

“... a forum for scholarship
& research on international
and regional affairs...”



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
School of Foreign Service in Qatar
Center for International and Regional Studies

NEWSLETTER | SPRING 2015 | NO. 18

LAURIE BRAND ON “THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL NARRATIVES: THE EVOLUTION OF ‘REVOLUTION’ IN EGYPT”



Laurie Brand, the Robert Grandford Wright Professor of International Relations and Middle East Studies at the University of Southern California, delivered a CIRS *Monthly Dialogue* on “The Politics of National Narratives: The Evolution of ‘Revolution’ in Egypt” on March 23, 2015. The talk reflected some of the main themes presented in her recent book, *Official Stories: Politics and National Narratives in Egypt and Algeria*, including how ruling elites actively construct national narratives for political purposes.

Brand described national narratives as collective stories, whether official or popular, that seek to define a country’s identity, history, and mission using particular historical events and heroes, and including purported collective cultural, linguistic, religious, or ethnic markers. As part of a broader study, Brand’s research examines the legitimizing role that national narratives play in regime maintenance, and questions how and why they may change. “I chose to look only at manifestations of an ‘official’ narrative. But even there, a narrative is multi-stranded, and can be quite complex because it includes not just the state’s version of national history, but also a range of values, aspirations, and identity elements,” she said.

In order to understand how national narratives are mobilized by state authorities, Brand explained that they are often employed as a re-legitimizing force during times of contested succession or political rupture. National narratives involve “the creation of a ‘usable’ past; that is, the construction of a national history that can be mobilized, that can be channeled, and that can be used by a leadership for a demand, need, or a crisis in the present,” she argued. These narratives can be read in a variety of official and unofficial political, social, and cultural texts, whether through state proclamations, cultural texts, the media, or the educational system, among many other outlets for imparting some form of collective instruction.

In particular, Brand analyzed traits of the official story of “revolution” in the case of Egypt, and noted that, since January 2011, many associate the concept of revolution with contemporary Egyptian events. However, the very concept of revolution has been integral to the Egyptian national narrative for well over a century, and, indeed, makes up the founding story of the Egyptian nation state as it emerged after July 1952. The language of revolution has been used throughout Egyptian political history as part of a

Continued on page 10

NEWSLETTER HIGHLIGHTS

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

MONTHLY DIALOGUES

RESEARCH INITIATIVES

SPOTLIGHT ON FACULTY

FOCUSED DISCUSSIONS

FACULTY RESEARCH WORKSHOPS





ABOUT CIRS

The Center for International and Regional Studies (CIRS) at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar is guided by the principles of academic excellence, forward vision, and community engagement.

The CIRS mission revolves around five principal goals:

- to provide a forum for scholarship and research on international and regional affairs;
- to encourage in-depth examination and exchange of ideas;
- to foster thoughtful dialogue among students, scholars, and practitioners of international affairs;
- to facilitate the free flow of ideas and knowledge through publishing the products of its research, sponsoring conferences and seminars, and holding workshops designed to explore the complexities of the twenty-first century;
- to engage in outreach activities with a wide range of local, regional, and international partners.

DIRECTOR'S WELCOME



GREETINGS FROM DOHA.

Over the past few months, CIRS has been engaging with a number of new and ongoing research projects, producing English and Arabic-language publications, and connecting with members of the Qatar community through a robust public affairs program, including *Focused Discussions*, *Monthly Dialogues*, as well as working group discussions on a variety of topics of relevance to the Gulf and Middle East region.

CIRS will soon welcome the publication of two new books titled, *Inside the Islamic Republic: Social Change in Post-Khomeini Iran* (Mahmood Monshipouri, ed. Oxford University Press, 2015) and *Fragile Politics: Weak States in the Greater Middle East* (Mehran Kamrava, ed. Oxford University Press, 2015). Both books result from multi-year research efforts into original and timely topics. CIRS also published a collection of articles in a special issue of *The Muslim World* journal that emerged out of a CIRS research initiative on "The State and Innovation in the Gulf." Additionally, CIRS published an *Occasional Paper* authored by Laurent A. Lambert titled "Water, State Power, and Tribal Politics in the GCC: The Case of Kuwait and Abu Dhabi." As always, these in-house publications can be downloaded for free from the CIRS website. For more information on these recent CIRS publications, please refer to page 3 of this newsletter.

In terms of research and scholarship efforts conducted by CIRS over the past few months, we have been actively working on a number of projects, and have been engaged in several ongoing and overlapping research initiatives, including "China and the Middle East," "Re-Emerging West Asia," "Youth in the Middle East," "The Digital Middle East," and "The Gulf Family." These initiatives are designed to explore these topics through empirically-grounded, theoretically informed research where the goal is to fill in existing gaps in the literature and to contribute original knowledge to the field. This newsletter contains detailed information about each CIRS activity and research initiative conducted over the past few months, as well as articles highlighting recent lectures, events, and faculty development initiatives.

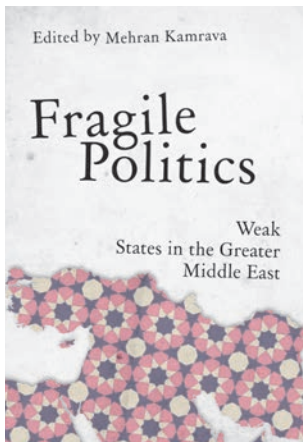
We warmly welcome feedback from our readership, whether it is through Facebook, Twitter, or by e-mail. I, and the rest of the CIRS team, look forward to hearing from you and seeing you at our upcoming lectures. Finally, we invite our readers to follow CIRS news and activities by logging on to the CIRS website at: <http://cirs.georgetown.edu>.

Sincerely,

Mehran Kamrava
Professor
Director of the Center for International and Regional Studies
School of Foreign Service in Qatar
Georgetown University

FRAGILE POLITICS: WEAK STATES IN THE GREATER MIDDLE EAST

Edited by Mehran Kamrava, Oxford University Press, 2015



The recent Arab uprisings precipitated the relatively quick collapse of a number of Middle Eastern states once perceived as invincible. The Tunisian and Egyptian states succumbed to revolutionary upheavals early on, followed by that of Qadhafi's Libya. Yemen's President Saleh was also eventually forced to give up power. A bloody civil war continues to rage in Syria. These uprisings highlighted weaknesses in the capacity and legitimacy of states across

the Arab Middle East. This book, edited by Mehran Kamrava, provides a comprehensive study of state weakness—or of “weak states”—across the Greater Middle East. The contributions in this volume were the result of a CIRS research initiative on “Weak States in the Greater Middle East.” ■

INSIDE THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC: SOCIAL CHANGE IN POST-KHOMEINI IRAN

Edited by Mahmood Monshipouri, Oxford University Press, 2015

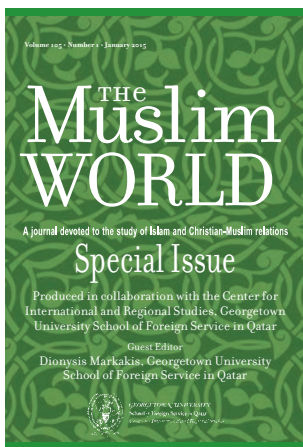


Since 1989, the internal dynamics of change in Iran, rooted in a panoply of socioeconomic, cultural, institutional, demographic, and behavioral factors, have led to a noticeable transition in societal and governmental structures of power, as well as the way in which many Iranians have come to deal with the changing conditions of their society. This is all exacerbated by the global trend of communication and information expansion, as Iran has increasingly become the

site of the burgeoning demands for women's rights, individual freedoms, and festering tensions and conflicts over cultural politics. These realities, among other things, have rendered Iran a country of unprecedented—and at time paradoxical—changes. This book explains how and why. ■

THE MUSLIM WORLD JOURNAL: CIRS SPECIAL ISSUE

Edited by Dionysis Markakis

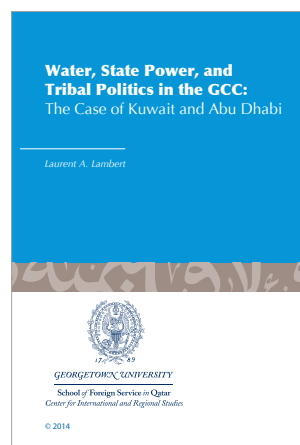


Individual member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council have engaged, over the last few decades, in an endeavor of unprecedented scale. Reliant on their abundant, but ultimately finite, hydrocarbon reserves, states such as Qatar, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates have sought to diversify their economies, initiating transitions to more sustainable knowledge-based economies. The articles in this special issue of *The Muslim World* journal emerged out of a two-year research initiative

undertaken by CIRS. They explore what constitutes “knowledge,” its myriad relationships to the economic system, and the means by which “knowledge-based economies” have been pursued in the context of the Gulf. Across the individual countries and the region as a whole, the authors examine the achievements and opportunities, challenges and failures, faced in this endeavor. ■

WATER, STATE POWER, AND TRIBAL POLITICS IN THE GCC: THE CASE OF KUWAIT AND ABU DHABI

CIRS Occasional Paper no. 15



The latest CIRS Occasional Paper, authored by Laurent A. Lambert, shows that the GCC cities' remarkable capacity to provide water to all their inhabitants despite the regional aridity should not be explained solely by apolitical factors such as the availability of desalination technologies and massive energy resources. Acknowledging their vital importance, this research paper demonstrates that the historical evolutions and

achievements of the water sectors in Abu Dhabi and Kuwait city over the twentieth century are, first and foremost, the product of local and regional politics, and of reformist leaders' agency at various times. Major changes in water governance can also be seen as a tool for, and as a signifier of, broader state reforms and changing politics. ■

IAN ALMOND CIRS FACULTY RESEARCH WORKSHOP ON “DISSECTING THE NATIVE INFORMANT”

Ian Almond, Professor of World Literature at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar, headed a CIRS Faculty Research Workshop on “Dissecting the Native Informant: A Case Study of Nirad C. Chaudhuri” on November 16, 2014. The workshop was held to discuss his latest work examining the related ideas of melancholy, political conservatism, and native informancy. It takes the figure of a twentieth century Indian thinker, Nirad C. Chaudhuri, and considers his oeuvre under the changing optics of a number of different topics—all in an attempt to understand how an Indian intellectual such as Chaudhuri was able to defend passionately the legacy of the British Empire, and even slander the culture and mentality of his fellow Indians. Almond also extended this to present-day “native informants” such as Fareed Zakaria, Fouad Ajami, and Enrique Krauze.

Almond’s book initially began as a straightforward monograph on the Indian writer Nirad C. Chaudhuri (1897–1999), but soon developed—over the four years it took to write it—into a much more nuanced project: the study of how conservative, pro-Western intellectuals are formed in postcolonial environments. What started out as just another book on an infamously Anglophile Bengali writer began to reveal implications for the whole type of the “native informant.” Under the rubric of four different approaches—Islam, the archive, melancholy, and Empire—he not only enters into the intricacies of Chaudhuri’s intellectual constitution, but also develops insights into the internalization and reproduction of ideology. Each chapter tries to articulate the Indian context of the investigation—what Chaudhuri’s peers in the Bengali and wider Indian tradition had to say about Muslims, or sadness, or libraries—but also brings in a strong comparative dimension. In one chapter, for example, the book considers the year 1947 in three different cities—Calcutta, Mexico City, and Istanbul—and examines three melancholy texts that were being written in those cities that year (*Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*, *El Laberinto de la Soledad*, and the Turkish novel *Huzur*).

Almond tries to show how Chaudhuri’s views on Islam—on its cultures, followers, and faith—reveal a jumbled bag of different voices in Chaudhuri, each of which belonged to a different vocabulary, and drew on a different constellation of beliefs. As a consequence, he takes a look at how Chaudhuri made use of the archive—of libraries, galleries, and museums—which not only throws light on the origin of some of these vocabularies, but also illuminates the process of self-alienation which his extensive reading accentuated. It was a process which fissured and undermined Chaudhuri’s notion of Indianness, dethroning it from the center of his persona and opening him up to a wide variety of foreign registers; amongst the many consequences of this alternative intellectual development was an increasing disdain for the culture of his own community, and a growing



empathy for the perspective of the Empire which ruled over it. In the penultimate chapter of Almond’s book, the melancholy which arose from this situation is shown to compose of a number of different elements—not just the inevitable *tristesse* which accompanies all processes of alienation, but also a sense of loss at the withdrawal of the imperial entity whose presence had taken on such a metaphysically central place in his life. In the final chapter, he considers Chaudhuri’s relationship to empire in the context of similar intellectuals from very different regions—the right-wing Mexican intellectual Enrique Krauze, the Arab journalist Fouad Ajami, and the U.S.-educated Indian writer Fareed Zakaria.

The speakers who came to discuss Almond’s book were based at universities from a variety of different regions. Mahmut Mutman spoke of the relationship between Empire and Literature, and the way imperialist sensibilities were able to foster (in positive as well as negative ways) literary creation; Kathleen Hewett-Smith saw Chaudhuri as someone who seemed to seek in Empire a form of codified knowledge, and compared Chaudhuri’s love of the library to the Turkish novelist Orhan Pamuk’s own interest in the archival. Tariq Mehmood spoke of the need for greater historical context in understanding figures such as Chaudhuri, whilst Sibel Irzik spoke on the Freudian distinction between melancholy and mourning, and asked why some losses for Chaudhuri were necessarily more melancholic than others. “Chaudhuri,” she said, “lost an empire he never had.” Sheetal Majithia alluded briefly to the way World Literature has been promoted as an effort to limit postcolonial studies, and spoke of the ways Chaudhuri could be useful to schools of analysis such as Affect Theory. ■

Ian Almond received his Ph.D. in English Literature from Edinburgh University in 2000. He is the author of four books, most recently, *Two Faiths, One Banner* (Harvard University Press, 2009), and *History of Islam in German Thought* (Routledge, 2010), and over forty articles in a variety of journals including *PMLA*, *Radical Philosophy*, *ELH*, and *New Literary History*. He specializes in comparative world literature, with a tri-continental emphasis on Mexico, Bengal, and Turkey. His books have been translated into eight languages, including Arabic, Russian, Turkish, Korean, Serbo-Croat, Persian, and Indonesian. He is currently working on a history of Islam in Latin America.

BUTHAINA AL ANSARI ON “HOW FEMALE LEADERS ARE CHANGING QATAR”

Buthaina Al Ansari, Founder and Chairperson of Qatariat T&D Holding Company and Senior Human Resources Director at Ooredoo, delivered a CIRS *Monthly Dialogue* on the topic of “Sheroes—How Female Leaders are Changing Qatar” on November 17, 2014. Al Ansari introduced the talk, which focused on the status of female leadership in Qatar, by explaining that it is largely males who are recognized for their endeavors and achievements, while women are rarely celebrated to the same degree. “There are male and female achievers, but there are only ‘heroes,’ and I do believe there should be ‘sheroes,’” she said.

“I took risks in my thoughts, I took risks in my decisions, and I took risks in my plans, and that has opened a lot of doors and opportunities for me.”

Al Ansari is a member of the MENA Business Women’s Networks, an ambassador for Women Leading Change Qatar, a board member of Qatar Business Women’s Association, and a Mentor at the Qatar Professional Women’s Network Circle. She shared her insights on what makes a successful businesswoman, with a particular focus on how Qatari women can achieve a more competitive position within the local and international market. Al Ansari divulged her recipe for success, including the most important ingredients required in any business venture. The first element of success, she said, is to have a supportive family structure. She argued that in the Arab World, it is especially important for women to have a family that understands the imperatives of any business endeavor, and the necessities

of splitting time and resources equally between the needs of the home and those of the business operation. Once one has the backing and support of one’s family, the second element of success that Al Ansari advocated was a solid foundation in the form of education. She noted that “in Qatar, we have a strong system of education”—especially for women—which should be capitalized upon.

The third element of success, as suggested by Al Ansari, is to take risks, and to not be afraid of challenging the norm. This, she said, is the defining characteristic of any entrepreneur. Al Ansari explained that she had to take personal risks in order to further her business career. She recounted how she had begun her studies as a biomedical science student, but was always aware that this vocational path was pre-determined by her family’s definition of success. Al Ansari decided to take the risk of changing her degree to business administration in order to fulfil her personal objectives. “I took risks in my thoughts, I took risks in my decisions, and I took risks in my plans, and that has opened a lot of doors and opportunities for me,” she explained. However, Al Ansari did acknowledge that such freedom of choice and deciding for oneself were not necessarily options that were open to all Qatari females.

Once an educated risk-taker has completed the first crucial steps towards achieving a successful business career, Al Ansari’s final piece of advice was to differentiate oneself from the surrounding competition. She argued that it was of vital importance to “market yourself, position yourself, and brand yourself,” and focus on a particular segment of the market. “I chose the women’s segment in Qatar. I want to empower them, I want to guide them, and I want to enable them,” she said. Qatari males represent 68 percent of the Qatari labor force, while Qatari women represent only 32 percent. Thus, Al Ansari argued that it was important for women to work harder and to take on more active roles in order to



contribute towards gender balance in the labor market.

Gender imbalance aside, Al Ansari concluded by saying that “in Qatar, we are at the development phase. Whether you are a mother, a wife, a student, an employee, or a business owner, we have to contribute together to invent the economic scene in Qatar [by] investment in economic capital, education, environment, and health.” ■

Buthaina is Senior HR Director at Ooredoo, Ambassador of Women Leading Change Qatar, member of MENA Business Women’s Networks, board member of Qatar Business Women’s Association, and a Mentor at the Qatar Professional Women’s Network Circle. Al Ansari holds a Master’s Degree in Business Management & HR Strategic Planning from Qatar University, and a Master’s Degree from American University of Cairo in Human Resource Management. As an entrepreneur and Chairperson of Qatariat T&D she collaborates with innovative and best-in-class organizations to raise the benchmark and quality of expertise in Qatar. Qatariat services include Training & Leadership, Media & Publishing, and Business Consulting. In 2012, she received the L’Officiel Qatar’s Most Inspirational Arab Woman of the Year Award. She has been voted by CommsMEA as one the Top 50 Female Telecoms Executives, and for the past several years she has been named by ArabianBusiness.com as one of the 100 Most Powerful Arab Women.

CIRS RESEARCH INITIATIVE ON “THE GULF FAMILY,” WORKING GROUP I

On March 14-15, 2015, CIRS held its first working group on “The Gulf Family” where scholars convened to discuss both historical and current issues that affect the Gulf family structure. In contrast to the literature on the family in the greater Middle East, significant gaps in scholarship still exist in relation to the dynamics of the Arab Gulf family. Five grant proposals were awarded to various scholars to conduct fieldwork and original research on topics related to the Gulf family. In conjunction with the grant awards, CIRS held a two-day working group to discuss issues such as tribalism, mixed marriages, and the effects of religious education on family dynamics, among other topics. Alongside the five grant recipients who presented their research proposals and preliminary findings, working group participants discussed issues currently facing the region.

The Gulf family has witnessed an immense amount of change over the past sixty years. In understanding the historical importance of the Gulf family one has to structure a comprehensive narrative that includes the different tribes and ethnicities that have resided in the region. By challenging the idea that the Gulf family is contingent on consanguinity for its existence, modern discursive narratives can be further disseminated. This illustrates the various historical constructions around nationalism, modernization, and class. Housing and rent were examined in an effort to understand how space related to the family in the past, and how physical change impacts the structure of the family living within households.

Underlying the presence of the Gulf family lie the notions of tribalism and *asabiyya* (tribal solidarity). In the Gulf, tribalism is a central feature in understanding the social dynamics prevalent in the region. The functional logic of the system uses kinship to explain solidarity through practice, which can be seen in expressions of tribal unity through literary, legal, political, and media outlets. Discussants questioned the extent to which tribalism was prevalent in family affairs, and how belonging to a tribe affected an individual’s identity. At present, the modern tribal identity is rarely expressed through the nomadic lifestyle it was once associated with, instead permeating societal sentiments and intellectual thought. However, in the case of Yemen, the impact of political and economic instability of the state has pressed citizens to rely upon their respective tribes to provide necessary services such as electricity and water. Rising prices of fuel and declining subsidies offered by the Yemeni government meant that citizens’ access to education and healthcare ultimately deteriorated. The permanence of the tribal order and solidarity in Yemen, amidst the state of political chaos, has helped maintain a sense order and organization within the country. Discussants later questioned the impact of tribalism on the nuclear family and the repercussions of re-tribalizing urban areas within the cities.



Tribalism has also had deeper ramifications on societal issues such as marriage. Amongst the local population, tribal inter-marriages are generally the norm. In the absence of a class system amongst locals in the Gulf, tribal lineage determines the social hierarchy present. In an effort to understand societal forces affecting the institution of marriage in the Gulf, discussants recognized the intensive structural transformations that the Gulf region has been undergoing over the past twenty years. As a result, consanguineous marriage has been undergoing changes, whereby data on Qatar shows marrying spouses of a different nationality is on the rise for men, but on the decline for women. Previously, the rate of divorce amongst mixed marriage couples was much higher from 1985–2000 as compared to those who married people of the same nationality. However, in 2010–2013, the gap between mixed marriages and non-mixed marriages began to diminish. Discussants questioned the reversal of a trend in divorce amongst the two groups of marriages, hypothesizing that the reasons may include increasing globalization, education, and transnational flows.

Given the rising divorce statistics in the Gulf, the legal systems’ negligence towards reforming child custody law has become increasingly problematic. Family law reforms have traditionally focused on the relationship between spouses, often neglecting the parent-child relationship that determines custody and guardianship. Case studies on Qatar, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates have shown that further development on the concept of “best interest of the child” is in order. More specifically, Qatar has made efforts to promote the concept of “best interest” as a tool to reform custody determination whereas Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates chose to formulate guidelines for judges to follow in cases of custody determination.

While transitions within Gulf society have been taking place over the past decades, the impact of modernization efforts can be witnessed in the religious, linguistic, and educational aspects of family life. The formation of family life in the Gulf is considered a religious act, encouraged by *sunnah* and *hadith*, and is often embraced by couples as a fundamental element to the marital relationship, and their childrearing ways. Previous

Continued on page 16



“YOUTH IN THE MIDDLE EAST” CIRS RESEARCH INITIATIVE

In partnership with Silatech, CIRS launched the “Youth in the Middle East” research initiative with a two-day working group meeting on November 20-21, 2014. The meeting was hosted by the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at the Georgetown University campus in Washington, DC, where participants gathered from various countries of the world and from a multitude of disciplinary backgrounds.

The participants discussed the need for greater definition of the factors that constitute “youth” as a distinct subset of society. Although they agreed that age and maturation were the common determining characteristics of youth, there was less consensus about the specific age ranges within which youth should be bracketed as a unit of analysis. Problematizing this further, they discussed how “youth” as a formative stage of life can differ dramatically depending on particular cultural contexts. In some cases, and especially for those with low or no income or those who inhabit conflict zones, young people are often prematurely obliged to take on adult roles and responsibilities, thus curtailing the notion of “youth” as experienced by their cohorts in other parts of the world. Rather than quantifying youth according to age brackets, the participants argued that the notion of youth could be considered as a fluid and inconsistent network of social relations. The participants highlighted the fact that youth cannot be analyzed as a homogenous category, but must be thought of as having a multitude of variants.

Although the topic of Middle Eastern youth was discussed from different theoretical and practical lenses, some key central themes

emerged, including the fact that, in many instances, youth in the Middle East tend to face tough political and economic conditions. Local national youth in the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council do not necessarily share the same economic hardships as the young economic South Asian migrants in the GCC, but they do share similar forms of political exclusion as experienced by their counterparts in other areas of the Arab world.

Since many countries of the Middle East are experiencing a demographic “youth bulge,” unprecedented numbers of young people are all vying for what little resources and opportunities exist. Broader economic structural issues were discussed in relation to the sustainability of the Arab development model and its failures. Many countries of the Middle East are rentier economies that exacerbate ongoing forms of political quiescence. The events of the Arab uprisings did much to highlight the faults associated with autocratic governance, but have not led to any major changes, leaving young people more aware of the problems that plague their nations, and, thus, ever more frustrated.

Access to the economic and political normative activities of society is denied to many in places where the social contract has been poorly adhered to, if at all. Exclusion, however, is context dependent, and each society fashions its own definitions of exclusion. In impoverished neighborhoods that are lacking in infrastructure and opportunities, Middle East youth groups actively create their own forms of distinct social networks that are, in many ways, more intimate and reliable than those of more affluent areas. Thus, such informal youth associations and marginal forms of participation mean that youth are not necessarily socially excluded from their

immediate surroundings, but are more likely to be economically and politically excluded from the more “formal” social structures. Such class dimensions play a role in how youth experience their lives and their aspirations for the future, with many young people active in both formal and informal means of participation.

Whether in the public or private sectors, access to the privileges of the formal market is hindered crony capitalism and unfair political concessions, giving rise to increased informal practices among many Arab youths. Autocratic leaders have been benefitting from deregulation, even as they impose restrictions on local markets. The explosive mix of neoliberal policies and simultaneous authoritarian ones has resulted in an anti-competitive environment with little room for small and medium enterprises. This is why there are very few start-ups or entrepreneurial endeavors since there is little encouragement of creative business, skill development, or mobilization of human capital. Neoliberal reforms have benefitted only a small elite group of people, and has done little to improve the lives of the majority.

Because the informal sector operates largely outside of the formal economy, and is mostly extra-legal or illegal, there has been little research conducted into these ventures, including the gender dimension and how women fare in such environments. For the most part, in the academic and popular literature, youth issues tend to be viewed from the perspective of young males, concentrating on the condition of their welfare, education, and employment, with little attention directed at females and the challenges they face.

Continued on page 15

NEHA VORA LECTURES ON “IMPOSSIBLE CITIZENS: DUBAI’S INDIAN DIASPORA”

Neha Vora, Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Lafayette College, delivered a CIRS *Monthly Dialogue* on the topic “Impossible Citizens: Dubai’s Indian Diaspora” on December 1, 2014. Much of the research she conducted was completed during the “boom” years of Dubai’s economic growth, when “Brand Dubai” was establishing the city as a commercial and tourism hub in order to attract international attention and investment. During this period, “the landscape of Dubai was shifting drastically [...] moving away from the older South-Asian dominated downtown neighborhoods around the Dubai Creek [...] and away from older forms of mercantalism and maritime trade,” towards a more corporate, westernized, and multinational capitalist enterprise.

The thrust of Vora’s research questioned the paradox of how the middle-class Indian communities of Dubai have a strong sense of belonging even though there are no certain paths to citizenship or permanent residence. “Indians have practically zero access to any form of permanency in Dubai. They cannot naturalize, or even gain permanent residency” due to the *Kafala* system that ties people to their employment visas and sponsors, Vora explained. Such a sense of belonging, she argued, occurs through “substantive,” or “unofficial” ideas of community that are not based on the technicalities of citizenship, but, rather, on strong senses of historical and cultural affiliation. Because of the historical mercantile and cultural connections, many Indians see the Gulf states as an extension of India and not necessarily as a separate geographical and cultural entity. Indians in Dubai have access to the familiar signs of home including language, food, clothing, and cultural practices and trends.

Debunking the idea that migrants to the Gulf desire assimilation and citizenship, Vora argued that many of the middle-class Indian residents of Dubai see themselves as having temporary economic goals, which, once achieved, signal their return to the homeland. In an anthropological vignette, Vora introduced the audience to Rohit, one of her interlocutors and an architect and long-



term Indian resident of Dubai. Even though he has lived for over three decades in Dubai, and it is where his children were born and raised, he still considers himself a temporary economic migrant. Describing Dubai as “an air-conditioned bus” that offers comfort, but is always in transit and thus an unstable place of residence, “Rohit in many ways exemplifies the Indian middle-class dream in Dubai. He had managed to accumulate wealth during his time in the Gulf, had improved the living conditions of his extended and immediate family, and was setting himself up for a comfortable retirement in India,” Vora reported. For many middle-class Indians, such as Rohit, expatriation to the Gulf states is seen as a sign of status and perceived as a privilege, but one that can be terminated at any time. Thus, economic migrants have adapted to feeling simultaneously settled and yet always transient.

“Middle-class and elite South Asians, for example, espoused certain neoliberal market values and liberal ideas about citizenship, while participating in non-liberal forms of patronage and exploitation.”

Importantly, the middle-class Indian business communities of Dubai see themselves as actively contributing to local economic development, and distinguish themselves from others who depend on state “welfare,” be they low-income South Asian laborers, Western expatriate professionals, or even local national beneficiaries of state subsidies. The middle-class Indians that Vora interviewed were keen to describe themselves as economic contributors to Dubai, and as “good self-enterprising foreign residents of the city, not bad welfare-reliant citizens,” she said.

However, despite many describing themselves as purely economic migrants with no desire for ties to the state, the majority of Indian businesspeople and professionals do in fact actively contribute to, and replicate state policies. “Middle-class and elite South Asians, for example, espoused certain neoliberal market values and ideas about citizenship, while participating in non-liberal forms of patronage and exploitation that reproduce social stratification and forms of hierarchical citizenship among the Indian diaspora in Dubai,” Vora argued. By establishing business operations and hiring workers under the *Kafala* system, they actively promote UAE government policies by reproducing local and legal norms.

Vora concluded by explaining that even though Dubai still largely retains its South Asian character, things are changing fast. In Dubai’s effort to modernize older Indian mercantile neighborhoods of the city, and to attract a more “westernized” client, “rents had gone up, formerly lower-middle-class neighborhoods are being turned into luxury apartments, and Indians felt less job security than ever before,” she said. This rapidly changing environment has served to further unsettle the Indian communities that have been living and working for generations in the older areas of Dubai. ■

Neha Vora’s research focuses on citizenship and belonging within the Gulf Arab states, particularly among South Asian diaspora populations. In addition to a number of journal articles, Vora is the author of *Impossible Citizens: Dubai’s Indian Diaspora*, which was published in 2013 by Duke University Press. A recipient of multiple awards and fellowships, she is currently in Doha working on a project that investigates the impacts of knowledge economy transformation and American branch campus expansion on Qatar.



CIRS HOLDS WORKING GROUP MEETING TO DISCUSS “RE-EMERGING WEST ASIA”

CIRS held the first working group under its research initiative on “Re-Emerging West Asia” on January 10-11, 2015. Included in the meeting were academics representing the South Caucasus states of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia, as well as scholars from Iran and Turkey. Over the course of two days, the participants discussed a number of relevant issues, and identified existing gaps in the literature. Topics discussed during the meeting included, amongst others, the new geopolitical competition in the South Caucasus and the role of external actors, energy diplomacy, soft power politics, and a variety of societal and ethnic dynamics in the region.

Opening the discussion, the participants considered the changing geopolitical environment in the South Caucasus, the rise of competition between external powers, and the emergence of new actors. China has exhibited an increasing interest in expanding its role in the region, an example of which can be seen in the People’s Liberation Army’s agreement with the Armenian military. In Georgia, the Orthodox Church has been receiving Russian money, whereby this and other engagements with civil society demonstrate an interest by Russia to shape domestic policies in its neighborhood. Pipeline politics have also encouraged political and financial connections between Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbaijan in influencing the regional geopolitical competition. While scholarship on the region has tended to view the North and South Caucasus as two distinct areas, the working group participants suggested that these regions share similar economic and political conditions. Additionally, cross-border and transnational connections such as the Lezgian population in southern Dagestan and northern Azerbaijan continue to draw the involvement of external actors like Russia.

Between the Persian Gulf states, the Middle East, and the Southern Caucasus, economic factors and regional crises may provide comparative points for academic consideration. Comparisons can be drawn between the rentier dynamics in Azerbaijan and the Gulf states. Similarities in governance have also led scholars to speculate whether an event similar to the Arab Spring could take place in Armenia and Azerbaijan. However, one should be cautious when assuming too much similarity between these two regions, as the historical influences shaping their political pathways have been quite distinct. On the issue of religion and

ethnicity, Azerbaijan views “Muslim identity” as a threat to its ethnic identity, whereby, in the case of Georgia, religiousness emerged as a countermovement to Sovietism.

Such sentiments have allowed movements, such as the Gulen schools in Central Asia and the South Caucasus states, to flourish in receptive societies. Fethullah Gulen’s Islamic movement became active in the 1980s when Turkey entered its liberal economic phase. In 1992, shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Gulen-inspired businessmen and teachers opened their first school in Azerbaijan followed by another in Kazakhstan. The opening of such schools came at a time when several Central Asian and South Caucasus states had a dire need for better quality education, which the secular curriculum of the Gulen schools provided. Prior, to the demise of the Gulen movement’s relationship with the AK party in Turkey, Turkish foreign policy was aligned with Gulen’s vision, and perceived of it as one of the best representations of Turkish soft power in the region. The schools led to the creation of an elite community that was proficient in Turkish and sympathetic to a moderate Islamic ideology, creating significant educational and societal connections between the two regions.

Conventionally, Turkey’s shift in foreign policy in regards to soft power has focused on the AKP’s engagement of state and non-state actors in the Balkans and the broader Middle East. The literature on soft power in the South Caucasus mentions little about Turkey’s soft power activities. Another research gap is that while there are many studies focusing on soft power and non-state actors, more work needs to look at state actors’ effect on soft power. Such studies should focus on the construction of foreign policy narratives, political values, and cultural exchanges. Moreover, the subject of soft power should be studied in terms of its attraction and limitations, as well as its relationship to hard power. The participants problematized the study of Turkey’s soft power in the South Caucasus considering the differences that exist in each country. For instance, there has been a level of resistance to Turkish soft power in Central Asia due to its Islamic undertones.

Discussants observed that US policy towards regional development in the South Caucasus has deprived Iran from playing its natural role in the region, and expanding its interaction with neighboring states. Based on the developments that took place after the formation of the Islamic Republic, we can see different discourses in Iranian foreign

Continued on page 15

ABDULLAH AL-ARIAN LAUNCHES NEW BOOK ON THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

CIRS hosted a book launch and reading by Abdullah Al-Arian, Assistant Professor of History at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar on January 13, 2015. *Answering the Call: Popular Islamic Activism in Sadat's Egypt*, published by Oxford University Press in 2014, “examines the means by which the Muslim Brotherhood was reconstituted during Anwar al-Sadat’s presidency. Through analysis of structural, ideological, and social developments during this period in the history of the Islamic movement, a more accurate picture of the so-called “Islamic resurgence” develops—one that represents the rebirth of an old idea in a new setting.

When revolutionary hero Gamal Abdel Nasser dismantled and suppressed Egypt’s largest social movement organization during the 1950s, few could have imagined that the Muslim Brotherhood would not only reemerge, but could one day compete for the presidency in the nation’s first ever democratic election. While there is no shortage of analyses of the Muslim Brotherhood’s recent political successes and failures, no study has investigated the organization’s triumphant return from the dustbin of history.



The Muslim Brotherhood’s success in rebuilding its organization rested in large part on its ability to attract a new generation of Islamic activists that had come to transform Egypt’s colleges and universities into a hub for religious contention against the state. Led by groups such as al-Gama’ah al-Islamiyyah (The Islamic Society), the student movement exhibited a dynamic and vibrant culture of activism that found inspiration in a multitude of intellectual and organizational sources, of which the Muslim Brotherhood was only one.

By the close of the 1970s, however, internal divisions over ideology and strategy led to the rise of factionalism within the student movement. A majority

of student leaders opted to expand the scope of their activist mission by joining the Muslim Brotherhood, rejuvenating the struggling organization, and launching a new phase in its history. *Answering the Call* is an original study of the history of this dynamic and vibrant period of modern Egyptian history, giving readers a fresh understanding of one of Egypt’s most pivotal eras. ■

Abdullah Al-Arian received his doctorate in History from Georgetown University. He holds a Master’s degree in Sociology of Religion from the London School of Economics and his BA in Political Science from Duke University. He is co-editor of the Critical Currents in Islam page on the *Jadaliyya* e-zine. His first book, *Answering the Call: Popular Islamic Activism in Sadat’s Egypt*, was published by Oxford University Press in 2014.

“THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL NARRATIVES”

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

legitimation strategy, especially during regime changes, whether through anti-colonial struggles, the Free Officers’ 1952 overthrow of King Faruq, or Anwar Sadat’s struggle to consolidate his rule after he succeeded Gamal Abd Al-Nasir. Even during the Mubarak era, fidelity to the 1952 revolution was regularly invoked during ceremonial speeches, but its importance began to wane as the regime moved farther and farther away from the 1952 revolution’s emphasis on economic and social justice to the implementation of neo-liberal economic policies.

In conclusion, Brand returned to the most recent invocations of the revolutionary narrative, and the struggles surrounding it. “The meaning of the term ‘revolution’ was constructed and re-constructed over time in Egypt,” and has evolved over the course of Egyptian history to take on different meanings, demonstrating that even if critical elements of such narratives are rescripted, the elements themselves remain central to the legitimation formulas

of successive regimes or leaderships. With the overthrow of Mubarak and Morsi, and the coming to power of Abd al-Fattah al-Sisi, the Egyptian people have been confronted with several overlapping and conflicting narratives of revolution or political change—January 25 and/or June 30—through which they must navigate. “These issues are not simply of academic interest, but are very real battles that are very much a part of ongoing struggles today in Egypt and in other parts of the Middle East over the future of the political system,” she concluded. ■

Laurie A. Brand is the Robert Grandford Wright Professor of International Relations and Middle East Studies at the University of Southern California, where she directed the Center for International Studies from 1997 to 2000, the School of International Relations from 2006 to 2009, and currently its Middle East Studies Program. Brand served as president of the Middle East Studies Association in 2004, and she has chaired its Committee on Academic Freedom since 2006. She is the author of *Palestinians in the Arab World* (Columbia University Press, 1988), *Jordan’s Inter-Arab Relations* (Columbia University Press, 1994), *Women, the State and Political Liberalization* (Columbia University Press, 1998), *Citizens Abroad: States and Emigration in the Middle East and North Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), and *Official Stories: Politics and National Narratives in Egypt and Algeria* (Stanford University Press, 2014).



CIRS TRAVELS TO THE INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION ANNUAL CONVENTION

Members of CIRS traveled to the International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Convention in New Orleans, which took place on February 18-21, 2015. The theme of the conference was “Global IR and Regional Worlds: A New Agenda for International Studies.” CIRS held an exhibition booth where several CIRS staff members were on hand to distribute publications and to network with conference participants and scholars. Mehran Kamrava, Director of CIRS, presented a paper titled “Recalibrating Persian Gulf Security: Domestic versus Regional Challenges;” Zahra Babar, Associate Director for Research at CIRS, participated in a roundtable discussion titled “Making Migration Legible: Alternatives to the Sovereignty of Typologies;” and Suzi Mirgani, Manager and Editor of CIRS Publications, presented a paper titled “Shop ‘til You Drop: A Mirroring of Global Terrorism and Global Capitalism.” ■

SUZI MIRGANI SCREENS SHORT FILM “HIND’S DREAM”

Suzi Mirgani, Manager and Editor for CIRS Publications, delivered a *Focused Discussion* and film screening of her short film “Hind’s Dream” on January 15, 2015. The screening was followed by a discussion with the writer and director and members of the film’s cast and crew, including Georgetown University in Qatar students Athanasios Sardellis, Razan Al Humaidi, and Haya Al Romaihi. “Hind’s Dream” premiered at the 2014 Abu Dhabi Film Festival. It was also screened as part of the “Made in Qatar” section of the Doha Film Institute’s 2014 Ajyal Film Festival where it won an award for “artistic vision and poetic screenwriting.”

Mirgani outlined how the film reflects the history, modernity, and folklore of Qatar. The film depicts Hind, a Bedouin girl, as she wanders through a desert landscape long before the discovery of hydrocarbons that would eventually transform Qatar into one of the richest countries in the world. Only a few decades ago, Mirgani said, Qatar was settled by nomadic tribes who lived a harsh and frugal existence in the open desert, hunting for food and ever searching for sources of water. It was only towards the end of the twentieth century that the country’s natural wealth was fully exploited, transforming it into colossal economic



wealth to be reflected in the urban landscape in one of the fastest modernization and urbanization projects the world has ever seen. This rapid overhaul of traditional lifestyles is considered to have a jarring effect on those who still remember the simplicity and isolation of desert existence.

The film presents a tangled landscape of dream and reality, where Hind has a vision of the future as told by an oracle/genie: a common motif in Arab fairy tales. Unbeknownst to her, Hind straddles two radically different worlds—old and new and reality and dream—at the cusp of the new century and a changing world. Beneath the barren desert of Hind’s reality brews the thick black matter of her subconscious—and just like the bubbling oil in the gas fields around her, rises to the surface in this dreamscape.

The massive infrastructural changes taking place in the Gulf are usually represented in how

they affect economic and geopolitical power, and are dealt with in “official” terms whether through academia or the media, Mirgani argued. These societal transformations are rarely dealt with in terms of the psychological impact of how urban and societal changes in the desert affect the individual. In order to explore these psychological influences, the film depicts the fluid concepts of “time” and the “subconscious,” and how such shifts can have a lasting—and perhaps jarring—effect on ways of thinking.

Producers of the film included Haya Al Romaihi, Dwaa Osman, Suzi Mirgani, Rodney X Sharkey, and Julietta Mirghani. The principle actors were Asli Altinisik and Athanasios Sardellis, while the film’s poetry was translated into Arabic by Haya Al Romaihi and recited by Razan Al Humaidi. Assisting with production of the film were Arwa Elsanosi, Salman Ahad Khan, and Badr Rahimah. ■

FOOD SECURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST BOOK LAUNCH

On January 19, 2015, Zahra Babar, Associate Director for Research at CIRS, and Suzi Mirgani, Manager and Editor for CIRS Publications at held a book launch for the recently released volume on *Food Security in the Middle East* published by Oxford University Press. The book provides empirical case studies of Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine, Egypt, Yemen, the Gulf States, and Iran, with special attention to how these countries have been affected by the events of the Arab uprisings and rising food prices following the global economic crisis of 2007/2008.

Some of the major themes examined include the ascent and decline of various food regimes, urban agriculture, overseas agricultural land purchases, national food self-sufficiency strategies, distribution networks and food consumption patterns, and nutrition transitions and healthcare. Collectively, the chapters represent highly original contributions to the disciplines of political science, economics, agricultural studies, and healthcare policy, and reflect the increasing urgency of policy and public debate in this subject.

“Everyone agrees that access to food is one of the most basic human rights. But in reality, food has become politicized. What is more, unlike healthcare, education, or housing, food has evolved into a security issue,” said book editor and contributing author, Zahra Babar. She continued, saying: “Unlike certain parts of the developing world, the Middle East is not known as a region that is facing critical famine or starvation. However, it is one of the least self-sufficient regions in the world for obvious reasons, such as water scarcity, but also for some less obvious reasons, such as land reform that impacts sufficiency. In the GCC, in particular, huge migration patterns have outpaced food sufficiency and will likely continue to do so, making this an issue that is far more complex than some might imagine.”

Director of CIRS, Mehran Kamrava, also contributed to the newly published



volume. He said: “We hope this book sets a base of understanding for the full breadth of food security issues, to benefit the work of scholars, researchers, practitioners, and policymakers. There hasn’t been an in-depth examination of the social and political issues around food sovereignty and the availability and security of food supplies in the Middle East, and this book is an invaluable tool in understanding some of these critically important questions.”

“The Middle East is not known as a region that is facing critical famine or starvation. However, it is one of the least self-sufficient regions in the world.”

Suzi Mirgani, co-editor of the book, said that the body of work in this volume reflects a new approach to food security. “Current food security issues are shifting from a largely economics-dominated model, where the debate centered on macro-level issues of international development, to one where sociopolitical factors are becoming increasingly active in how food is conceived, valued, and distributed as a human right, rather than a market force. This book is an attempt to engage with this new paradigmatic shift.”

Julian A. Lampietti of The World Bank, gave his endorsement of the volume

saying that “this book is a fresh look at the challenges and opportunities associated with food security faced by the Middle East. The thorough treatment of a broad range of topics from trade to self-sufficiency, and from nutrition to the supermarket revolution and emerging dietary habits, make it a truly unique read.”

The chapters in this volume, published by Oxford University Press and C. Hurst & Co., grew out of a two-year research initiative held under the auspices of CIRS, and includes contributions from 25 leading experts on food security issues from top universities around the world. ■

Zahra Babar is Associate Director for Research at CIRS. Previously, she served with the International Labor Organization and the United Nations Development Program. Her research interests include rural development, Gulf migration and labor policies, citizenship in the Persian Gulf states. Babar’s publications include “The Cost of Belonging: Citizenship Construction in the State of Qatar,” in the *Middle East Journal* 68, no. 3 (2014). She has edited, with Mehran Kamrava, *Migrant Labor in the Persian Gulf* (Hurst/Columbia University, 2012), and with Suzi Mirgani, *Food Security in the Middle East* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

Suzi Mirgani is Manager and Editor for CIRS Publications. She received a Ph.D. in Communication and Media Studies from Eastern Mediterranean University in 2010. Mirgani’s research is based on critical discourse analyses of government and corporate-sponsored media messages and their influence on social attitudes towards piracy and copyright infringement. Mirgani is co-editor (with Zahra Babar) of *Food Security in the Middle East* (Oxford University Press, 2014). She is an independent filmmaker highlighting stories from the Gulf.

CIRS CONCLUDES RESEARCH INITIATIVE ON HEALTHCARE POLICY IN THE GULF

CIRS held its second working group on “Healthcare Policy and Politics in the Gulf” research initiative on February 8, 2015, in Doha. Participants gathered for the second time to discuss their research findings and obtain feedback from their fellow working group members. The topics discussed during the day covered a wide range of healthcare issues including the historical transformation of health services in the Gulf region to the status of mental health and substance abuse issues that have arisen as a result of changing lifestyle patterns.

The historical overview on the transformation of healthcare in the Gulf region showcased four distinctive phases. A common denominator in the situation of healthcare prior to the 1950s in the six Gulf states was the role of American and Dutch missionaries in setting up hospitals and health services. Discussants emphasized the fact that the missionaries’ efforts were not intended to be a civilizing force but were an extension of the British presence in the region meant to supplement the limited health services already available. Between the 1950s and 2000s, wealth generated by the oil revenues coming from the region invigorated the study and practice of medicine at universities.

In the case of Saudi Arabia, several health structures existed in parallel with one another, however, the annual Hajj pilgrimage forced the state to centralize healthcare efforts and create a unified system that could deal with the health epidemics that may arise from such events. Currently, the health sector in the Gulf is in need of reform due to the paternalistic feelings the states hold toward the provision of healthcare. Discussants argued that a severe lack of medical educational institutions exist in the Gulf, which is reflected in the quality of physicians and medical services being provided in the region. Moreover, the role of the private sector is in need of further study as there is no explanation as to why patients are shifting from public to private healthcare institutions.

In terms of human resources in the health sector, GCC countries seem to struggle with the workforce not being home grown. The UAE is a unique case whereby data has shown that the nationalities of the doctors practicing within the country encompass 110 different countries. Aside from data records on labor in the health sector, data collection in the Gulf remains sporadic and imprecise. No routine data collection for the WHO exists at the moment, whereby actual data acquired are mere estimates given by hospitals. Also, a more standardized process for recruitment of physicians is necessary because it imposes essential safeguards and helps establish doctors in the region. Revalidation processes have been put into practice recently by the Qatari government to assess the competency of physicians practicing, and to identify the quality of work provided.



In the case of the non-physician workforce, the affluent lifestyle enjoyed by many locals in the Gulf is a deterrent to entering the healthcare sector when a socioeconomic need does not exist. Non-physician positions, such as nursing or technical staff, are often hired from abroad due to the lack of medical institutions that train individuals in these professions. However, these conditions are gradually changing as both Qatar and Oman have recently opened nursing colleges to train the local and expatriate population based on the hiring needs of the local health sector. Participants questioned whether the lack of nationals in the health sector can be attributed to structural limitations of demography and whether the establishment of medical schools can be considered an integral part of the state-building process.

Healthcare in the Gulf region continues to be a political issue. Provision of free healthcare constitutes a facet of the social contract that is provided alongside education and housing by the Gulf ruling families. The lack of non-state actors such as political or civil groups means that healthcare, as a policy, is rarely debated from a bottom-up approach.

In the case of other countries in the region, such as Lebanon, non-state actors and civil society groups provide a good reference loop and prevent policies from becoming ad hoc. In 2015, \$42.9 billion was spent collectively on healthcare by the Gulf states, indicating a dire necessity for development in the healthcare structure. A further exploration into the process of policymaking in healthcare is necessary. The rapid modernization faced by many Gulf societies has created a myriad of both mental and physical diseases as a result of affluent, and often unhealthy, lifestyles. Additionally, the high percentage of expatriates within most GCC states impact healthcare policies dramatically because data does not always differentiate between local and non-local populations.

As a result, diseases such as obesity that are often associated with the lifestyles of the local population, can seem to be

Continued on page 18



*Sonia Alonso is Assistant Professor of Government at Georgetown University's SFS-Qatar. Previously, she was Research Fellow at the Social Science Research Center in Berlin and taught post-graduate courses at Humboldt University. Before that, she taught and researched at the Universities of Salamanca, Carlos III-Madrid, Oxford (St. Antony's College), and London (Royal Holloway College). She is the author of *Challenging the State: Devolution and the Battle for Partisan Credibility* (Oxford University Press, 2012). Alonso is also the author of two more books and numerous articles on democratization, party competition, and ethnic conflict in Western and Eastern Europe. She regularly publishes in *EUROPP LSE* and *Agenda Pública*.*

SPOTLIGHT ON THE FACULTY: SONIA ALONSO SAENZ DE OGER

My research focuses on the comparative analysis of democracies in Europe, from both a theoretical and an empirical point of view. Several interconnected elements of democracy as a political regime have been of particular interest to my research trajectory. Firstly, the concept of democratic representation (i.e. accountability, responsiveness, and responsibility), and the effects that diverse institutional settings (federalism and proportionality) and societal cleavages (centre-periphery, nationalism and ethnic conflict, left and right, and extremist left and right) have on the way democratic representation is played out in the political process. Secondly, the role of political parties as core institutions of representative democracy; their organization, programmatic position, strategic behavior in the electoral arena; and their relationship with voters, in terms of both credibility and reputation. Thirdly, public opinion and voting behavior, particularly in relation to the perceptions that citizens have about democracy and the implications for regime legitimacy and support. Finally, my research has also dwelled on how non-democratic regimes move towards democratization.

I studied political science and sociology at the University of Deusto, in Bilbao, the financial capital of the Spanish Basque Country. Deusto is a small but highly reputed Jesuit university in Spain, with links to Georgetown University. I was completely oblivious to this at the time I was an undergraduate student there. After graduation, I moved outside my hometown for the first time, to Madrid, in what was going to be, even if I did not know it yet, a long life journey around the world. I finished my Ph.D. in Political Science thanks to a scholarship received from the Center for Advanced Studies in the Social

Sciences at the Juan March Institute, a private institution that had the best social sciences post-graduate programme in Spain until its transformation into an exclusively research institution some years ago. The intellectual atmosphere and the spirit of academic excellence at CEACS have been a constant inspiration for me.

Since completing my Ph.D., my research has evolved considerably, enhancing the number of topics that I deal with and the geographical areas that I cover. Initially, the focus of my research was institutional design in new democracies, with a particular focus on Eastern Europe. With time I moved my geographical interest from Eastern to Western Europe, always keeping a comparative outlook. In Western Europe the analysis of institutions in divided societies led me to the study of federalism as a solution to ethnic conflict, and to the analysis of political parties' strategies of competition in decentralized states. As I was engaged in this analysis, I noticed a gap in the availability of data concerning parties' programmatic stances in sub-national elections. This triggered the idea for a major ongoing research project: the Regional Manifestos Project. The methodology and dataset are freely available at the project's website: www.regionalmanifestosproject.com. We also disseminate the data to the wider public via the project's Blog (*Programas al Desnudo*) and our periodic contribution to the political analysis platform *Agenda Pública*.

Another major line of research in my career has been the study of democracy as a political regime and, in particular, the analysis of the quality of existing European democracies. In this respect, I have studied the compatibility between democracy and minority nationalism and how, under certain

conditions (among them, a federal state structure), democracy can not only survive but also thrive in multi-national states. Other aspects of the quality of democracy in the European context concern the rise of populist extreme-right parties and the effects of the Great Recession on democratic trust, topics that have been part of my research agenda during the last two years.

My scholarly publications have found a wide readership in three different languages: English, Spanish, and German. I have published three books, one by Oxford University Press, and another edited volume published by Cambridge University Press. I have authored nine peer-reviewed articles in journals such as *Party Politics*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *South European Society and Politics*, *Comparative European Politics*, and *Regional and Federal Studies*, as well as nine book chapters.

As an academic, I am truly committed to collaborative research and professional engagement with both the academic and the non-academic community. With respect to my commitment towards the non-academic world, I believe in the responsibility of social scientists towards the wider society to which they belong and from which they receive the necessary economic and structural support to continue to advance the knowledge that will improve our societies. I believe that universities and research centers have to open up to society and, for this reason, I am fully committed to the dissemination of our knowledge and our data in a comprehensive and accessible way to everyone, not just to our peers. I am also committed to our participation as experts in public debate.

I still remember the teachers that made an impression on me as an undergraduate student. I am here because of them. I do not come from a privileged background, and there are no academics or scientists in my family. My teachers were the ones who infected me with the passion for knowledge, for critical thought, and for transformative action. One of those teachers used to say that teaching is about empowering students to build their own futures and to be able to improve the future of others. He certainly succeeded in empowering me and, in turn, students' empowerment is both my inspiration and my aspiration. ■



CIRS HOLDS WORKING GROUP MEETING TO DISCUSS “RE-EMERGING WEST ASIA”

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

policy towards the Caucasus and mutual perceptions that arise from both the Iranian and Azerbaijani sides. From an Iranian viewpoint, the lesson that was learnt from the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is that without the engagement of Russia, security issues can rarely be solved. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, despite the common culture and mutual past shared between Iran and Azerbaijan, relations between the two countries have remained strained over the situation of Azeris in Iran. The Azeris constitute a significant part of the population in Iran,

however Azeri ethnic identity and the use of Azeri language, alongside other ethnic languages, has not been taught or practiced in schools in Iran. In return, the Azerbaijani state has counteracted these efforts by embarking on a historical mission to create a national awakening in order for Azeris to understand their identity and embrace their independence from Iran. Discussants questioned the extent to which the salience of the Iranian-Azeri relationship is contingent on the political relations, considering that the ethnic dimension only reappears when relations become strained between the two countries.

In the case of the South Caucasus states, post-Soviet Armenia has been characterized by crime and corruption which have allowed a few businesses to gain exorbitant amounts of power. These oligarchs are closely linked to the state. Selected individuals and companies act as “commodity-based cartels,” controlling the export and import rights for key products such as sugar, oil, alcohol, and cigarettes. In return, these oligarchs deliver to the state assured ballots and votes. Trade embargoes and closed borders have allowed for the corruption of Armenia’s economy and strengthened the dominance of the oligarchs. Discussants observed that oligarchs in Armenia enter parliament for status and immunity, not understanding the potential power they may have in drafting legislation or by impeding the law. Moreover, more scholarly interest should focus on comparisons of Georgia and Armenia considering their similar variables, but radically different political reform strategies. ■

“YOUTH IN THE MIDDLE EAST”

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Increasingly, the vacuum left by failed state structures has been steadily filled by Islamic movements in many countries of the Middle East. These mostly grassroots institutions are becoming increasingly intertwined in youth’s daily lives, and have powerful influences on youth behavior. In order for young people to be directed towards formal channels of economic activity, the participants explained that there needs to be more effort made by the government, as well as businesses and the private sector, to invest in job creation and vocational training, especially for those with low levels of education. The participants advised, however, that there needs to be a fine balance between the valorization of manual labor and the encouragement of schooling and education.

The participants further discussed means of educational reform and how the Arab state promises employment as a reward for education. This often only leads to further frustration when educated youths come up against a variety of entry barriers to the labor market. There are few effective transitions from school to employment, and a severe lack of skills and behavioral competencies



development. Further compounding this is the crisis of the social sciences; the Arab educational system rewards technical and technocratic career paths, with little encouragement of alternative careers in the humanities, arts, and cultural avenues. These disciplines are far from institutionalized at the school level, and even less so in the labor market, making the humanities unappealing and often gendered.

Other issues under discussion included Arab refugees and forced migration; nationalization policies across the GCC; and youth voices in public spaces as well online through a variety

of information communication technologies and social media channels. In conclusion, the participants encouraged further investigation into broader theoretical questions involving the future of political Islam and democratization efforts. The participants offered a series of policy recommendations that could be implemented across the Middle East and North Africa, and ways of promoting resilience rather than violence through a variety of avenues, including cultural and educational activities, as well as means of removing entry barriers to the market by encouraging grassroots business opportunities and networks. ■

JEREMY KOONS CIRS FACULTY RESEARCH WORKSHOP

The research of Jeremy Koons, Associate Professor of Philosophy at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar, was recently discussed in a CIRS Faculty Research Workshop centering on his book manuscript, *Unity Without Uniformity: A Synoptic Vision of the Normative and the Natural*, co-authored with Michael P. Wolf, Associate Professor at Washington and Jefferson College. The workshop, held on March 8, 2015, included eleven participants from Europe and the greater Middle East region.

The manuscript draws on the pragmatist tradition of philosophers Wittgenstein and Sellars to defend an alternative conception of normative discourse. It also draws on other elements of the pragmatist tradition, stretching from philosophers Peirce to Brandom, to show how normative claims are constrained, and how this constraint, combined with the way in which normative claims are accountable to reason and argumentation, prevents any fall into relativism.

The CIRS *Faculty Research Workshop* is a closed-door, one-day seminar that brings together select scholars for a focused discussion on a GU-Q faculty member's book manuscript that is in its final stages



of development. Participants receive the manuscript in advance of the meeting and each scholar leads a focused group discussion on an assigned chapter.

This research workshop featured a talented group of esteemed philosophers who specialize in Sellarsian and pragmatist philosophy. Participants engaged in a series of structured brainstorming sessions that led to a critical and thorough discussion of the book. Attendees included Bana Bashour and Ray Brassier, American University of Beirut; Erhan Demircioglu, Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey; Anjana Jacob, GU-Q; Daniele Mezzadri, United Arab Emirates University; Niklas Moller, The Royal Institute of Technology

in Sweden; Jim O'Shea, University College of Dublin; John Ryder, American University in Ras Al Khaimah, United Arab Emirates; Matthew Silverstein, New York University in Abu Dhabi, UAE; Lucas Thorpe, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul; and Jack Woods, Bilkent University, Turkey. ■

Jeremy Koons received his Ph.D. in Philosophy from Georgetown University in 1998. He teaches a wide variety of philosophy courses on ethics (theoretical and applied), social and political philosophy, epistemology, philosophy of mind and language, metaphysics, and philosophy of religion. He publishes articles on ethics, epistemology, metaphysics, and philosophy of religion. His book, *Pragmatic Reasons: A Defense of Morality and Epistemology*, was published by Palgrave in 2009.

CIRS RESEARCH INITIATIVE ON “THE GULF FAMILY” WORKING GROUP I

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

scholarship has explored the role religious education plays in women's positioning within society. Theoretically, the rise of modern education was seen by scholars as a way to empower women into assuming roles within the public sphere. Yet, case studies have shown that the quality of education women receive tend to reproduce traditional systems and to enforce gender segregation. Discussants also emphasized the rise of religious education within the household, whereby female Islamic preachers would conduct house visits in segregated spaces in an effort to educate women on Islamic values relevant to the home.

Socially interpreted Islamic values within Gulf households have often hindered channels of communication between parent and child on more sensitive issues such as sexual

and reproductive health education. Discussants argued that religious teachings in fact encourage open discussion on such issues, within the scope of legally sanctioned marriage, whereas social pressure and familial inexperience constitute the biggest obstacles in the face of sexual health education.

As the median age of marriage is increasing, youth are confronted with their sexuality prior to marriage. The cultivation of shame rather than guilt, especially within the family, is a by-product of religious and tribal sentiments that dictate social relations in Gulf states. As a result, youth are expected to source their own information on sexual issues often resorting to the internet as an impartial source of education. However, the lack of sexual and reproductive health education amongst Gulf families raises youth's vulnerabilities when confronted with issues such as rape, sexual harassment, and transmitted diseases. Parents often struggle with establishing open and honest channels of communication with their children, partially due to the linguistic barriers that bi-lingual families face and stigma attached with this sensitive topic. ■

AMIRA EL-ZEIN ON “VICTIMIZATION OR EMPOWERMENT? THE CASE OF SAUDI LITERATURE”

Amira El-Zein, Associate Professor at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar and the 2014-2015 CIRS SFS-Q Faculty Fellow, delivered a CIRS *Focused Discussion* on “Victimization or Empowerment? The Case of Saudi Literature” on March 10, 2015. The lecture focused on several works authored by Saudi female novelists published outside of Saudi Arabia in places like Beirut, Casablanca, and Cairo. El-Zein examined works including *Al-Firdaws Al Yabaab* (The Barren Paradise) by Leila al-Juhni; *Jabiliyyah* (Ignorance) and *Hind Wa L-Askar* (Hind and the Soldiers) by Badriyyah al-Bishr; and *Tawq Al Hamam* (The Necklace’s Dove) by Raja Alem.

In recent years, Saudi Arabia has experienced an increase in female-authored literary fiction, despite the odds. These writings are significant, El-Zein explained, in their facility to carve a space, and indeed flourish, within highly restrictive cultural settings, or, what she calls, a “fundamentalist milieu.” Regardless of the fictive nature of the writing, these works can be considered contemporary cultural documents that question the rigid patriarchal system of knowledge upon which modern Saudi Arabia is founded.

Despite women’s general experiences of powerlessness within the institutional framework of modern Saudi Arabia, discourses about women take a paradoxically central role among the most powerful religious and political entities that all compete to be ordained as “the best supervisor of the moral order in the public sphere,” El-Zein said. In order to highlight these alternative literary testaments of Saudi Arabian life, she notes: “I analyze this conservative perspective through novels, as I consider them important accounts of the Saudi individual’s predicament in both the public and the domestic spheres.”

Through the intertextual juxtaposition of past and present, authors such as Raja Alem and Leila al Juhni situate modern Saudi Arabia within a historical continuum. The significance of this literary strategy alludes to the idea that seemingly entrenched contemporary ideologies have not always held sway, and that existing social, political, and religious infrastructures can be considered unstable and fleeting. In her work, “Alem’s message is that there have been periods of time when women in the kingdom were relatively better off than today, and when segregation between sexes wasn’t enforced as it is today,” El-Zein explained. By grounding contemporary political and religious infrastructures within a historical perspective, the authors reveal them to be brief moments in the long history of the civilization.

Through such an empowering writing technique, the authors manage to destabilize contemporary power relations by



suggesting that change is not only possible, but inevitable. El-Zein proposes that “through intertextuality, Alem and al-Juhni reclaim history and religion rather than attack them. They look at them, not as ideologies, but rather as emblematic institutions that have been manipulated as ideologies in order to maintain the existing powers.”

“Through intertextuality, Alem and al-Juhni reclaim history and religion rather than attack them. They look at them, not as ideologies, but rather as emblematic institutions that have been manipulated as ideologies in order to maintain the existing powers.”

In conclusion, El-Zein illustrated how these texts are intricate and complicated, and proposed paying close attention to the novels in order to detect their many defiant qualities that are not immediately apparent. “A first reading of the texts,” she said, “unveils Saudi women as helpless and subdued, and concludes that these texts are victimization texts. A second close reading, however, that is more inquisitive and probing, uncovers a different image: that of empowered women.” ■

Amira El-Zein is author of *Islam, Arabs, and the Intelligent World of the Jinn* and co-editor of *Culture, Creativity and Exile*. She translated several French authors into Arabic such as J.M.G Le Clézio, André Malraux, and Antonin Artaud. Her translation of the Palestinian poet, Mahmud Darwish, was nominated for the Pen International Prize of translation. Her poetry was chosen to be included in the United Nations’ Book of Poetry for 2015. During her fellowship at CIRS, El-Zein is working on a project titled, “Contemporary Saudi Literature: The Grueling Adaption to Modernity.” The research argues that contemporary Saudi literature conveys the dilemma of Saudi society torn between fascination with everything Western and obligations to unbending traditions. The question of tradition in its extremely arduous adaptation to rapid changes has led to a profound malaise, loss of identity, and confusion, which are characteristic of neocolonialism. The research will interpret several novels and poems that mirror the ordeals Saudi people experience when they challenge the harsh rules of the establishment. Comparisons will be made between Saudi literature and that written by other authors in the Gulf.



CIRS CONCLUDES RESEARCH INITIATIVE ON HEALTHCARE POLITICS IN THE GULF

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

epidemics even though the overall percentage of people diagnosed as obese is comparatively small, especially when the expatriate population is accounted for in the data gathering.

Examples of chronic lifestyle diseases that have recently emerged in the region as a by-product of affluence and rapid modernization are cardiovascular diseases, diabetes, and obesity. The profile of such diseases that have emerged alongside the changing lifestyles in the Gulf showcase the lack of exercise and high-fat diet as trends in chronic diseases. Participants tried to quantify the chronic disease profile of the GCC, in comparison with other high and middle income countries, using OECD base-line data. In addition to previous studies, the data showed that major depressive disorders and road injuries were the leading causes of a disability adjusted lifestyle in comparison to worldwide standards. Nonetheless, more health awareness campaigns are necessary in the Gulf because there seems to be a high level of societal ignorance towards the impact of chronic diseases on life expectancy rates. Awareness campaigns must also extend to mental health issues. Currently, the percentage of people who require mental help and actively seek it constitute only 25 percent of the population. Additionally, the problem with mental healthcare providers is that they often have to be the primary, secondary, and tertiary care providers in place of mental health clinics and support groups.

In terms of substance-use disorders in the Gulf region, the changing patterns in education and family structure

have all contributed to an “urban drift” amongst the youth population who often find themselves unable to belong and relate to their societies. Such sentiments among youth can be problematic because it can lead to self-medication in the form of consuming excessive amounts of alcohol or the use of recreational drugs. Opinions on substance-abuse disorders in the Gulf region often oscillate between the two polar opposite views of approaching it as an immoral act or as a disease. Existing scholarship explores the relationship between availability of substances and the level of drug usage. It was argued that there should be an evolving mechanism that liberalizes some of the less harmful substances in society to combat the prevalence of more detrimental drugs.

Noteworthy to mention is the situation of the healthcare system in the Gulf which has become multi-tiered, primarily due to the lack of proper population health need assessments, including short-term health solutions for low-skilled workers. Even though the Gulf region has attained significant social and economic achievements in a short span of time, healthcare policies are still centered more on curative health and not enough on protective and preventive measures. Discussants argued that the Gulf states’ spending on healthcare is below average, by WHO standards, which is reflected in the ratios of physicians to residents and the number of beds per population. Moreover, in terms of policy, different health policies exist within the healthcare structure for different patients within society. For instance, GCC legislation requires employers to buy health insurance that covers their expatriate workers. However, the insurance plans often only cover basics in healthcare, in comparison to the local population which receives the high-end health services available. ■

BART HILHORST ON “THE FUTURE OF NILE COOPERATION”

Bart Hilhorst, a water resources specialist and former Chief Technical Advisor for the FAO project on the Nile basin, delivered a CIRS *Focused Discussion* on “The Future of Nile Cooperation” on March 25, 2015. The lecture centered on the complexities of water cooperation, with a focus on the Nile Basin. Hilhorst introduced the audience to these intricate issues by explaining that “water resources management is not a technical issue. Rather, quintessentially, it is a political issue. It determines who gets what and when.”

“Water resources management is not a technical issue. Rather, quintessentially, it is a political issue. It determines who gets what and when.”

Since competition over scarce water resources is increasing at local, national, and regional levels, Hilhorst argued that “we need better tools to deal with these difficult, complex, and emotive issues of water resources management.” One of the tools he recommended was the “scenario approach,” which is a methodology that develops internally consistent and equally plausible stories that describe how the future might unfold. Hilhorst explained that “scenario thinking” is not to predict or to forecast. Rather, by examining the main driving forces in the external environment, there is a gradual understanding of what is driving the “system” and the underlying structural relations. This understanding is critical for making informed decisions. Importantly, scenario thinking takes a “big picture” approach to water resources management by encompassing the various stakeholders and their needs. Since regional water management often results in polarized perspectives, this approach helps to achieve an alignment of views between the various stakeholders, and to

establish a common ground from which negotiations can emerge.

Hilhorst elaborated on the application of scenario thinking to Nile cooperation among the eleven countries that share this valuable, yet somewhat scarce, water resource. “The Nile is a big name, and a long river, but it is a small river in terms of volume of runoff relative to the size of its basin,” he said. The countries through which the Nile flows have a number of developmental issues, including high demographic growth rates, poor infrastructure, and dependency on the Nile waters for most of their water and agricultural needs. Without effective north-south transport connections, there is little that links the eleven states as a group other than the Nile itself. Hence, direct common interests among the riparians are limited.

In order to address some of these overarching development issues, concerted efforts are ongoing to strengthen cooperation among the Nile riparians, including the “Nile Basin Initiative” that was established in 1999. At this point in time, however, the shape and dynamics of Nile cooperation are subject to a number of uncertainties. Will the international donor community continue its current level of support to the regional Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) centers? Can financing be mobilized for the large infrastructure investment projects that will increase the benefits accrued from the Nile waters? When can the NBI centers advance from transitional to permanent status? Will Egypt re-engage in the Nile discussions? It is especially within such dynamic and uncertain environments that scenario thinking thrives in its offering of possible solutions for plausible outcomes. Thus, in September of 2014, Hilhorst conducted a scenario exercise with a committee made up of key stakeholders including members of the Nile Technical Advisory Committee as well as representatives from both government and civil society groups.

Hilhorst concluded by highlighting the increasing man-made influences



upon the Nile. He explained that, currently, “the Nile is transferring from a natural to a regulated river,” where various water management infrastructures and dams are being established along the length of the river in national attempts to benefit from its flow. Most of these projects are aligned to national development programs, and do not necessarily take into account the regional perspective. Yet, because many of these projects have increased the flood control, hydropower, and irrigation optionality of Nile resource management, they have created a situation wherein “the potential benefits of cooperation has increased dramatically,” for the entire Nile Basin. This, in turn, has sparked the need for increased regional cooperation, and so is a positive drive towards future integration between the nations of the Nile. ■

Bart Hilhorst has over twenty-five years of experience in land and water resources management, with a focus on transboundary rivers and forward thinking in natural resources development and use. He has extensive field experience in complex transboundary water projects in Africa and Asia, and served as a Chief Technical Advisor for FAO project “Information Products for Nile Basin Water Resources Management.” Hilhorst has particular knowledge of using scenario thinking to support strategy formulation for natural resources management, and to facilitate dialogue processes regarding complex water allocation challenges. He recently facilitated a comprehensive multi-stakeholder scenario process that investigated the complex water-agriculture-energy sector in the Aral Sea basin, and is currently involved in a scenario project on the ‘future of Nile cooperation’ for the Nile Basin Initiative. In February 2015, Hilhorst completed a study on the status of GCC agro-investments in sub-Saharan Africa.

CIRS ADVISORY BOARD

Osama Walid Abi-Mershed, Director, *Center for Contemporary Arab Studies (CCAS), Georgetown University*

Sheikha Abdulla Al-Misnad, President, *Qatar University*

Ahmad Dallal, Provost, *American University of Beirut*

Stanley N. Katz, Director, *Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies, Princeton University*

Rami Khouri, Director, *The Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs, American University of Beirut*

Sir Tim Lankester, Chairman of the Council, *London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, London University*

James Reardon-Anderson, Senior Associate Dean, *School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University*

Alistair G. Routledge, President and General Manager, *ExxonMobil Qatar*

Gary Sick, Research Scholar, *School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University*

John Waterbury, William Stewart Tod Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Emeritus, *Princeton University Abu Dhabi*

CIRS PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Rogaia Abusharaf, *Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar*

Talal Al-Emadi, *Qatar University*

John T. Crist, *Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar*

Firat Oruc, *Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar*

Robert Wirsing, *Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar*

Mohamed Zayani, *Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar*

CIRS STAFF DIRECTORY

Mehran Kamrava, *Director*

Haya Al-Noaimi, *Research Analyst*

Tamim Alnuweiri, *Research Intern*

Zahra Babar, *Associate Director for Research*

Barb Gillis, *CIRS Coordinator*

Salman Ahad Khan, *Publications Intern*

Dionysis Markakis, *Research Associate*

Suzi Mirgani, *Manager and Editor for Publications*

Badr Rahimah, *Publications Intern*

Maha Uraidi, *GU-Q Events Manager*

Elizabeth Wanucha, *Project Manager*

CALL FOR PAPERS

The Center for International and Regional Studies (CIRS) at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar (SFS-Q) has an open call for papers, and accepts submissions to its Occasional Paper series throughout the year. CIRS publishes original research on a broad range of issues including international relations, political science, economics, and Islamic studies, among others. Papers dealing directly with the Gulf region, or the wider Middle East, are preferred.

Papers should be a maximum of 10,000 words and cannot have been previously published or under consideration for publication elsewhere. Papers must be formatted according to the Chicago Manual of Style (16th edition), and all transliterations must adhere to the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. All submissions are subject to a double-blind review process. Any copyright concerns are the responsibility of the author. Please submit manuscripts to cirsresearch@georgetown.edu. Inquiries about publications or other related questions may be directed to Suzi Mirgani, Manager and Editor for CIRS Publications at the following address: sm623@georgetown.edu.



LIKE US ON FACEBOOK

www.facebook.com/cirssfsq

CIRS Newsletter ISSN 2072-6961

© 2015 Center for International and Regional Studies

Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar

Education City, Qatar Foundation

P.O. Box 23689

Doha, State of Qatar

For event inquiries: cirsevents@georgetown.edu

For research and publications inquiries: cirsresearch@georgetown.edu

<http://cirs.georgetown.edu> | Tel +974 4457 8400 | Fax +974 4457 8401

Articles written by Suzi Mirgani, Manager and Editor for CIRS Publications, and Haya Al-Noaimi, CIRS Research Analyst.



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

School of Foreign Service in Qatar
Center for International and Regional Studies