapore. In addition to her academic and professional interest in human trafficking, Angell has also worked on programs in terrorist rehabilitation, capacity building, children's right to education, and protection from torture. Angell has a PhD in Public International Law from American University of London, an LL.M. in Human Rights Law from the University of Essex, an MA in the Theory and Practice of Human Rights from the University of Essex, and a BA in Theology, Philosophy and Sociology from Newman University in Wichita, Kansas.



John Duke  
Anthony



*Awaiting Bio*

Jacqueline  
Armijo



Jacqueline Armijo (Ph.D., Harvard University, 1997) is an Associate Professor in the Department of International Affairs at Qatar University. Her present research on the social and cultural impacts of the growing economic and strategic ties between the countries of the Gulf and China is a result of the 15 years she has lived in China and the Gulf and her research on Islam in China. Within the field of Islam in China her research has focused on both the early history and the recent challenges faced by China's diverse Muslim population. She has published numerous articles on Muslims in China that focus on a range of issues, including the recent revival of Islamic education in China, and the impact of growing numbers of Chinese Muslims pursuing Islamic higher education abroad. She has also taught at Zayed University, Stanford University and Cornell University.

Cherine Chams  
El-Dine



Dr. Chams El-Dine is currently a political science lecturer in the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University. She did her master degree in the Institute of Political Studies in Paris (*Sciences Po*), where she submitted a dissertation on the Lebanese Hezbollah media apparatus. In December 2007, she completed her PhD in social and political science at the European University Institute (Florence), where she defended a thesis entitled "Survival strategies of authoritarian regimes: management of the ruling elite in Iraq under Saddam Hussein". Her current research deals with the resilience of authoritarianism & the democratization process in the Middle East; political-business elites connections, with a special interest in the Egyptian and Iraqi cases.

Juan R Cole



Juan R Cole is Richard P. Mitchell Collegiate Professor of [History](#) at the [University of Michigan](#). For three decades, he has sought to put the relationship of the West and the Muslim world in historical context. His most recent book is *Engaging the Muslim World* (Palgrave Macmillan, March, 2009) and he also recently authored *Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). He has been a regular guest on various news programs. He has written widely about Egypt, Iran, Iraq, and South Asia. He has commented extensively on al-Qaeda and the Taliban, the Iraq War, the politics of Pakistan and Afghanistan, and Iranian domestic struggles and foreign affairs and has a regular column at *Truthdig*. He continues to study and write about contemporary Islamic movements, mainstream and radical, Sunni and Salafi or Shi'ite. Cole commands Arabic, Persian and Urdu and reads some Turkish, knows both Middle Eastern and South Asian Islam.



Malik Dahlan



Malik Dahlan is the Principal of Institution Quraysh for Law & Policy, and Director of the Global Leaders in Law Forum (Qatar Law Forum). He has written and advised on matters regarding legislative affairs, defence, energy policies, and foreign relations, and is one of ten UN regional experts in Constitutional Affairs, Oil and Gas, selected by the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI). He is the Chairman of GreenGulf Inc., the first private renewable energy company in the Gulf, and is a Special Adviser to the Qatar Financial Centre Judiciary. He is a member of the Harvard Law School Executive Committee, and is the President of the Harvard Law School Association of Arabia. He serves on the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on the Middle East, and is a member of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law.

Toby Dodge



Toby Dodge has been an Associate Professor (Reader) of International Politics in the School of Politics and International Relations, Queen Mary, University of London, since 2006. He has been the Consulting Senior Fellow for the Middle East at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, since 2003. Dr Dodge obtained his PhD in the politics of Iraq from the Department of Politics and International Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Since then he has worked at Warwick University and held fellowships at the Centre for the Study of International Affairs, Diplomacy and Grand Strategy at the London School of Economics and Political Science and the Middle East Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London. Dr Dodge's publications include *Iraq's future; the aftermath of regime change*, (2005), *Inventing Iraq: the failure of nation building and a history denied*, (2003). He has edited *Iraq at the crossroads: state and society in the shadow of regime change*, (2003) and *Globalisation and the Middle East, Islam, economics, culture and politics*, (2002).

James M Dorsey



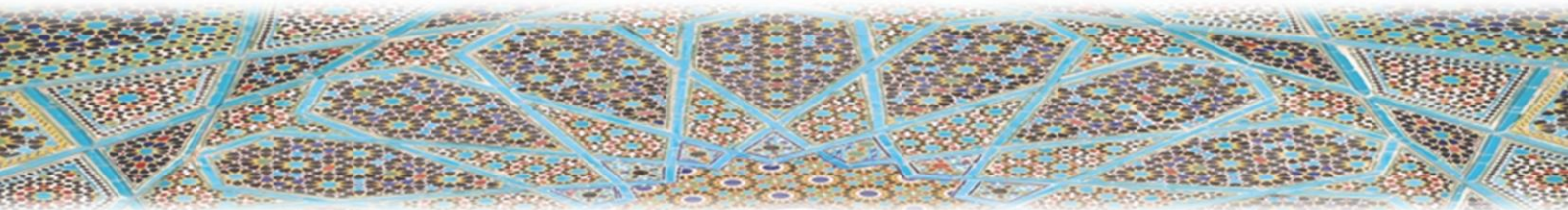
James M Dorsey is a visiting senior research fellow at the Middle East Institute. He is an award-winning journalist who has focused his career on ethnic and religious conflict. He has been based for The Wall Street Journal and others across the Middle East and has reported from across the globe. James is the author of the acclaimed blog, The Turbulent World of Middle East Soccer.

Prasenjit Duara



Prasenjit Duara is a historian of China and more broadly of Asia in the twentieth century. He also writes on historical thought and historiography. Duara was professor and chairman of the History department at the University of Chicago. Since 2008 he has been Director of Research in Humanities and Social Sciences at the National University of Singapore where he is also the Raffles Professor of Humanities and Director of the Asia Research Institute. Among his books are *Rescuing History from the Nation* (1995), *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (2003), an edited volume on Decolonization (Routledge, 2004), and *Culture, Power and the State: Rural North China, 1900-1942* (1988), which won the Fairbank Prize of the AHA and the Levenson Prize of the AAS. In 2009 he published a collection of his essays, *The Global and the Regional in China's Nation-Formation*, (Routledge). Duara's essay, "Asia Redux: Conceptualizing a Region for our Times" (JAS 2010) may be accessed at [http://journals.cambridge.org/repo\\_A79UNji6](http://journals.cambridge.org/repo_A79UNji6). His work has been widely translated into Chinese, Japanese and Korean.





Munira Fakhro



Munira Fakhro earned her MA from Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania, in Program Planning & Administration and her Doctoral degree from Columbia University in 1987 in Social Policy, Planning & Administration. Since then, she worked at the University of Bahrain as an Associate Professor until 2006. She had published three books and many studies focusing on women at work in the Gulf, civil society in the Gulf region and democracy. The books include *Women at Work in the Gulf: A Case Study of Bahrain* (Kegan Paul Publishers, 1990), *Basics of Sociology* (an Arabic text book, 1992), and *Civil Society and the Democratization Process in Bahrain* (Ibn Khaldoun Centre, 1995). From 1997-98 she joined Columbia University as a visiting scholar, and from 1998-99 was a visiting scholar at Harvard University. She is a board member of the Supreme Council for Women in Bahrain and a member of the central committee of the National Democratic Action Society (Wa'ad), a political society in Bahrain. Dr Fakhro has also served on the advisory committee for the UNDP's 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Human Development Reports (2004, 2009), worked as a regional advisor with Freedom House on family law in MENA countries, and as elected coordinator of the Gulf Development Forum until 2011. She ran for parliamentary elections in Bahrain in 2006 and 2010, but did not win.

Gregory Gause



F. Gregory Gause, III is professor and chair of the political science department at the University of Vermont; he served as director of the University's Middle East Studies Program from 1998 to 2008. He was previously on the faculty of Columbia University and was a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. In the spring of 2009 he was a Fulbright Scholar at the American University in Kuwait. During the 2009-2010 academic year he was the Kuwait Foundation Visiting Professor of International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. His most recent book is *The International Relations of the Persian Gulf* (Cambridge University Press, 2010). He also authored *Oil Monarchies: Domestic and Security Challenges in the Arab Gulf States* (Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1994); and *Saudi-Yemeni Relations: Domestic Structures and Foreign Influence* (Columbia University Press, 1990). He received his Ph.D. in political science from Harvard University in 1987 and his B.A. from St. Joseph's University in Philadelphia in 1980. He studied Arabic at the American University in Cairo (1982-83) and Middlebury College (1984).

Camille  
Germanos



Camille Germanos is currently a Research Associate with the Middle East Institute in Singapore. Originally from Lebanon, Ms Germanos speaks Arabic, French and English. She has been researching 'divided cities' within the French School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences (EHESS). She holds a Law Degree, a Master of Arts degree in Communications and a Master of Philosophy degree in Comparative Development Studies.



Alain Gresh



Dr Alain Gresh is the Deputy Director of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, where he was Editor for the ten years, from 1995-2005. He is also President of the Association of French journalists specialized on the Maghreb and the Middle East. He holds a PhD from the Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, a Diploma of Arabic from the Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales, and a Master's Degree of Mathematics from the Université Paris VII. He has written several books and articles of Palestinian politics and Islam. He was born in Cairo, Egypt.

Peter Heath



Dr. Peter Heath assumed his post of Chancellor of American University of Sharjah (AUS) in fall 2008. Prior to joining AUS, Dr. Heath served as Provost at American University of Beirut for 10 years, where he played a leading role in the rebuilding of that distinguished institution. As second officer of the administration, his scope of duties included every aspect of university leadership. Prior to that, Dr. Heath worked in the US, where he established a distinguished record at one of American's leading institutions, Washington University in St. Louis (1986-1998). There he became full professor of Arabic language and literature and served as Director of the Center for the Study of Islamic Societies and Civilizations, and Chair of the Department of Asian and Near Eastern Languages. His first appointment was as a faculty member at Birzeit University in the West Bank in Palestine (1981-86).

Dr. Heath holds a BA, magna cum laude, from Princeton University (1971) and a PhD in Near Eastern Language and Civilization from Harvard University (1981).

Steffen Hertog



Steffen Hertog is a lecturer in comparative politics at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He holds a PhD from the University of Oxford and was previously Kuwait Professor at the Chaire Moyen Orient at Sciences Po/Paris, lecturer at the University of Durham and post-doctoral researcher at Princeton University. His main research interest lies in Gulf and Middle East political economy, with special focus on public sector reform, labour markets and state-business relations. He has a subsidiary interest in micro-dynamics of political violence and has published in journals such as *World Politics*, *Review of International Political Economy*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *Business History*, *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, and *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. His book about Saudi state-building, "Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and State in Saudi Arabia" was published by Cornell University Press in 2010, and a book about Islamic radicalism and higher education, co-authored with Diego Gambetta, is forthcoming with Princeton University Press.

Michael C  
Hudson



Dr. Michael C. Hudson assumed the directorship of the Middle East Institute at the National University of Singapore in 2010, and is Professor of Political Science in NUS's Department of Political Science. Previously, he was Director of the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies and Professor of International Relations and Seif Ghobash Professor of Arab Studies in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He did his undergraduate studies at Swarthmore College and holds the MA and PhD in political science from Yale University. His research interests include political liberalization, politics in divided societies, Lebanese politics, U.S. Middle East policy, Gulf security, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the information revolution in the Arab world. He has held Guggenheim, Ford, and Fulbright fellowships and is a past president of The Middle East Studies Association.



Martin Hvidt



Martin Hvidt holds masters degrees in Geography and Economics and a Ph.D in Irrigation Management. He is an Associate Professor at the Center for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark. The focus of his research revolves around the issue of development, including the economic, political, institutional and social developments in the Middle Eastern region. Recently he has published articles concerned with developments in Dubai e.g. "The Dubai Model: An Outline of Key Development-Process Elements in Dubai," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 41, No. 3 (2009), which defined the basic parameters of the development path followed by Dubai. Most recently he has published the article "Economic and institutional reforms in the Arab Gulf Countries" *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 65, No.1, (2010) which explores the extent to which the 'Dubai model' is being applied in other Gulf states. He is currently engaged in a research project entitled: Gulf Rising? Developmental patterns in the resource rich economies of the Arab Gulf Region.

Adel Iskandar



Adel Iskandar is a scholar of Arab studies whose research focuses on media and communication. He is the author and coauthor of many works including *Al-Jazeera: The Story of the Network that is Rattling Governments and Redefining Modern Journalism* (Basic Books), the first major analysis of any single Arabic media organization. Iskandar's work deals with media, identity and politics and has lectured extensively on these topics at universities in more than 20 countries. His latest publication is an edited volume entitled *Edward Said: A Legacy of Emancipation and Representation* (University of California Press). His two forthcoming works are books on the role of new media and dissidence in the Arab world. In the last couple of years, he has traveled to 12 countries in the Arab world to conduct research and speak extensively. Iskandar teaches at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies and the Communication, Culture and Technology program at Georgetown University in Washington, DC.

N Janardhan



Dr N. Janardhan is a UAE-based political analyst. He was formerly Programme Manager, Gulf-Asia Relations, at the Gulf Research Center, Dubai. His research areas include political systems, international relations, media and labour in the Gulf region, which are reflected in nearly 500 published articles in newspapers and several academic chapters. His book -- *Boom Amid Gloom: The Spirit of Possibility in the 21st Century Gulf* (Ithaca Press) -- is scheduled for release in June 2011.



Bilahari  
Kausikan



Mr Bilahari Kausikan is currently the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Mr Kausikan was educated at Raffles Institution, the University of Singapore and Columbia University in New York. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he has served on the North America Desk, as First Secretary in the Singapore Embassy in Washington DC, as Director for Southeast Asia, Director for East Asia and the Pacific and as Deputy Secretary for Southeast Asia. He has also served as the Press Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and as the Ministry's Spokesman. Mr Kausikan served as the Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York from 1995 to 1998 with concurrent accreditation as High Commissioner to Canada and Ambassador to Mexico. Prior to this appointment, he served as Ambassador to the Russian Federation from 1994 to 1995, with concurrent accreditation as Ambassador to Finland. In August 2001, Mr Kausikan was awarded the Public Administration Medal (Gold). In December 2002, he was awarded the "Order of Bernardo O'Higgins" with the rank of "Gran Cruz" by the President of the Republic of Chile. Mr Kausikan was the Second Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from August 2001 to August 2010.

Tim Kennedy



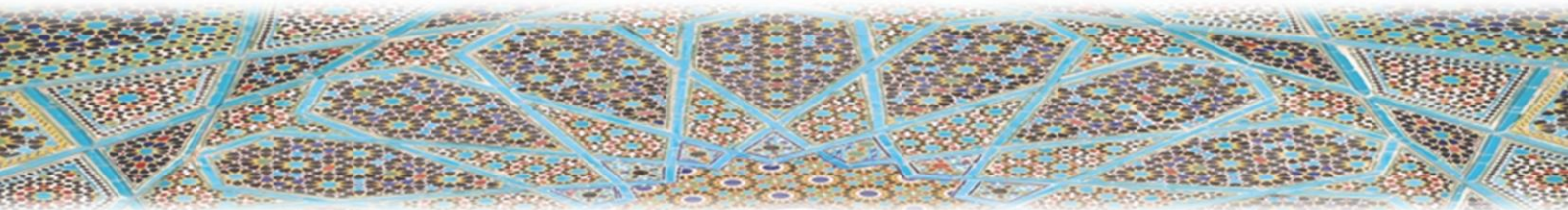
A native of Elmira, New York, Kennedy taught at the School of Environmental Design at the University of Georgia (1991-1996) and was a designer with the firm of Cesar Pelli and Associates in New Haven, Connecticut (1988-1990) before he joined the faculty at North Dakota State University in 1997. He received his B.A. from Bard College in New York and his M.A. in landscape architecture from Cornell University (1988). Kennedy also studied film and photography for two years at the San Francisco Art Institute, where he received the Jerome Hill Foundation Grant for filmmaking and graduated with an M.F.A. in 1981. He is currently with the Architecture faculty of the College of Architecture, Art + Design (CAAD) at the American University of Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates.

Christian Koch



Dr Christian Koch is the Director of International Studies at the Gulf Research Center located in Dubai, UAE. Prior to joining the GRC, he worked as Head of the Strategic Studies Section at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi. Dr. Koch received his Ph.D. from the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany with a thesis on the role of voluntary association in the political development of Kuwait. He also studied at the American University in Washington, D.C. and the University of South Carolina. In January 2007, he joined the advisory board of the German Orient Foundation. His work at the Gulf Research Center combines the various international and foreign relations issues of the GCC states with a particular interest in GCC-EU Relations.





Tommy Koh



Tommy KOH is currently Ambassador-At-Large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Special Adviser to the Institute of Policy Studies; and Chairman of the National Heritage Board and the Centre for International Law at NUS. Koh has served as the Dean of the Faculty of Law of the University of Singapore, Singapore's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York, and Ambassador to the United States of America. He had also served as High Commissioner to Canada and Ambassador to Mexico. He was President of the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea and the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for and the Main Committee of the UN Conference on Environment and Development. Koh served as the founding Chairman of the National Arts Council and founding Executive Director of the Asia-Europe Foundation. He was also Singapore's Chief Negotiator for the US-Singapore Free Trade Agreement. He acted as Singapore's Agent in two legal disputes with Malaysia. He is the co-chairman of the China-Singapore Forum, the Japan-Singapore Symposium and the India-Singapore Strategic Dialogue. He was recently appointed as the Rector of a new college, Tembusu College, at NUS and Chairman of the SymAsia Foundation of Credit Suisse.

David Mednicoff



David Mednicoff is Assistant Professor of Public Policy and Associate Director of the Social Thought and Political Economy Program at the University of Massachusetts -- Amherst. His areas of expertise include Middle Eastern law and politics, international law, human rights, globalization and comparative public policy. Prof. Mednicoff holds a B.A. from Princeton, and an M.A., J.D. (international law) and Ph.D. (Political Science) from Harvard. His publications and ongoing research deal broadly with interdisciplinary connections between legal and political ideas and institutions at the national and transnational levels, particularly as these relate to current policy issues in the Middle East. He is currently completing two book manuscripts, the first on the endurance of ruling monarchies in contemporary politics, and the second on the politics of the rule of law, democratization and US foreign policy in five Arab societies. In 2010-11, he is a Research Fellow in the Dubai Initiative at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

Timothy Niblock



Professor Tim Niblock is Emeritus Professor of Middle Eastern Politics at the University of Exeter, and Chair of the Management Board of the University's Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies. He also serves as Vice-President of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies, and Vice-President of the European Association for Middle Eastern Studies. He began his academic career at the University of Khartoum in Sudan (1969-77), where he served as Associate Professor on secondment from the University of Reading. Between 1978 and 1993 he was at establishing the Middle East Politics Programme at Exeter and serving as Director of the Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at Durham. In 1999 he returned to the University of Exeter and served as Director of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies there from 1999 to 2005. Among his books are: *The Political Economy of Saudi Arabia* (2007), *Saudi Arabia: Power, Legitimacy and Survival* (2006), and *'Pariah States' and Sanctions in the Middle East: Iraq, Libya and Sudan* (2001).



Gwenn Okruhlik



Gwenn Okruhlik is a Visiting Scholar in the Department of Political Science at Trinity University. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Texas, Austin (1992). Okruhlik specializes in the politics of the Middle East with a focus on the Arabian Peninsula. She has worked in Egypt, Lebanon, the UAE and, primarily, in Saudi Arabia. She is the recipient of two Fulbright Awards to Saudi Arabia. Okruhlik's work covers a wide array of issues such as networks of Islamist dissent; oil wealth and socio-politics; labor migration and industrialization; regional border disputes; tourism and global opening; struggles over the rights of citizenship, and tug-of-wars between government officials and private sector entrepreneurs. Okruhlik's work appears in *Comparative Politics*, the *Middle East Journal*, *Middle East Policy* and the *Middle East Report* as well as numerous edited volumes. She is co-editor of *Political Change in the Arab Gulf States: Stuck in Transition* (2011). She is currently founding a new international association of scholars who work on the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula (AGAPS).

Ong Keng Yong



ONG Keng Yong is Ambassador-At-Large in the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Singapore's Non-Resident Ambassador to Iran. He is concurrently Director of the Institute of Policy Studies in the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore. He was Secretary-General of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) from January 2003 to January 2008. His diplomatic postings took him to Saudi Arabia, Malaysia and the USA. He was Singapore's Ambassador to India and Nepal from 1996-1998. He was appointed Press Secretary to the Prime Minister of Singapore and concurrently held senior positions in the Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts, and the People's Association in Singapore from 1998-2002. He is a graduate of the University of Singapore and Georgetown University (Washington DC, USA). In 2008, he was Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre on Contemporary Central Asia and the Caucasus in the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.

Aftab Kamal  
Pasha



Professor AK Pasha teaches at the Gulf Studies, Centre for West Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, where he has served as Chairperson and is now Director, Gulf Studies Program. He has also been Director, Maulana Azad Centre for Indian Culture, Cairo, Egypt. He has authored, edited and co-edited and contributed chapters to over sixty books published in India and abroad on India, Gulf, West Asia and North Africa. He holds M.A. degrees in Middle Eastern Studies and Political Science from Mysore University; M.Phil and PhD from JNU. He has previously taught at the Centre of West Asian Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, India. He had been a Research Fellow at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University, Egypt. His research, teaching and writing focused on Gulf/West Asia and North Africa. He is on the editorial board of several national and international journals. He is a frequent commentator/analyst on international affairs for Radio and TV in India and abroad.



Gopinath Pillai



Ambassador Gopinath Pillai holds several key public appointments. He has been Ambassador-at-Large since August 2008 and was Singapore's Non-Resident Ambassador to Iran between 1990 and 2008. He has also served as Singapore's High Commissioner to Pakistan. Ambassador Pillai is the Chairman of the Management Board of the Institute of South Asian Studies as well as Deputy Chairman of Ang Mo Kio-Thye Hua Kwan Hospital Limited, a non-government organisation-administered hospital for step-down care. He is a member of the Steering Committee of the Indian Heritage Centre project and Chairman of its Concept and Content Sub-committee. Ambassador Pillai has also held positions of Chairman of NTUC Fairprice Co-operative Ltd; Trustee of NTUC Healthcare Co-operative Ltd; Director of NTUC Choice Homes Co-operative Ltd; and President of the National University of Singapore Society. Ambassador Pillai's varied business interests include investments in education, logistics and information technology. He is the Chairman of a port-related listed logistics company in India, Gateway Distriparks Ltd, and its subsidiary, Snowman Logistics Ltd. He is a Director of AEC Education Plc, listed on AIM in London. He is also the Director of Jurong International Holdings Pte Ltd.

Samia Rab



Dr. Samia Rab is currently an Associate Professor of Architecture at the American University of Sharjah (AUS), the Regional Coordinator for the Arabian Peninsula of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture (AKAA), and serves on the editorial board of the Journal of Arabian Study (JAS, University of Exeter). She has taught courses across curricula for 15 years at three universities (AUS, University of Hawaii and Georgia Institute of Technology), during which she has continued professional development as a consultant for UNESCO-Paris, ICCROM-Rome, the Government of Sharjah, AEDAS-Subai, the Getty Center for Conservation in Los Angeles, and the East-West Center in Honolulu. Dr. Rab's research has analyzed emergent modes of urbanism and identified forms of urban continuities in cities along the eastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula that are facing modern globalization. Taking a maritime perspective, she has identified architectural and urban characteristics of port cities as examples of "seascape" urbanism. Her forthcoming book is entitled *Shaping Memory: A Global Perspective on Urban Heritage and Conservation in the Twenty-First Century*.

Md Mizanur  
Rahman



Md Mizanur Rahman is a sociologist by training, working on international migration in Asia. Dr Rahman was a postdoctoral fellow at Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, from 2005-2007 and a research fellow at Department of Sociology, NUS from 2007-2010. He is currently employed as a Research Fellow at the Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore. He has had short-term stints as visiting scholar at the Department of Sociology, University of Western Ontario, Canada and Graduate School of Policy Science, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan. He was commissioned to write research reports on international labour migration in the Gulf and Southeast Asia by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) - East and Southeast Asia. Dr Rahman has conducted fieldwork for his research in a number of countries in Asia such as the UAE, Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, South Korea, Bangladesh, Qatar, India, Indonesia, and Hong Kong SAR.



James Redman



James Redman is a Ph.D. candidate in The University of Utah Department of Anthropology and his research focuses on how social connections in the Middle East provide economic and political rewards. Particularly, he is concerned with the occurrences of informality in state structures and the ways in which bureaucratic channels can be accessed outside of official avenues. At these junctures, Mr. Redman examines what 'working the system' means in terms of capital, defined in the broadest sense, for both supplicants and their benefactors.

Omer Ali Saifudeen



Omer Ali Saifudeen is currently Senior Assistant Director, Knowledge Management Branch, Home Team Academy, Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) Singapore. He is also a Doctoral Candidate pursuing his PhD in Sociology at the National University of Singapore (NUS) part time under full MHA sponsorship. The subject field he is researching is on extremist ideologies and the radicalisation process. In his present post he takes charge of the Home Team Knowledge Management Branch and is Chief Editor of the Home Team Journal (The Professional Journal of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Singapore). He currently lectures on modules dealing with terrorism and criminal justice issues at the Home Team Academy. Mr. Omer has been active in the training and lecturing arena and has a Masters degree in Criminal Justice Studies from the University of Leicester, United Kingdom.

Mahmood Sariolghalam



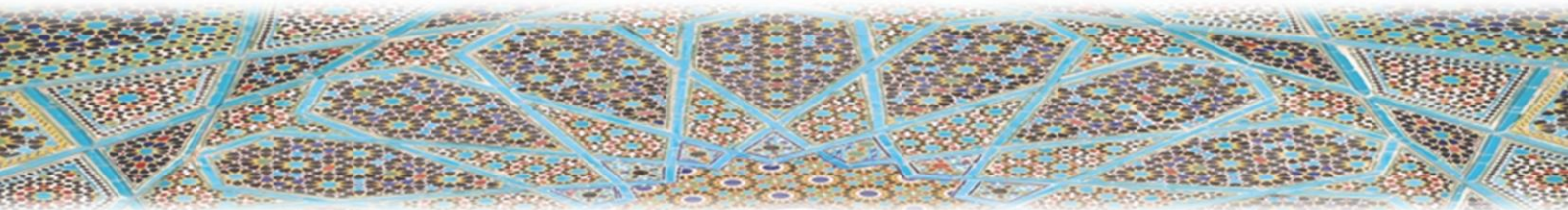
Mahmood Sariolghalam is Professor of International Relations at the Shahid Beheshti (National) University in Tehran. He completed his PhD and MA in International Relations at the University of Southern California. He also earned his BA from California State University. Professor Sariolghalam also completed a Post Doctorate program at the Ohio State University. He specializes in international politics of the Middle East, Iranian foreign policy and political culture and has written extensively in Farsi, Arabic and English. His recent contributions are: "International Relations in Iran: Achievements and Limitations," in International Relations Scholarship Around the World edited by Arlene Tickner and Ole Wæver. Routledge: 2009; "The Evolution of State in Iran: A Political Culture Perspective," published by the Strategic Studies Center of Kuwait University: 2010, (Arabic and English); "Iran in Search of Itself," Current History, December 2008; Iran's Political Culture, a field research based on 900 questionnaires in Farsi, third edition: 2010 and Iranian Authoritarianism during the Qajar Period, Center for Cultural and Social Studies, Tehran: 2010. Professor Sariolghalam taught at Kuwait University during the 2009-2010 academic year.

Joseph Sassoon



Born in Baghdad, Dr. Sassoon received his Ph.D at St Antony's College, Oxford. He is the author of two books: Economic Policy in Iraq, 1932-1950 (London, Frank Cass, 1987); and The Iraqi Refugees: The New Crisis in the Middle East (London, IB Tauris, 2009). Among his articles: "Industrial Development in Iraq, 1958-1968", The New East, 1981, vol.XXX, pp.21-49; and "The Arab World in the Era of Globalization: An Economic Appraisal", Cohen, A. (ed.) in: Democracy, Islam and the Middle East. (Truman Inst. for Research, 2005).





Jeongmin Seo



Prof. Jeongmin Seo chairs the Department of Middle East and African Studies at Graduate School of International Area Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul, South Korea. Before he got the teaching position, Prof. Seo was working as a Middle East correspondent in Cairo dispatched from Joongang Daily Newspaper, a major Korean newspaper. He holds a D.Phil. in politics from University of Oxford and two MAs from the American University in Cairo and Graduate School of Interpretation and Translation in Seoul. His main fields of research are religion and politics of the contemporary Middle East and state-society relations of the region. His recent publications include “Decline of Spiritual Authority: Religious Officials in the Egyptian Society.” *Korean Journal of Islamic Studies Association* 20-3 (Fall 2010) (English); *Burj Khalifa*. Seoul: Gloyeon, 2010 (Korean); “‘Political’ Nuclear Development in the Arab World.” *Korean Journal of the Middle East Studies* 30-2 (October 2009): (English); *Global Energy Hub, the Middle East*. Seoul: Mirae Asset, 2009 (Korean); and *The Three Trillion Dollar War: The True Cost of the Iraq Conflict* by Joseph E. Stiglitz and Linda J. Bilmes (Translation into Korean) (Seoul: Strategy and Culture, 2009) (Korean).

Kevin Smith



Kevin Smith is currently a Ph.D. student in socio-cultural anthropology at the University of California, Davis. He began his doctoral program in fall of 2009, after graduating with a major in cultural anthropology and a certificate in ethnomusicology from the University of California, Irvine in 2007. His senior thesis was entitled “Coterminous Companions: Nationalism, Class, and Arab-Jewish Cooperation in Mandatory Palestine.” The essay was published in volume X of the UC Irvine Undergraduate Research Journal in 2007. After leaving Irvine to teach English as a Second Language at An-Najah National University in Nablus, Palestine, in 2008-2009, he returned to the United States to pursue his doctoral degree in cultural anthropology at UC Davis. His M.A. thesis was entitled “Guests of Eternity: Time, Neoliberalism, and the Political Economy of Stalemate in Palestine.” His PhD dissertation research will look specifically at the Dubai government’s arts and culture bureau, *Dubai Culture*. He is also pursuing a Ph.D. Designated Emphasis in Critical Theory.

Degang Sun



Degang Sun is an Associate Professor of political science and editor of *Journal of the Middle East and Islamic Studies (in Asia)* at Middle East Studies Institute, Shanghai International Studies University (SISU), China. He received his Ph.D. degree in 2006 under the supervision of Professor Zhang Shu Guang of University of Maryland. Dr. Sun’s research interest covers International Security Theory, Middle East Security, and China’s Middle East policy. He teaches two courses of *International Relations Theory* (in English) and *Middle East Conflicts* (in Chinese) for MA and BA students majoring in international studies. At present, Dr. Sun is conducting a post-doctoral program on “Big Powers’ Military Presence in the Middle East” at Center for American Studies, Fudan University, Shanghai, China, with the coordination of Professor Zhu Mingquan.



Anthony SC  
Teo



Mr Anthony SC Teo was the Secretary to the University, Nanyang Technological University and concurrently an ex-officio member of the Senate and a member of the University Cabinet until 2010. Presently he is Advisor on Special Projects to the President. He is a member of the Management Board of the Middle East Institute. In 2010, he was awarded the Chevalier of the French Order of the Palmes Academiques and in 2009 Visiting Fellow at Wolfson College, Cambridge University. Mr Teo is a member of Academic Committee for the QS University Rankings; and the inaugural QS-MAPLE (Middle East and Africa Professional Leaders in Education) Conference on, “*Globalising Higher Education in Middle East and Africa*” at the Dubai Knowledge Village. His banking and business interests engaged him in the Middle East, in Saudi Arabia with Singapore contractors, in Bahrain with Gulf International Bank BSC and financings with major Asian contracting corporations, Daelim in Kuwait, and others. Based in Hong Kong for a decade, he was the Vice Chairman of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce (SCC) & Editor-in-Chief of SCC News, and publisher of *Asian Business*. He received his MBA from Harvard University and was Co-Founder of the Harvard Singapore Foundation.

Marc Valeri



Marc Valeri is Lecturer in Political Economy and Director of the MA in Gulf Studies at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies (University of Exeter, United Kingdom). His main areas of interest are the social, political and economic transformations and reform in the Arabian Peninsula. Moreover he is developing researches in the issues of stability and legitimacy of authoritarian regimes in the Middle East. He is the author of *Oman: Politics and Society in the Qaboos-State* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

Neha Vora



Neha Vora received her PhD in Anthropology from the University of California, Irvine, in 2008. She is currently Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Women's and Gender Studies at Texas A&M University. Dr. Vora's research focuses on forms of citizenship, belonging, and exclusion within the contemporary Gulf Arab States. In particular, she explores how economic, political, and social changes in countries like the United Arab Emirates and Qatar shape the on-the-ground experiences of the large Indian diaspora residing in the region. Although many accounts of migrants in these countries emphasize their lack of belonging, since legal citizenship is mostly unattainable, Dr. Vora's research follows anthropological and interdisciplinary scholarship that multiplies and expands the concept of citizenship to include different forms and scales, including urban, diasporic, transnational, flexible, and substantive.



## Zheng Yongnian



Zheng Yongnian is Professor and Director of East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore. He is Editor of Series on Contemporary China (World Scientific Publishing) and Editor of China Policy Series (Routledge). He is also the Editor of *China: An International Journal* and *East Asian Policy*. He has studied both China's transformation and its external relations. He is the author of enormous books, including *The Chinese Communist Party as Organizational Emperor*, *Technological Empowerment*, *De Facto Federalism in China*, *Discovering Chinese Nationalism in China* and *Globalization and State Transformation in China*, and coeditor of 12 books on China's domestic development and international relations. Besides his research work, Professor Zheng has also served as a consultant to United Nation Development Program on China's rural development and democracy. In addition, he has been a columnist for *Xinbao* (Hong Kong) and *Zaobao* (Singapore) for many years, writing numerous commentaries on China's domestic and international affairs. Professor Zheng received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Beijing University, and his Ph.D. at Princeton University. He was Professor and founding Research Director of the China Policy Institute, the University of Nottingham, United Kingdom (2005-2008).





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# Abstracts

## Panel 1 – The Strategic Context

### *American Policy in the Persian Gulf: From Balance of Power to Failed Hegemony*

Dr. F. Gregory Gause

American policy in the Persian Gulf region in the Cold War period was driven by global balance of power considerations toward the Soviet Union. Washington was willing to accept enormous changes in the structure of power in the world oil industry, in which American oil companies lost control of their assets in the Gulf during the 1970's, as long as strategic interests vis-à-vis the Soviet Union were preserved. But that Cold War framework for American Gulf policy was implemented through the regional balance of power in the Gulf itself. The United States was more than happy to allow Great Britain to play a major role in Gulf security issues, as part of alliance burden sharing, up to the British withdrawal from the region in 1971. After that, the United States acted through regional surrogates Iran and Saudi Arabia to secure its Cold War interests. With the Iranian Revolution of 1979, American military involvement in the region increased, with the goal of maintaining the regional status quo against local attempts to change it. The attacks of 9/11 marked a quantum change in the American approach to the region, with the American military infrastructure that had been built in the Gulf since 1991 utilized not to maintain the regional status-quo, but to change it through the Iraq War. The bitter experience of the American occupation might have lessened Washington's appetite for new military adventures in the Gulf, but the Arab upheavals of 2011 present a new challenge to the regional status quo. It remains to be seen whether Washington embraces the political reform agenda put forward by the Arab revolts or relies on its long-standing alliances with the Arab monarchies of the Gulf.





## *Neither East, nor West? The Gulf in a post-American world*

Alain Gresh

In less than twenty years, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, we have moved from the idea that the XXI<sup>st</sup> century will be an American to the realisation that we have entered a multipolar world, a world in which former colonies are playing a growing role. It is not the end of the cold war, but also the end of two centuries in which the “white world” (Europe and the United States) were the centre of the world, and the centre of history. That doesn’t mean that the United States is not a major global actor. But its capacity to shape the evolution of other countries has been diminished. It is also a more complicated world in which a friend on one issue could become an adversary on another, in which a country may be an ally of the West without been hostile to the East.

This has been very clear in the Gulf where we have seen the development of relations of these countries with other powers, from Russia to India and China. These relations are mainly economic, political and cultural (even if there is now a military dimension), but this could, in the middle term, provoke some other developments. The fact that a Chinese military fleet is now present in the Indian Ocean, for the first time since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and that this fleet has put into port in Saudi and Emirate harbours, is significant. Equally significant are the tensions between Riyadh and Washington since the beginning of the current Arab revolts.



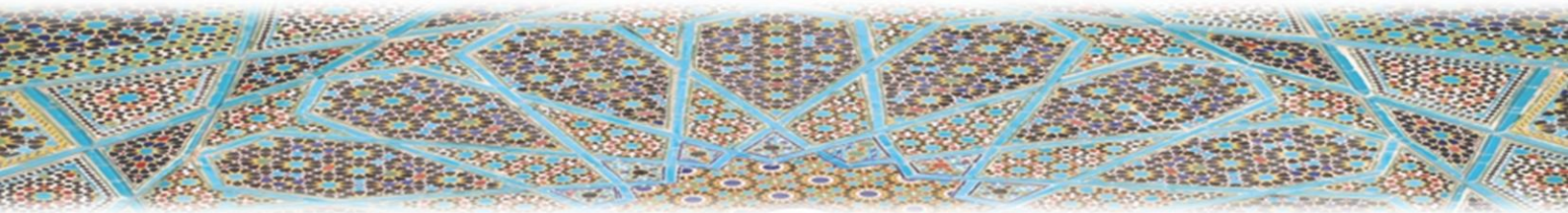


## ***Bridgehead for Power Projection: US Military Bases in the Gulf and the Dynamics of Redeployment***

**By Degang Sun**

The Deployment of overseas military bases is an essential endeavor for power projection. Since the end of the Gulf War in 1991, the US military bases in the GCC states have evolved in function from containing Iran and Iraq to the consolidation of its predominance in the Gulf region. Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the US readjustment of its military bases in the GCC states features two attributes. First, the task of the bases has transformed from fighting the Iraq War to the more complex and enduring tasks of maintaining the Gulf balance of power, countering terrorists and containing Iran. Second, the major military base deployment has shifted from Saudi Arabia to Qatar, Bahrain and other GCC states, so a multi-faceted security mechanism under the US leadership has taken shape, which has overshadowed Iranian-proposed collective security appeal. At Obama's presidency, the deployment of the US military bases in the GCC states has revealed five new and distinct features, i.e. the bases are extending geographically, diminishing in size, increasingly approaching the potential enemies, strong in mobility and being gradually interlinked with other bases in Central Asia, Turkey and Djibouti. US redeployment of military bases in the Gulf may cause mutual misperception between the US and Iran, worsen security dilemma in the region and allure big powers' rivalry for military presence in the Gulf including the US, France, Britain, India, Japan, Russia, China and Iran.





## Panel 2 – Governance: The Challenge of Democratization

### *Governance and Democratization in GCC States: Domestic and External Challenges: An Indian Perception*

Aftab Kamal Pasha

The struggle for democracy and people's demand to replace autocracy with democratic structures is a recent phenomenon in the Gulf [Arab] societies. The huge oil revenues at least since 1973 enabled the six Gulf ruling families in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Oman to embark on rapid modernization of their societies. Focus on infrastructure, oil based industrial development and on education, health among other issues has led to the emergence of a middle class, desirous of playing a role in the decision making process. Before the Iranian Revolution the prospects for democracy in GCC states were dim but the 1979 revolutionary changes in Iran prompted Gulf rulers to initiate modest political reforms and promise democratization of their absolute monarchies. But soon this enthusiasm waned as the Iranian revolution was contained and confined within its borders. The eight year Iran-Iraq war further neutralized the revolutionary zeal of the Iranian clergy. In the 1990 Kuwait crisis the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein not only challenged the legitimacy of the GCC rulers, like Ayatollah Khomeini had done earlier, but also presented them as dependent on outside help as the GCC States rushed to seek US military help to safeguard their family rule. But in the wake of the fall in oil revenues in the late 1980's and especially after the 1991 Gulf war over Kuwait, one can notice demands for political participation. Since then, two significant changes of far reaching consequences to the area have taken place: the collapse of Arab unity; and the other is the "explosion of questioning process" that has spurred the incipient process of democratization and test the legitimacy of Arab regimes in the Gulf area. The presence of outside forces [mainly US military] posed a challenge to the legitimacy of the GCC rulers where the political process is a family enterprise. It also exposed their fragility and their inner weakness despite their enormous oil wealth. The dependence of the GCC rulers on outside help is mainly due to the present processes of governance in these states and to their linkages with the US. The authoritarian nature of the political system and the domestic dynamics of power place the state structures at a very advantageous position, while relegating public institutions to the periphery. In other words, the regime for all practical purposes has replaced the state. For reasons of regime security, the rulers have pushed their human resources to the sidelines and thus have gradually strengthened their ties with the US-the most dominant power in the Gulf region. Due to this dependency syndrome, the GCC rulers unfortunately demonstrate and use their power, authority and military capability against most of their own citizens, who thus largely cease to be productive participants in its





political process and also in the overall social and economic development. This has also deprived most of the people of their role in the process of political development. The rulers instead of trying to anchor political development and stability in the concept of legitimacy seek that anchor in US protection. Foreign protection, thus, becomes a substitute for legitimacy and hence people's participation and human rights have become casualties. It needs to be stressed that both domestic and external factors coalesce in the interest of the status quo, resulting in political paralysis. The focus of this article is on the issue of political change, democratization and the processes of governance in the GCC States which has intensified due to a number of internal and external factors.





## *Whither the Rule of Law in the Contemporary Arab Gulf?*

**Prof. David Mednicoff, J.D./Ph.D. (Harvard University)**

**Asst. Professor, Center for Public Policy and Administration, Univ. of Massachusetts—Amherst**

My paper uses original fieldwork from Qatar and the UAE, as well as past research of my own and others from a wider array of Gulf and non-Gulf Arab countries, to analyze the nature and implications of political understandings of the idea and institutions of the rule of law. The rule of law stands as perhaps the most prominent global political ideal today; yet it is often understood and contested in very diverse ways within and across countries. This is especially the case in the Arab world, where a foreign policy industry within the US and other western countries to reform local Arab legal practices has grown without conclusive evidence as to what can improve legal accountability or efficiency in particular Arab contexts.

Gulf states are a most interesting site for assessing the Arab politics of the rule of law, and the connection of this to issues of political liberalization and other countries' foreign policy. This is because of the rapidly globalizing dynamic of these states, and their concomitant determination to expand legal mechanisms to help citizens and non-citizen residents support and harness this growth. This makes officials sensitive to conforming their economies to the expectations of international law,<sup>1</sup> which in turn helps explain their high performance on comparative measures of legalism, like the World Bank's.

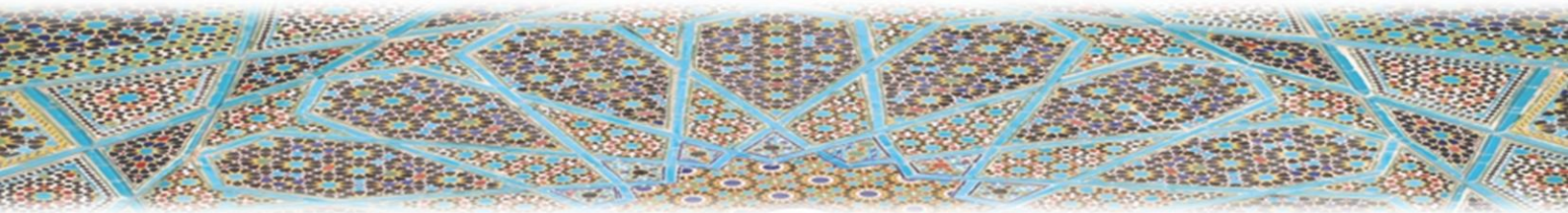
The paper uses primary research about the way law is taught, practiced and contested by legal and policy activists in Doha and Dubai as a focus for my broader arguments about the main political currents of the rule of law in the Gulf, and their implications. My work in Dubai and Doha builds on a research grant to write a paper on the legal regulation of non-citizen workers in these two cities from Georgetown SFS-Qatar, a Fulbright faculty fellowship at Qatar University, and my current status as a Research Fellow at Harvard-Kennedy School's Dubai Institute, which is connected to the Dubai School of Government. These affiliations have allowed me to learn a great deal about contemporary Gulf dynamics, and to have access to many individuals and institutions relevant to the natures and change of the rule of law in Qatar and the UAE.

My narrow and broader research on the politics of legal change and regulation, especially with respect to migrants, links important social and cultural issues and governance issues in the Gulf, and, therefore, fits within several themes of the MEI-NUS symposium. More generally, how law is understood and connects to politics in Arab countries is under-theorized and under-documented in contemporary scholarship. In addition, how globalized law and labor markets affect local identity and politics in particular non-Western societies is also an area where extant

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<sup>1</sup> A timely example is Dubai's current investigation of major fraud and bribery at Dubai Waterfront. See, e.g., [http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/55261af6-f8dd-11dd-a284-000077b07658.html?nclink\\_check=1](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/55261af6-f8dd-11dd-a284-000077b07658.html?nclink_check=1).





research is limited, given the issue's broad significance. My paper addresses these knowledge gaps in the vitally important arena of the contemporary Arab Gulf.

The paper argues that competing global, national and subnational conceptions of the rule of law lead governments such as those in Qatar and the UAE to place prominent symbolic attention to legal reform, but such symbolism outpaces legal accountability and efficiency. In Arab contexts, issues around law's possible secularity and universalism can particularly complicate official legal dynamics. Nonetheless, in comparison with other Arab and non-Arab states, Gulf countries such as my two major cases exhibit an extremely fluid and dynamic context for political contests and change in the rule of law. This is because of the diversity of their populations, educational expansion and generational shifts, that result from rapid globalization. Given this, my major motivation for presenting this research in Singapore is to learn about the experience of legal growth and change in a non-Arab society that is comparable to Doha and Dubai in the nature and level of its globalized development.

The paper is part of a book I am writing on the rule of law and its possible role in liberalization in six Arab countries. The book project began with a paper commissioned by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. I believe my work is unique in linking current debates by, and experiences of, Arab legal and political elites regarding the rule of law to the structures of Arab politics and US foreign policy. These links are facilitated by my interdisciplinary methodology that combines participant observation and interviews, comparative country case studies grounded in political science and the analysis of legal texts, curricula and practices. I hope that this symposium will offer me an opportunity to share my work in a new context from my normal Western and Arab policy and politics circles. This will help me add comparative context to my research that aims to cover an important range of issues on what law means for Arab politics and global policy in an empirically-rich manner.





## *The Uprising in Bahrain*

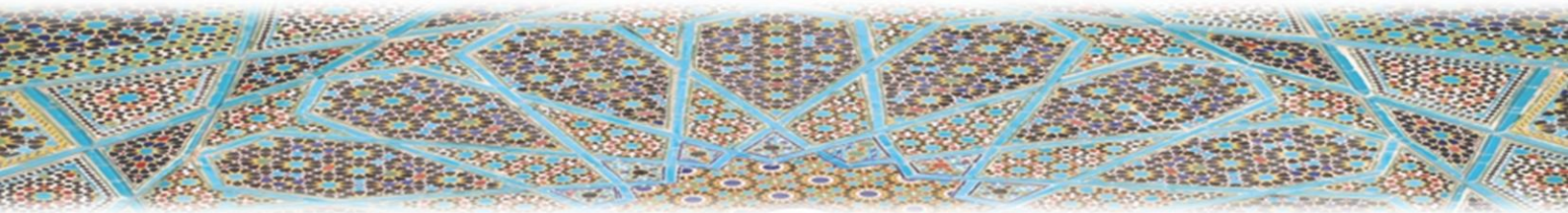
**Prof. Munira Fakhro**

The unprecedented popular uprising in the Arab region had attracted attention of many observers all over the world. Bahrain was among those countries which witnessed such movement. Over the last two months, precisely on the 14<sup>th</sup> of February, Bahrain was facing a series of mass protests seeking democracy, social justice and the creation of a constitutional monarchy. Those protests took place at the Lulu or Pearl Round About. Although the demonstrators were mainly Shia, many Sunni joined, especially those who are members of the three secular political societies (Waad, Alminber, and Altajammu') which are part of the seven opposition societies.

One month later, the Crown Prince announced readiness to hold a national dialogue with all concerned parties to discuss 7 main points, which include a parliament with full powers, a representative government, combating financial and administrative corruption, and an election of a council that will write a new constitution. The Crown Prince tried very hard to gather the opposition leaders to develop the dialogue. When the two parties nearly reached an agreement, the Peninsula Shield, comprised of the Saudi Army and UAE Police Force, entered Bahrain. The protest was crushed by the police and the army. The outcome was as follows: 25 dead, 24 missing, more than 500 detained - among them 10 political leaders. 79 scholarships to different universities outside Bahrain for students were revoked and nearly 1000 employees were fired, including university professors, medical doctors and high ranking employees. The government claims the death of 3 policemen.

This preliminary study will explore the causes of the uprising; why the majority of protesters were Shia? Will Bahrain become the spearhead of a democratic movement that might spread all over the Gulf region? are the GCC states heading towards confederation? While it is early to assess the impact of this uprising, it is safe to say that the future of Bahrain will not be shaped by the people of Bahrain alone. Regional and international powers will interfere to dictate the future of Bahrain.





## Panel 3A – Economic Trends & Development

### *Rentier states without rentiers? Redesigning the distributional bargain in the Gulf*

By Steffen Hertog

Large-scale distribution of state resources to the local population is an ineluctable feature of the GCC political economy. The way that distribution is currently organized however – primarily via public jobs and subsidized or free public services – destroys labour market and, to a lesser degree, entrepreneurial incentives for locals and leads to distorted and unsustainable consumption patterns. My paper will argue that the re-engineering of the distributional bargain in the Gulf is the primary challenge that needs to be tackled to put GCC economies on a sustainable growth path that involves a significant share of nationals in the production of economic value-added.

The paper will start by providing a qualitative and quantitative overview of current distributional mechanisms in the GCC, analysing their consequences for the development of local business as well as nationals' labour market and consumption behaviour. A brief discussion of future fiscal scenarios will show that the long-term continuation of current trends of distribution would be fiscally and environmentally problematic even in the smaller Gulf countries. A distinction will be made between growth and fiscal effects of state spending in tax-based countries compared to those in rentier countries, leading to a discussion of the problematic political role of the private sector in the GCC rentier states, which due to the absence of business taxes and weakness of national employment in business shares fewer interests with the population at large than in tax states.

The paper will then outline a number of policy options through which distribution could be redesigned with a view to incentivizing nationals to seek more productive employment and linking their interests more closely to those of the private sector, to which they are currently juxtaposed. Such a new distributional deal would involve re-engineering of public employment, public service pricing and welfare policies. The aim would be not to reduce the scale of distribution, but to channel it through mechanisms – such as a basic citizens' income – that are more transparent, much more equitable, and much less distortionary than the current dispensation. A complementary policy with a strong distributional impact would be to incentivize local business to employ larger numbers of nationals, which could happen either through taxation of foreign labour or its political equivalent, quantitative restrictions on foreign labour imports which would increase its price. The final section will discuss political obstacles in the transition to a new distributional regime as well as potential ways to overcome them.



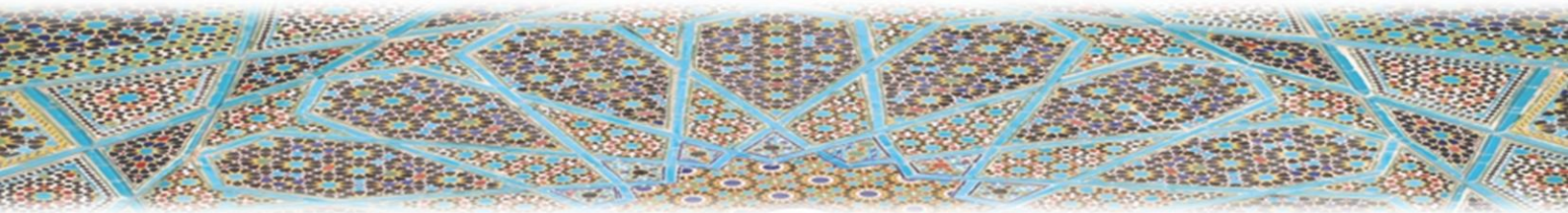


## *The Dynamics of Distribution in the Gulf: The Impact of Selective Allocations on Agency and Bureaucratic Accessibility in Kuwait*

James Redman

For more than three decades the rentier framework has provided researchers and scholars alike with a model for discerning the nature of interactions between states and their citizens throughout the Gulf. However, only within the past few years have specialists begun to question its overly deterministic, almost predictive, shortcomings in conjunction with its failure to address the multiplex roles that individual and collective agency clearly account for in this political environment. More specifically, the classical rentier paradigm inadequately assumed that rent-seeking on the part of the populous was either uniform or that rent distribution by the government was completely equitable. Fortunately, this top-down emphasis is now being reevaluated and this paper will further contribute to this process by examining these issues as they are pertinent to Kuwait by considering the following interrelated factors: partiality in the distribution of rent income, the ascendancy of bureaucratic brokerage, and the institutionalization of interpersonal modes of access via the men's guestroom (dīwāniyyā).





## ***State – Business Relations in the GCC. The role of the business actors in the decision-making process of reform***

**Marc Valeri**

The GCC states are undergoing striking socio-economic changes caused by the ending of the rent-based welfare state model on which these monarchies had largely relied since the 1950s. In this perspective, this paper aims at examining in a comparative perspective:

1. The business community's role in affecting the orientations and the outcomes of the reforms implemented for ten years in each of the GCC countries;
2. The impact of these reforms on the composition of the business elite and on the state-business relationship.

The paper will first present the organisation of the business community and the sociology of their relations with the political authority (such as their institutional and non-official presence in the decision-making process). Then the core of the paper will focus on the compared impact of the business elite on the direction taken by the economic diversification policies and the privatisation process during the last decade. And conversely, this paper will pay special attention to the impact of these reforms on the composition of the business elite and the latter's relations with the political authority.

By exploring the relationship between the business elite and the political elite as a key factor to understand social and economic reforms in the region, the approach adopted in this paper aims at bringing new perspectives to assessing the challenges to political legitimacy induced by the current changes. It thus allows the elaboration of new insights on the political stability and durability in the Gulf monarchies which is of high relevance for the study of similar political regimes in other areas.





## *Towards Sustainable Growth – The Economic Diversification- Knowledge Economy link*

**N Janardhan**

For the first time in the history of the Gulf region, high oil price was accompanied by economic diversification between 2003 and 2008. This encouraged private sector growth, which, in turn, has provided new avenues for competitive and underprivileged nationals to take up challenging jobs, rather than rely just on the public sector, which is unable to accommodate the youth bulge.

But, while the GCC countries have financial resources, they still suffer from a deficient education system. As a result, the region is very much dependent on foreign technologies and labour.

On a positive note, however, the Gulf countries broke away from the neo-classical economics model, which recognised only labour and capital. Instead, they became receptive to the new growth theorists' stress on technology as well, where knowledge is seen as increasing the return on investment.

Going by recent trends, the GCC countries are attempting to tread the 'knowledge economy' route – where human capital is the chief source of economic value, and education as well as training, the main tools.

Since the academic-industry linkage is a major force in the knowledge economy, the newfound understanding is that the learning indigenous community will facilitate a rich environment of ideas, creativity and expertise that will stimulate strategic and continued growth for companies.

The proposed paper will delve into the recent economic diversification efforts and the reasons for pursuing them, some of the problems and reforms in the education sector (especially schools), and the various measures undertaken to kick-start and sustain the drive towards building a knowledge economy.





## Panel 3B – Landscapes, Seascapes & Valuescapes

### *Encoded Visions: The Floating Life on Dubai Creek*

Dr. Tim Kennedy

During the 19th century, Arabia, and its orientalist imagery, became an artistic convention that has become hybridized via economic globalization. The dense intercultural activity characteristic of Dubai on the Persian Gulf reveals this dramatic shift. Dubai describes both the dated western visitors' view of the exotic East alongside the current narrative with symbols of an outsourced Orientalism. Embedded in the original settlements that straddle Dubai Creek is the palimpsest of the port that networked the regions maritime commerce. The two different narratives that separate the visitor and the urban inhabitant reveal the parallel continuums of the city's persona. The original settlement retains essential patterns of the port's everyday life and diverse cultural heritage while the vaulting modern development exhibits an imported fetishized Orientalism for corporate franchise consumption.

This cultural landscape study and its accompanying series of serial panoramas are a window into the dense intercultural activity that characterizes the current state of the urban remains of the authentic Dubai. As stated by Dewey (1934) art is a universal language that strives to achieve the internal experience of another culture. The artwork exhibited is a study of Place from 2006-2009 and is presented as an immediate encounter, not a study of external facts about geography, religion and history. It presents a sustainable urban form at risk of imminent erasure by powerful forces of economic globalization.





## *Seascape Urbanism in the Gulf (Al Khalij)*

Dr. Samia Rab

Land and its physical attributes have been central to discourse on architecture and urbanism. Grounded constructs used to explain urban form are consequently used to generate urban design. Though there is vast literature on the centrality of an oceanic perspective to our understanding of cultures, it remains abstract and related of the idea of the ocean.<sup>2</sup>

My paper compares the historic urban development of three port settlements in the Gulf (*Al Khalij*): Sharjah and Ras al Khaima on the eastern edge of Arabia and Bander Lengeh in Iran. While these *Khaliji* ports benefitted from the lucrative Indian Ocean trade, they facilitated the exchange of material, human and capital flows. The Persian component and the Arab component coexisted, though not without conflicts. Merchants, lenders, divers, and labor force from all across the region inhabited and participated in the making of these settlements. My paper reveals *Khaliji* urbanism as a unique typology based on secure tenure over the connecting ocean, linking diverse people with landscape and seascape ecologies. I will conclude with introducing “seascape”<sup>3</sup> urbanism as a visual complement to the existing domains of “port” and “coastal” urbanism.

Through the three case cities, I argue that consideration of “identity” in Gulf cities necessitates the revival of centrality of the ocean as a unifying geographic entity. The maritime orientation of my paper transcends the contemporary discourse on *Khaliji* identity from its present insularity. Future considerations of “identity” in *Al Khalij* will thus necessitate the revival of centrality of the ocean as a unifying geographic entity.

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<sup>2</sup> For reviewed literature on the theory and history of the world’s oceans, see Buschmann, R.F., “Oceans of World History: Delineating Aquacentric Notions in the Global Past,” *History Compass*, 2: 2004.

<sup>3</sup> Bentley, J.H., Bridenthal R., and Wigen K. (ed.) *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges*, 2007.





## *Misty Materialities: Dubai, Mythic History, and the Burj Khalifa*

Kevin Smith  
Anthropology  
University of California, Davis

This paper describes the valuescape of which the world's tallest skyscraper, Dubai's *Burj Khalifa*, constitutes the most salient contour. I will explore the symbolic meanings invested in the materiality of this architectural giant, engaging with two primary sites of investigation. First, I am interested in the linear historical-temporal framework of the concept of progress, and how this tower is held to be reaching the apotheosis of capitalist modernity's progression through time. Critiquing this linear narrative, I suggest that the temporal dimension of debt to the United Arab Emirate's (UAE) Abu Dhabi, Dubai's neighboring city-state, which helped finance the tower after construction was halted for several months, requires an alternative temporal understanding of progress. Such an understanding allows for historical ruptures and turning points rather than inexorable forward movement. The second focus of this paper is on the mystified labor relations that constructed the tower, despite the ideological emphasis away from these social relations and toward the impress of the tower's materiality itself. By prioritizing the conditions in which mostly migrant South Asian workers organize their daily lives, as well as engage in construction labor under demanding working conditions, I will offer a critical viewpoint against which the tower's acclaim may be contrasted. Further, because several labor strikes by these South Asian workers periodically forced construction of the *Burj Khalifa* to a standstill, I will return to my temporal analytic and suggest that active historical agents, in addition to the lifeless, revenant nature of monetary debt, can alter the course of history. This paper will therefore hope to offer a critical anthropological perspective on social conditions in Dubai, proposing that the spectacular qualities of its urban landscape, most visible in the *Burj Khalifa*'s sheer monumental proportions, require acknowledgement of the human activity and social inequality from which such valuescapes are produced.





# *The Game: An examination of the content and discourse in Websites belonging to Iraqi Insurgent groups and the reconstruction of perceived political and social agendas*

**Omer Ali Saifudeen**

This presentation is based on my ongoing Phd Research that looks into deconstructing Extremist Muslim Ideologies found in the Websites of extremist and militant movements with a view to elucidate the framing process and factors that create resonance at the grassroots. The focus also covered the ideological narratives and propaganda of dominant Iraqi insurgent clusters such as Al Qaeda's Islamic State of Iraq (ISI), Political Council for the Iraqi Resistance (PCIR), the front for Jihad and Change (FJC) and other Sunni insurgent groups.

The presentation will identify the central message themes and argumentation mechanisms used in the narratives found in the websites of these groups. This research will initially explore how these themes correlate with each other and the rhetorical techniques used. Once this relationship has been established, it will look at how these particular themes are mobilised across the groups they represent in an overarching manner to create appeal and resonance. The next stage involves key differences in their aims, narratives and perspectives. These disconnects are crucial as they implicitly map out the regional and international resonance that some groups such as the ISI hope to achieve as compared to the local issues that narratives from other groups expound on. There are even subtle elements of compromise hinted at in some narratives that in some sense can be leveraged on. Thus finally illustrating how the heterogeneous nature of these groups coupled with differences in their broader ideological and issue based grassroots narratives are in many ways reflective of domestic issues. If these issues are addressed strategically, they can refocus efforts towards realizable reconstruction of the state and create the necessary divide to weed out militant groups that seek to capitalize on the Iraqi situation.





#### Panel 4 – Convergences: Southeast Asia & the Gulf

### *Governance: China and the Arab world*

**Prof. Zheng Yongnian**

While the world is witnessing the Arab uprisings, debates are taking place on whether a similar development will happen to China. The Chinese government is nervous about the Arab uprisings, taking all pre-cautious measures to cope with potential social instability. Nevertheless, China is different from the Arab world. This presentation will highlight how China has developed its own model of governance since the reform and open door policy and what experience and lessons that China can offer to the Arab world.





## ***South-East Asia and the Gulf: Convergence and Competition in the Wider Asian Context***

**By Dr. Tim Niblock**

**Professor and Chair of the Management Board, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies,  
University of Exeter**

The Gulf region is undergoing a major re-direction in its external economic, and to some extent political, relationships: away from the Western world and towards Asia. Although much of the recent focus has been on China's growing focus and involvement in the region (an involvement which is likely to expand even more substantially over the coming decade), the Chinese role needs to be placed in the context of that of other Asian countries which are also heavily engaged in the Gulf and seem destined to establish relationships involving high levels of mutual dependence with Gulf states: most notably India, with its multi-layered relationships with the region (migrant presence, historical links, trade and contract expansion, and close strategic potential); Japan, with a long-standing economic involvement in key economic fields and a diplomatic relationship which has carried weight at some critical turning-points; and South Korea, with its highly successful record in gaining major contracts in construction, infrastructural and industrial projects which are crucial for the states' development. South-East Asia is a relative newcomer to the Gulf region, yet its involvement is increasing and in some respects it is well-placed to benefit from the wider shift of Gulf interest towards Asia. In some respects this may involve elements of competition with other Asian states, but there are also dimensions where the more widespread Asian involvement can benefit Asian states collectively. There are also some respects in which South-East Asian countries can make contributions to Gulf development which other Asian states are less suited to, and there may be ways in which cooperative projects bringing together South-East Asian states and other Asian states can be pursued. The paper, then, will set the experience and potential South-East Asia, with regard to the Gulf, within the wider Asian context.





## *Between Abu Dhabi and Java: Mobility and Narrative of a Hadrami Family*

**By Ismail Fajrie Alatas**

This paper examines the emerging connection between the United Arab Emirates and Indonesia by reconstructing the history of a Hadrami family who once migrated to Indonesia. The Mawladawila family first migrated to Java at the turn of the twentieth century where they successfully build a business enterprise. The formation of the Indonesian nation-state, however, put an end to the family fortune. Refusing to become Indonesian citizen, Sayyid Salim Mawladawila returned to Hadramaut bringing some of his family and workers, and invested his wealth in failed business ventures in Aden. The socialist takeover, in particular, forced some members of the family to look for new opportunities abroad. It was during this time that one of Sayyid Salim's son Abu Bakr decided to migrate to Abu Dhabi. He adopted an indigenous tribal surname and became a lawyer. His success led to the migration of the rest of the family in Hadramaut to Abu Dhabi.

Today Abu Bakr is a successful lawyer. His family enjoyed the fruit of his labor and in turn, they also rose to become successful citizen of the booming country. Such a success stimulated new connection between the Mawladawila family in Abu Dhabi and their kinsmen in Java. Such connection is enabled by marriage, thereby spreading the wealth to Indonesia. This paper presents the history of the Mawladawila family by reconstructing it from oral histories. Examining the history of the connection between UAE and Indonesia by focusing on several actors provides another perspective to the bigger picture that is usually omitted from studies that focus on political economy. It is my contention that the story of the connection between UAE and Indonesia can be fruitfully written in the intersections of larger historical processes and personal histories of different actors. This paper therefore demonstrates the various contexts and entanglements that have made the connection possible and meaningful.





## *Turning East: The Social and Cultural Implications of the Gulf's Increasingly Strong Economic and Strategic Relations with China*

J. M. Armijo  
Qatar University

Over the past five years economic ties between the countries of the Gulf and China have grown exponentially. And although trade relations were initially based on China's need to secure long-term sources of energy, other financial opportunities have flourished. China has not only found a vast marketplace for its consumer and manufactured goods, but the countries of the GCC have found a source of engineering expertise, investment funding and a massive labor force supply for their extensive construction, transportation infrastructure, and energy development projects. More recently, the sovereign wealth funds of the Gulf have sought to diversify their investments by shifting away from the US and Europe and toward Asia in general and China in particular. At the same time, the Chinese state has also sought to diversify its investment strategy to include funding increasing numbers of major projects in the Gulf.

But what are the potential social and cultural implications of this major development in economic ties? Will these societies have any impact on each other, as growing numbers of investors, traders, workers, educators and tourists travel back and forth? And what will be the long-term impacts of the major efforts to promote a broader understanding of each region's culture? This chapter will focus on the hundreds of thousands of people presently traveling back and forth between the Gulf and China, and the efforts of both China and the countries of the Gulf to establish cultural and media ties. These efforts include China's recent establishment of CCTV-Arabic, a 24/7 news and entertainment television channel broadcast entirely in Arabic to the countries of the Middle East, Qatar's Al Jazeera Head Bureau offices in Beijing, as well as several major joint educational projects in both China and the Gulf.





## Panel 5 – Whither Iraq?

### *Iraq's national pact, the civil war and the future*

**Toby Dodge**  
**University of London**

Elite bargains are placed at the centre of successful negotiations to end internal conflicts and consolidate a democratic system of governance. Such bargains are meant to unite formally feuding political elites around newly established rules to govern post-conflict politics. However, Lindemann's work has identified 'exclusive elite bargains' which by their very nature can drive states back into violent conflict.

This paper argues that politics in post-regime change Iraq, from the formation of the Governing Council in July 2003, at least until the national elections of March 2010, were based upon an exclusive elite bargain. This was specifically designed to exclude the former ruling elite and more importantly a substantial section of Iraq's population from decision making power. It is this elite bargain that played a major role in driving Iraq into civil war from 2005 onwards.

The paper will examine the causes and consequences of that elite bargain and show how the negotiations which led to the new government at the end of 2010 may lead to a broadening out of the governing elite and hence a more stable basis to politics.





## *The Fate of the Post-War Political Order in Iraq*

**Dr Raad Alkadiri**

US-led efforts to establish a functioning democracy in Iraq after 2003 have faced a consistent internal challenge from the group of largely former exile parties that assumed power post war. The country has held successive elections, but as was seen after the March 2010 polls, having taken control of the state these groups are determined to protect their political prerogatives in part by perpetuating a highly divisive ethno-sectarian system. Moreover, within this framework, the emphasis of the political parties has been on zero-sum competition among themselves, rather than any broad agreement on policy, something that has steadily diminished the administrative capacity of the state. As a result, the popular legitimacy of Iraq's new order is eroding.

Popular anger with the failure of successive governments to deliver service and jobs, and with the high level of corruption witnessed in the public sector, poses an added challenge to the current system. And how the parties in the present coalition respond will determine how much of a threat the current demonstrations are to the post-war order. If they can coalesce and act coherently, then the outcome could be positive, bolstering the legitimacy and effectiveness of government. But if they continue to view events through the prism of narrow party interests, the February 2011 protests could mark the beginning of a major decline in the current system, with no clear effective alternative to replace it.





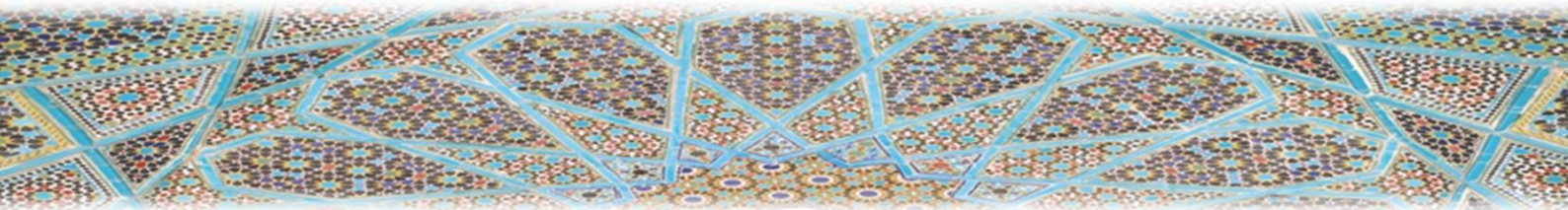
## *Iraqi Economics: From Saddam to Future Plans*

Joseph Sassoon

The talk will address Iraq's economic issues. The first part will highlight the main problems which faced the country during Saddam Hussein's era. The second part will deal with the situation post the 2003 US-led invasion and the repercussions for the country. Finally, the paper will analyze the current economic conditions by looking at the development plan for 2010–2014 and problems facing future development.

Iraq's economy in early 2003 was weak, although it had improved in comparison with the early to mid-1990s. Its infrastructure suffered dramatically in the First Gulf War of 1991, and thirteen years of harsh sanctions only exacerbated the problems the country faced. The period following the invasion could be characterized by the collapse of the state and a civil war that ravaged the economy and led to the demise of the middle class. After the security situation began to improve from the end of 2007, Iraq once more faced the Herculean task of mending the economy. Unlike previous plans, the current development plan assumes a partnership between the private and public sectors. Its main targets are to improve infrastructure, increase productivity of the agricultural and industrial sectors, and last but not least to improve the level of services, particularly in health and education.





## ***Business elites and the emergent political process in post-Saddam Hussein Iraq***

**Dr. Chérine CHAMS EL DINE**  
**Lecturer in Politics (Cairo University - Egypt)**

Several scholars on the MENA countries have explored the question whether business elites are pushing for political as well as for economic liberalisation. Most of them came with the conclusion that business elites in the Middle East are unlikely to push for political liberalisation, as they are dependent on the state and owe their origins to its largesse. Their coexistence with the political elites – rather than entering into struggle for politics – was essential to their success. Thus business-political elites relationship tended to be described in the relevant literature by “crony capitalism”, “embedded autonomy” or “friendly cooperation”, depicting a patron-client relationship and a situation that preserves the agent’s autonomy and privileges in exchange of its acquiescence in the status quo. However, business elites can push for democratisation only if they emerge as independent actors able to challenge the authoritarian rule and thus calling for change.

In Iraq, most of the old business families fled the country following the 1958 revolution (overthrowing the Hashemite monarchy). This marked the beginning of a shift in the composition of the Iraqi bourgeoisie, which was consolidated by the nationalisation policy undertaken by the Baathist regime in the 1970’s, as the state became the major source of demand and of contracts allocation. New business elites emerged – most of them were newcomers – whom good connections (and sometimes family ties) with the Baath party officials seemed to be the key of their success. Needless to say, that a businessman couldn’t show the slightest sign of opposition to the regime to stay in business or alive. A situation that didn’t drastically change with the imposition of UN sanctions, as the main beneficiaries of the UN “oil for food program” were the family and associates of the former President Saddam Hussein.

Since the overthrow of the Iraqi regime (2003), a new private sector has been slowly coming to surface in Iraq. In 2006, the Iraqi Business Council was established by more than 64 Iraqi business associations. After a historical overview of the Iraqi business composition, this paper will tackle the following research questions:

- Who are the new Iraqi businessmen?
- What is their relationship with the new Iraqi political elite?
- What is the impact of these new business elites on the current political process in Iraq and on the political decision making? What are the channels they use to affect the policies implemented? How are they acting to lobby in favour of their interests? In other words, do they push towards democratisation and stabilisation of the Iraqi scene?



## *Challenges and Opportunities for Iran in the New Middle East*

Juan Cole (John Ricardo Cole)

**Abstract** The revolutions of 2011 look likely deeply to alter the geostrategic calculus of the Middle East. In the first decade of the new millennium, a new cold war grew up between Iran and the Arab world, with Israel as an ironic de facto partner of the latter. Iran's assets included the Karzai government in Afghanistan; Allawi-dominated Syria; (after 2003) the Shiite-dominated government in Iraq; Hizbullah in Lebanon and Hamas in Gaza; the Shiite majority in Bahrain; and Shiite minorities in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the UAE and Qatar.

Ranged against what King Abdullah II of Jordan called the 'Shiite Crescent' were Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Jordan, Hosni Mubarak's Egypt, the PLO of Mahmoud Abbas, Yemen, and the Sunnis of Lebanon and Iraq, along with Israel.

The revolutions of 2011 deeply damaged Iran's foes. The Mubarak government fell, and opinion polling does not suggest that a popularly elected parliamentary regime in Cairo would be particularly interested in pursuing the cold war against Iran or in helping Israel blockade Gaza (the latter policy is a propaganda boon for Iran). The collapse of an ally (the Mubarak government) on its Western borders left Israel in a much weaker position and probably made an Israeli attack on Lebanon's Hizbullah or on Iran itself far less likely. The PLO, left without the support of Mubarak and his right-hand man Umar Suleiman, is now exploring a rapprochement with Hamas and is likely to tone down its anti-Iran rhetoric.

A Hizbullah-backed government has come to power in Lebanon, blunting Saudi influence in the Levant, exercised through former Prime Minister Saad al-Hariri. Jordan has been roiled by protests and demands for a constitutional monarchy. Yemen, a minor player in the Arab-Iranian Cold War, has also been thrown into turmoil by massive popular protests. As the Saudi position has suffered severe setbacks, Riyadh has grown increasingly desperate and adventurist. The huge rallies in Bahrain and the threat to the Sunni monarchy there from the Shiite reform movement led to a Saudi military intervention that polarized the Gulf along Sunni-Shiite lines. Some analysts speculated that such a direct Saudi intervention might well encourage an Iranian riposte.

The collapse of the Arab-Iranian Cold War creates both opportunities and dangers for the Iranian regime. The opportunities are largely in the area of foreign policy. Foremost among the dangers is a domestic one: the possibility that Iranian dissidents will successfully appeal to the public for the new civil rights and democratic norms emerging in Tunisia, Egypt and Morocco, against the authoritarian Khomeinist regime.





## *Sources of Continuity in Iran's Foreign Policy Behavior*

Mahmood Sariolghalam

Professor of International Relations

National University of Iran (Shahid Beheshti)

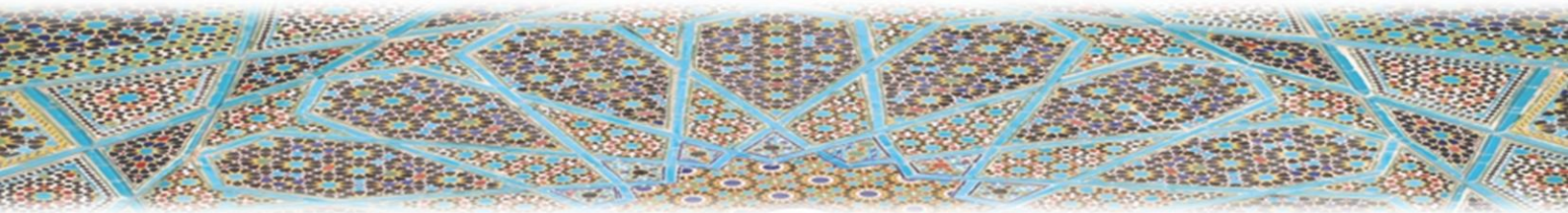
Contrary to the conventional wisdom, the rudiments of Iran's foreign policy since 1979 have corroborated remarkable stability and continuity. Perhaps, the most suitable conceptual framework to fathom such continuity is the *social constructivist* frame of reference. The idea of the Islamic Revolution was fundamentally a response to a historical legacy; the legacy of extensive foreign intervention in the social and the political life of Iranians. The rather long process of foreign intervention resulted in the constitutionalist and ultimately revolutionary reactions to disentangle this experience of a decaying Iranian empire in the 20th century. These movements reflected both the justice oriented Shia ideology of the masses and their enfeebled semi-feudal economic status as well. Despite some attempts from the 1950s through the 1970s, Iran could not construct the foundations of a modern society based on a sizeable middle class. In recent centuries, Iranians proved unable to build a unified national identity and thus failed to position a *nation state*. Standoff between the forces of religion and those of modernity continues to this day. Iranians have therefore extraordinarily perpetuated varying polities ruled by the norms of oscillating tribes. The Islamic Revolution was a massive response to impede foreign intervention. Similar to other revolutionary experiments, it situated the domestic structures to be consonant with foreign policy bearings. There is a peculiar imbalance between the pre-revolutionary orientations and the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI): the former were exclusively an edifice of individuals but the later, through the logic of the times, produced a social base for its pursuits. Some may dub the new polity as populist but it exceeds a populist ideology. The latest *modus operandi* among Iranians does fulfill some tangible needs and cherishes plenty psychological replenishments for the masses. Yet, the new arrangement is in distress caused by a pivotal deficiency: it withstands reordering. Conceivably, the revolutionary polity cannot reorder/redefine since such an endeavor will bring about alterations in the power configuration of the country. Having set the aforementioned historical framework, Iran's foreign policy in the post revolutionary period has been characterized by the following continuities:

- *Preference of Causes and Movements to Governments in Foreign Policy Conduct;*
- *Institutionalized Confrontation with Israel and the United States;*
- *Fostering Strategic Enclaves in the Middle East to Contain the U.S.;*
- *Foreign Economic Relations being Separable from Foreign Policy Pursuits;*
- *Supremacy of Ideological Interests over Economic Ones for maintaining Domestic Security.*

Four areas of reasoning can be advanced to develop the proposition that the Islamic 2 Republic of Iran has maintained a foreign policy founded on the above guidelines:

- ***Iran's Foreign Policy is Separable from its Foreign Economic Relations.*** Iran's economy is not interdependent with the rest of the world. It is essentially a barter economy where oil is traded with goods and services. Not only the internationalization of an economy reorganizes





the domestic productive capacities of a country but over time it also incrementally elbows the system to acquiesce to the norms of global power structure. From the state perspective in Iran, interdependence obscures political independence and causes gradual foreign meddling; a trend the Islamic Revolution battled against so passionately and unmistakably. Iran's foreign policy on the one hand and its foreign economic relations on the other are constructed on two partitioned off railroads;

- *The Essential Features of Power in the IRI is ideological and consequently its Foreign Policy is ideological as well.* The nature of power in both industrialized and typically newly evolving countries is founded on the accumulation of wealth. Foreign policy in these states serves processes for wealth creation. Non-compliance with foreign powers is a closely guarded principle in the IRI. Potential negative economic consequences are immaterial. If IRI pursues national strategies similar to Turkey and Malaysia, it is no longer Islamic Republic of Iran; it is simply another developing country dissolved in the global realist system. Therefore, it must champion its ideological authenticity at whatever cost;
- *The Sovereignty of the IRI Depends on the Ideological Nature of its Foreign Policy.* All countries define their sovereignty on the basis of their belief systems. IRI is instituted on principles of non-conformity with the United States and disapproval of the state of Israel. All employees of the system need to adapt themselves to such permanent policies as employees of all states are expected to promote the policies of their political establishments. Redirecting of Iran's foreign policy indispensably compels a new consensus that reaches out to the elites composed of professionals, businesses and the youth exposed to international norms. The radius of this consensus arguably supersedes the radius of the present one. If carried out, the configuration of power will have to be demarcated anew;
- *The Legitimacy and the National Security of the IRI are Intertwined with the Principles of Current Foreign Policy.* Security of states is defined on the basis of their priorities and domestic structures. The enemies of France, for example, are terrorism, environmental decay, unemployment and nuclear proliferation. The Cold War defined America's security and global legitimacy for some four decades. The enemies of Iran are the United States and Israel. Normalization with the United States will disturb the parameters of the internal power configuration. Imagine if Iran becomes a member of G20, it will have to redefine its identity, legitimization processes and national security priorities. The consequence of such refurbishing will be a new consensus at home with new faces and new ideas. The contemporary ideological and hence political and social division along the lines of *tradition and modernity* cannot enable and qualify this transformation. Power in Iran is a zero sum game; contending groups/tribes for power are too polarized to reach a consensus. Hence, a social constructivist framework focused on ideas, processes and culture may postulate appropriate variables to explain sources of Iran's foreign policy behavior.





## *The Iranian Nuclear Issue and the Arab Media Response*

Jeongmin Seo

The Iranian nuclear issue is one of the hottest pending issues in the Arab politics. Iran's nuclear program has also become the subject of contention with the West due to suspicions regarding Iran's military intentions. Two presumptions center on Iran's intentions. First, Iran is actively seeking to make nuclear bombs, not for deterrence but to menace the United States and its allies. The other assumption focuses on Iran's move towards the hegemonic power center in the region. For example, Shahram Chubin points out that Iran's nuclear ambitions reflect a broader aspiration on the part of the Iranian leadership: to become an Islamic superpower capable of dominating the greater Middle East and to provide nuclear protection to its allies and proxies (Chubin 2006, 37).

Since the Iraq War in 2003 and with the emergence of the Shia government there, the Arab Sunni governments have worried about assumption that Iran would fill the regional power vacuum. The most well-known discourse expressing the fears about the ambitions of Iran to become a regional superpower is 'Shia crescent' which was mentioned by King Abdullah of Jordan in December 2004. The Jordanian monarch warned about the emergence of an ideological Shiite crescent from Beirut to the Persian Gulf. Ever since then, the debate on Iran's intentions to create a Shiite crescent has been a significant topic of debate for the panels and conferences held on the region's issues (Takeyh 2007, 20-23).

With the new political developments in post-invasion Iraq, there is an ongoing Iranian-Arab ideological rivalry (Schake 2007, 6-8). Although some conflicts between the Shia and the Sunni countries in the region can be said as an inter--Arab world power-sharing conflict like the case of Iraq, this paper assumes that Iran's nuclear program and its attempt to create a coalition of Shia friendly governments have brought a new politico-ideological rivalry between Iran and other Arab states, especially the neighboring Gulf countries. On the basis of this assumption, this research hypothesizes that this ongoing ideological conflict has affected the recent phenomenon of a nuclear competition in the region.

The central research questions of this paper are therefore: why has the so-called Shia crescent discourse been formulated in the Arab politics; how has the Arab media been actively involved in the Shia-Sunni ideological conflict; and how have the Gulf governments responded the Iranian nuclear initiatives in real politics? On the basis of these questions, this paper first analyzes media responses on the Iranian nuclear issue. Articles, which contains the word 'Iran' in the opinion section of the pan-Arab Al-Sharq Al-Awsat newspaper between 2005 and 2010 are collected and analyzed quantitatively. The contents of the articles are treated in terms of four thematic categories: (1) how the articles defined the Iran's nuclear program and 'Shia crescent' or the terms used to describe them; (2) how they interpreted the reasons and intentions behind the





Iran's nuclear program; (3) how they evaluated the consequences of the Iran's initiatives; and (4) the solutions suggested by them to solve the problem of the issue. In addition to the quantitative analysis, this study secondly examines the recent nuclear development boom in the Arab World in order to evaluate how seriously the Arab governments have initiated nuclear development projects.



## **The Issue of Human Trafficking and Modern-day Slavery in the GCC States**

**Ami Angell, PhD, LLM**

The Middle East is not the first area to come to mind when discussing human trafficking in the world. Yet this region certainly has human trafficking problems. It's discrepancies in defining the Middle East, as well as inaccurate information that can make looking for factors and information on human trafficking in this region particularly frustrating. This difficulty is particularly pronounced because some Middle Eastern laws and cultures do not recognize certain forms of human trafficking as being, in fact, trafficking. Because of this, to their detriment, victims of trafficking are often not protected in the Middle East. Victims of human trafficking in the Middle East include domestic servitude and forced labor, child trafficking for camel jockeys and sex trafficking.

### **Human Trafficking as Slavery**

Human trafficking is considered a contemporary form of slavery. Slavery has historical roots in the Middle East, especially in the region bordering African states. One Middle Eastern state that has seen extensive slave trading, both historically and in the present day, is Sudan where the African non-Muslim population has been the target of mainly Arab slave traders. This slave trade has surged again in recent years due to the escalating attempts by the Arab governments to dominate their southern, non-Muslim population. The use of human trafficking as a tool to control an entire population at odds with the Sudanese government is a key issue when examining Sudan.

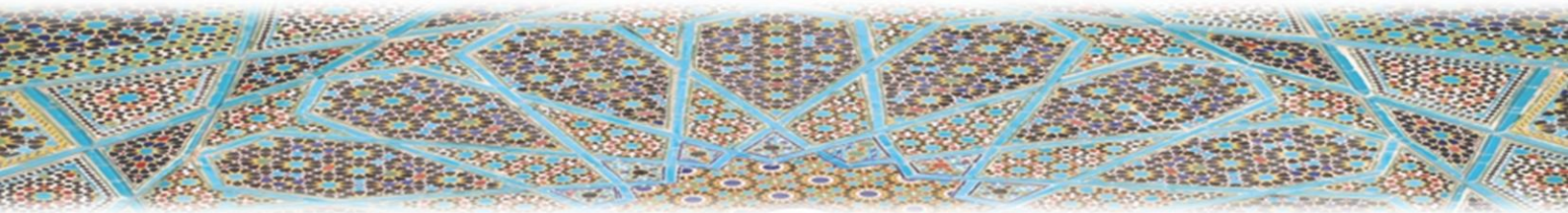
### **Redeeming Slaves**

A controversial issue when dealing with human trafficking and slavery in the Middle East and around the world is slave "redemption." Since it is difficult to find ways of releasing slaves from their buyers without more violence and turmoil, some organizations have resorted to buying slaves for their freedom. Many advocates of ending the slave trade claim that buying slaves from their owners encourages the demand for slaves. Therefore, it is argued that redeeming slaves actually contributes to the problem, and does not alleviate it. This is an incredibly difficult controversy because it weighs the lives of current victims of human trafficking with the hope that not feeding the demand will save people from becoming victims of trafficking in the near future.

### **Migrant Workers**

One of the largest human trafficking problems in the Middle East is the trafficking of migrant workers. Many migrant people, mainly from Asian states, are tricked into coming to the Middle East; they then find themselves in a forced labor situation or working for very low wages. This tragic phenomenon is especially prevalent in the oil-rich Gulf States of Kuwait, Oman, Qatar,





and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). In addition, these workers may be held to pay off their debt, which accumulates from the exorbitant costs of travel and housing. Organizations like the International Labor Organization strongly warn migrating workers about fraudulent schemes that promise workers transportation and work in another state. Although the Gulf States have one of the highest populations of migrant workers in the world, certainly not all of them are victims of human trafficking. Nevertheless, migrant workers going to the Middle East should be aware of the problem.

### **Child Camel Jockeys**

The majority of migrant workers in the Middle East are men and women. However, children are also trafficked to the Middle East, but for a different reason. Camel racing in the Middle East is a major sport, similar to horse racing in the United States. This sport is especially popular in the Gulf States. Because camel owners want a small jockey so that as little weight as possible will be on the camel, children are often trafficked in from other states such as Pakistan to race camels. Child jockeys are often malnourished so they maintain low weight. In addition, the children can also be hurt badly from falling from the camels. Strides have been made in abolishing this practice, such as the invention of robot jockeys to replace children, in addition to laws that raise the legal age of jockeys to fifteen or eighteen years. However, the practice still exists.

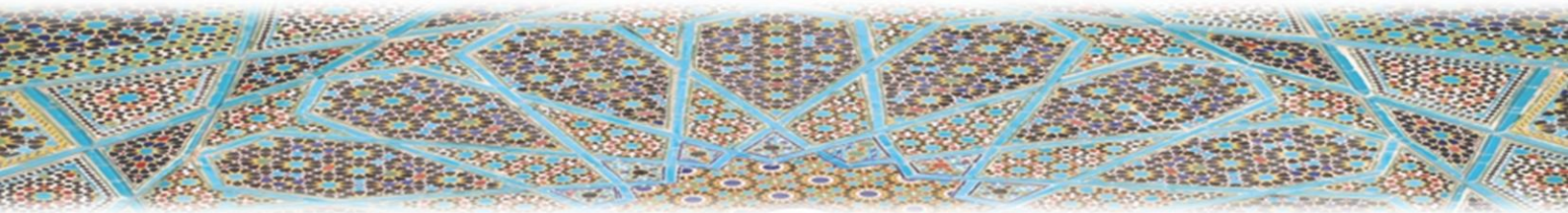
### **Sex Trafficking**

Although human trafficking for sexual exploitation does occur in the Middle East, it is difficult to find resources on this aspect of trafficking. In most Arab states, sex trafficking is not explicitly prohibited. As an example, in many Middle Eastern states, temporary marriage is permitted in which case the woman has few rights and the husband decides when the marriage ends. Temporary marriage is thought to be way to legalize prostitution. In addition, Arab culture is sensitive to this issue, which makes researching and gathering information difficult. On the other hand, Iraq's new constitution includes an article specifically prohibiting the trafficking of women and children for sex trade, the first Arab state to do so. This may be a promising, although perhaps not genuine, first step towards recognizing and acting against sex trafficking. Certain states and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are also putting pressure on Middle Eastern states to implement more explicit laws in human trafficking in general. However, even when there are laws against sex trafficking, the laws are not respected or enforced. In Israel, there are laws against sex trafficking, yet the Israeli government and law enforcement agencies have largely neglected to enforce these laws. Therefore, not only legislating laws, but also enforcing laws is important for change in sex trafficking in the Middle East.

### **International Laws and Organizations**

Today, there are many international laws and organizations working to prevent and stop human trafficking, and to hold traffickers responsible. International laws and treaties such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and organizations such as the United Nations, International Labor Organization, and International Organization for Migration are all working to stem human trafficking in the Middle East and





around the world. Some Middle Eastern governments are doing their part to stop the problem, while other states are not doing anything to prevent human trafficking. Reports like the United States Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP Report) expose states that are not making enough of an effort to end human trafficking. Through the many laws and documents, one can see the international community is not taking the human trafficking problem lightly.

## **Conclusion**

The international community is beginning to call upon the states of the world to take the problem of human trafficking more seriously. The Middle East is working towards this end, although at a slower pace than most would like. There are currently discussions in Oman to enact a law against human trafficking. Likewise Dubai has declared a “war on human trafficking.” In other parts of the Middle East Arab schools are beginning to integrate classes teaching the ills of human trafficking into their curriculum. There are steps being made, but arguably they are not enough. The Middle East is a region rich in culture, language and religion. However, its history of slavery and diverse legal systems has not yet enabled human trafficking to be defined as the international community demands it be. We can only hope that in the near future Middle Eastern states will be more proactive and receptive in doing their part in stopping the global crises of human trafficking.

## **Method of Presentation**

From actual experience of living and working over eight years in the Middle East, in addition to interviewing dozens of individuals working against human trafficking in Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Afghanistan, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia, Dr. Angell will provide a vivid pictorial and verbal overview of why human trafficking in the Middle East is more important today than ever, the successes and challenges of implementing a successful counter-trafficking strategy as well as what existing and emerging programs have the potential to become with respect and support of international mandates and human rights law. In addition, Angell will discuss the best way forward to ensure that victim’s needs are not neglected in the desire to avenge those responsible.





## *Urban Citizenship and Dubai's Indian Diaspora*

Dr. Neha Vora

This paper, which is based on ethnographic data collected between 2004 and 2010, explores the shifting and sometimes contradictory on-the-ground forms of urban citizenship among Indian residents in the downtown neighborhoods of the Dubai Creek area. The academic attention to the entanglements between South Asia and the Gulf mostly tends to overlook these vibrant centers of South Asian community life that have been present in the city for generations in favor of economically-driven accounts of unskilled labor migration. Migrants of any economic background in the Gulf countries are governed by an individual sponsorship (*kafala*) system, which limits their legal rights and affords them no possibility for permanent residency or citizenship in the countries where they work and often raise their families. In addition, in Dubai, like in other parts of the Arab Gulf, the citizen/non-citizen divide is the primary determinant of access to state resources, social capital, mobility, and belonging. Because of these structural disadvantages to non-citizens, any form of belonging for foreigners in the Gulf seems impossible. Unlike in Western contexts, where scholars of migration and urban space have extensively explored substantive citizenship, urban citizenship, and social citizenship—that is, citizenship that occurs at scales and spaces beyond the level of the formal legal category proffered by the state—these alternate forms of belonging are rarely considered by scholars of the Gulf region.

In this paper, I examine urban citizenship and belonging in Dubai among those I argue are Dubai's most "typical" residents—the middle-class, working-class, and, to some extent, elite Indians who populate the downtown neighborhoods of Dubai but are mostly erased in contemporary accounts of the emirate's rise and fall. Dubai, and particularly the downtown neighborhoods which I focus on in this paper, is predominantly South Asian, as is indexed by the linguistic, religious, sartorial, and commercial forms visible in the city, as well as by its demography—the majority of Dubai residents hail from South Asia, and of this population Indians form the largest national group. South Asians comprise the main workforce of the private and public sectors of the city, at every level of skill set, salary and education. I argue that, for the most part, the foreign residents that reside in these neighborhoods experience Dubai as an extension of India, and that these neighborhoods are sites of diasporic citizenship in which notions of race, gender, caste, class, region, and language are continually negotiated. In addition, I explore the successes and failures of engagement with the Indian state for these communities, who are not hailed in the same way as Western Diasporas, yet are also relied upon heavily for remittances. Finally, I consider how the Dubai's "boom" in the middle of this decade and the subsequent global economic recession have impacted these residents of the city and how their modes of belonging and claims to the city may be changing moving into the future.





# *Politics of Perception: Cultural Insecurity and Foreign Labor in the Arab Gulf*

Gwenn Okruhlik

This paper builds bridges between debates about citizenship rights and the growing research on new, globalized spaces of contestation. I focus on the construction of "distance" as a way to define citizenship in states dependent on foreign labor for their prosperity. Foreigners constitute the vast majority of the private sector labor force and a substantial proportion of the overall population in the GCC. Foreign labor is a politically salient issue because of this demographic context.

Such overwhelming dependence fosters a growing sense of the marginalization of citizens within their own land. The perception of cultural threat and insecurity is expressed through myriad new regulations and social antipathies toward foreigners. The flip side of this is a plethora of efforts to educate locals about the meaning of their national culture. This research is especially important given the Arab Spring of 2011. Labor strikes and antipathy towards foreign labor have been on the rise in the midst of uprisings even as foreign laborers protest for basic human rights. This is because labor migrants are symbolic markers of much larger issues. Distinctions accorded them are related internally to ideas about gender, ethnicity and identity and externally, to global markets. While oil states are integrated into the global capitalist economy, they remain internally fragile in many ways. Internal fragility plays out in distance and notions of belonging.





## ***Conversion to Islam or Becoming Muslim? : Da'wa, Domestic Work and South Asian Migrant Women in Kuwait***

**Dr. Attiya Ahmad**

Domestic workers from East Africa, and South and South East Asia are a ubiquitous and integral part of Kuwait. They comprise one-sixth of the total population and are employed in more than 90% of households. Whether it be cooking, cleaning or caring for children and the elderly, their work is crucial to Kuwait's social reproduction. Over the past decade, it is estimated that tens of thousands of these women have taken shehadeh, the Islamic testament of faith. A widespread social phenomenon, these conversions have generated a great deal of debate in Kuwait and in domestic workers' places of origin. These debates center on one question: why are these women adopting Islamic precepts and practices? Drawing on fieldwork conducted in Kuwait, Pakistan and Nepal since 2004, my paper maps out two explanations given for South Asian migrant domestic workers' newfound pieties. One explanation, circulating among Kuwait's foreign resident population, members of Kuwait's liberal movement, local and international human rights organizations, labour agencies, foreign embassies and domestic workers' families and communities of origin, focuses on the political-economic factors and asymmetrical power relations leading to domestic workers' 'conversion to Islam'. The other explanation, espoused by members of Kuwait's myriad Islamic reform and da'wa groups, focuses on the ethical processes through which these women 'become Muslim'. Both explanations are predicated on incommensurable forms of reasoning that often lead people to misapprehend or speak past one another when addressing the issue of domestic workers' pieties. In tracing these areas of dissonance, my paper discusses the ways in which these explanations index and instantiate two competing political discourses in Kuwait—those of liberal secularist and Islamic reformers. My paper explores these issues by tracing out several of my interlocutors' experiences, and by tracing out how others, including their employers, family members, and people concerned with Kuwait's domestic work sector, understand and talk about domestic workers' newfound practice of Islam. In so doing, my paper underscores the importance of the household as an integral site in and through which forms of social belonging, political practice and religious movements are being reconfigured and remapped in our increasingly integrated world. More broadly, this paper contributes to our understanding of inter-Asian connections, gender, transnational labour migration, migrant domestic work, and Islamic movements in the Arab Gulf states.



## *The Changing International Relations of the Gulf Region*

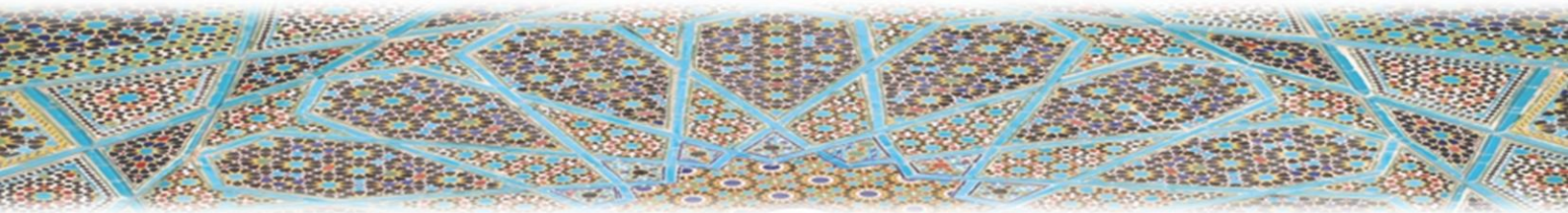
**Dr. Christian Koch**  
**Director of International Studies**  
**Gulf Research Center**

Due to its rising strategic significance over the past decades, the Gulf region has become the focal point of worldwide attention and related concerns about global stability and security. No area captivates the daily headlines as much as the region that encompasses the member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates) in addition to Iran and Iraq. While in the past, the attention given to the Middle East was primarily defined through the lens of the Arab-Israeli conflict, this is today no longer the case and one can effectively argue that the center of conflict has shifted eastward to the Gulf region. In fact, it has been the Gulf that has taken center stage in the major conflict situations of the past decades ranging from the 1979 Iranian Revolution, an event that is still defining the security environment in the region almost 30 years later, to the eight-year Iran-Iraq War, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in 1990 and finally the 2003 US invasion of Iraq and the downfall of the regime of Saddam Hussein. Moreover, the current dispute over the Iranian nuclear program continues to hold within it the potential for another conflict.

Within the context of the rising importance of the Gulf region, the GCC states have begun to carve a role out for themselves not only in terms of using their vast oil income to promote national and regional economic development but also to promote their national interests through the propagation of more active and concerted foreign policies. The GCC states of today are no longer the infant sheikdoms of the 1960s and 1970s when foreign and security policy was largely decided by others with little input from the Arab Gulf states themselves. Instead, the GCC states have emerged as actors in their own right with an increased readiness to engage at the regional level and a willingness to shape the Middle Eastern diplomatic map. Moreover, the GCC as an institution has begun to play a role with all member states sharing similar views and ready to protect what they perceive as common interests and policies.

At the same time, the further development of coherent foreign policies for the Arab Gulf states remains a significant challenge. Within a complex environment composed of immediate regional actors (the six GCC states, Iran, Iraq and Yemen), the wider regional neighborhood (Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Syria, Sudan, Turkey, Israel, Somalia), and the broader international community (the United States, Europe, and increasingly also Asian countries such as China and Japan), the GCC states are challenged to defend their national interests while equally trying to promote a policy of dialogue and cooperation that could ultimately serve as a basis for better and more structured security relations both within the region and with external actors. In that context,





the key role played by the United States in ensuring Gulf security remains critical while at the same time there is an effort to broaden the international relations of the Gulf, both willingly and unwillingly, to Europe, key Asian states and other parts of the world.

The proposed paper will provide an overview and analyze the trends mentioned above, i.e. the development of an indigenous foreign policy as being pursued by the GCC states as well as the growing internationalization of the Gulf and the associated differentiation of the GCC states to broaden their foreign policy base. The objective is to highlight developments that undoubtedly will have an impact on the broader aspects of international policy and security.





## **John Duke Anthony**

In May, 2011, the Gulf Cooperation Council will commemorate its 30th anniversary. When the GCC was formed at the end of May 1981, most international analysts thought it was designed primarily to establish a mechanism by which the founders would be able to better coordinate their responses to the Iran-Iraq war that had broken out in September 1980. While the impetus to forge the organization did indeed include a search for an appropriate means to cooperate in the ongoing aftermath of that conflict's inception and prolongation, there were numerous other and older forces at work -- what international organization specialists often refer to as functionalism, e.g., harmonizing the member states' respective civil aviation regulations, customs regimes, border crossing procedures, telecommunications rules, food inspection systems, etc.

Any reading of the organization's founding documents and any survey of the nature and orientation of the work performed by members of the GCC's Secretariat in Riyadh from the beginning to the present day, reveals this functionalist focus to have been the primary emphasis upon which all the member states' leaders could, did, and, until now, still agree. Unstated, however, except by Oman's Sultan Qaboos at the very end of the founding heads of state summit in Abu Dhabi and added soon afterwards, was a strategic and geopolitical focus, which has remained a second major interest of the organization and its members ever since.

This paper will trace the evolution of the GCC's international orientation along strategic and geopolitical lines from the beginning to the present. It will note and indicate the intra-regional, regional, and global consequences of the ascent of the West in matters pertaining to defense cooperation together with the liberalization of trade, investment, and the establishment of joint commercial ventures. The paper will also trace and analyze the implications for the GCC and the West of the rise of the East not only in economics and business but, to an increasing degree, in matters pertaining to grand strategy and geopolitics as well.





## *The development trajectory of the GCC states : An analysis of aims and visions in current development plans*

**Martin Hvidt**

This paper analyzes the current development plans published by the GCC states in order to explore the future growth trajectory of the region: How do these countries plan development; what sectors and activities are to be stimulated to create future income streams; is it the public or the private sector that is to drive the economy; what roles are the market and states to play and finally do the plans express a shift from an allocation state model to a production oriented economic model?

It is recognized that planning and actual implementation of policies can potentially be two very different matters. This paper limits itself to analyzing what the states claim they want to do, not what they actually do. However, such an analysis is believed to provide insight into how the governments in the region officially conceive their future developmental track both in the short and long run. Such an analysis has not been made prior to this.





## Panel 8 – Social Trends, Cultural Challenges & Educational Development

### *Saudi Women: Power and Resistance*

Hatoon Al Fassi

For the past several months, the Arab World has been boiling over with one revolution after another in an attempt by ordinary citizens to reclaim their countries, politically, socially and economically after decades of absolute rule. However, Saudi Arabia has been an exception and many questions arise such as to what is really going on inside this country. How are people reacting to the changes around them? Are they happy where they are? Do they have a different opinion? What are the possibilities of change or mobilization? What are the threats and challenges?

In this paper I would like to address some of these questions from the point of view of how women are positioning themselves, reacting and interacting with their environment, their struggles and battles to fulfill their aspirations.

I argue that women were not passive agents during the past decades, nor are they today. Although they may seem absent from the official political scene, Saudi women play in fact a vital role in the undercurrent movement for socioeconomic and political reform. In this paper I will attempt to shed light on aspects of this role.





## ***Recent Trends in Higher Education and Research in the Arabian Gulf***

**Dr. Peter Heath**

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The paper focuses on two topics. First, it offers a brief overview and analysis of the experimentation that is currently occurring in the area of Higher Education in the countries of the Arabian Gulf. This analysis will focus on developments in the United Arab Emirates and Qatar, but will refer to other examples in the Gulf, such as in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. The central theme of this current experimentation is abandonment of national universities by local rulers in favour of varied forms of new institutions, whether locally developed or created in partnership with foreign (especially US) universities.

The second topic of the paper will discuss how this experimentation in developing these new universities co-exists with efforts to promote a knowledge culture and increase local production of world-class research and development. Both of these trends are recent, occurring within the last 15 years or so, but are also fast-moving. The discussion will end with some comments about the challenges that these efforts must overcome in the future if they are to succeed.





## *Immunity, Impunity, and Community?* *The Precarious and Combustive Terrain of New Media in the Gulf*

Adel Iskander

As social media expand their reach and communities are created in virtual spaces, the nation-state has continued to grapple with ways to secure its jurisdictional primacy over the online environments. In some instances, the state, in an attempt to safeguard its control, will impose limitations on the scope, access, usage, and content of new media portals. The greatest challenge to this has been the diffuse and transnational nature of social media which renders legal action impractical in the absence of a global multinational consensus on codes and regulations. This has resulted in disparate mechanisms to curb social media. Some countries resort to blocking "questionable" content or dissident portals, others prosecute individuals and disparage online communities through state-sponsored competition or campaigns of defamation. In the Gulf, a new media regime has emerged which attempts to balance unhindered technological advancement with state surveillance and control. This paper tackles this mechanism by looking at specific cases from Kuwait, Bahrain, the UAE and Saudi Arabia and how these may be affected by the eruption of online activism across the Arab world.