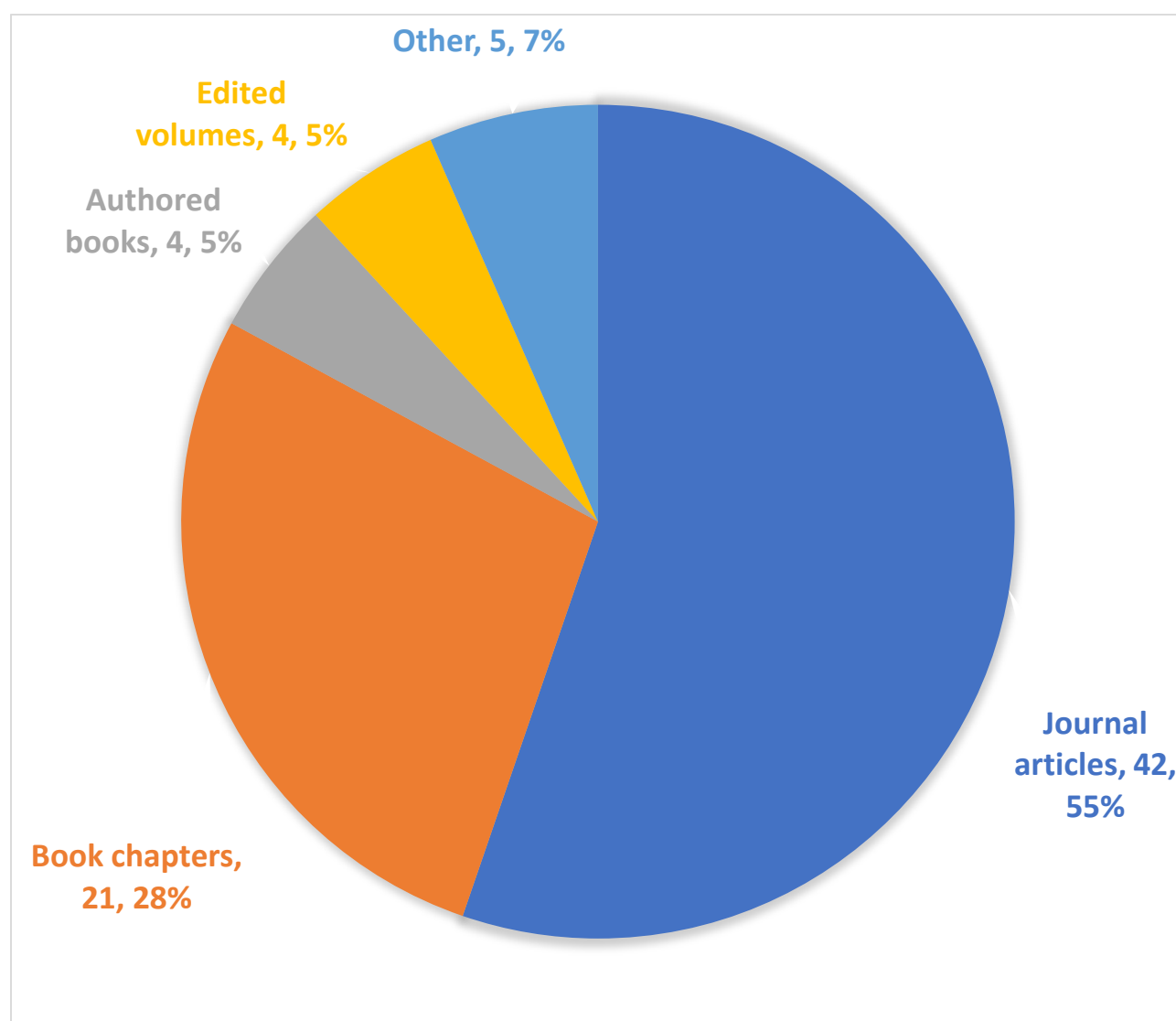


Georgetown University in Qatar Publications: 2020

This is a comprehensive list of books, journal articles, edited volumes, chapters, and research papers published in 2020 by faculty, students, staff, and visiting scholars of the University. It includes works published during an author's tenure at GU-Q and publications that list GU-Q as an author's affiliation. The list does not include works published before joining GU-Q or works where the author lists institutions other than Georgetown as their affiliation. Names of members of GU-Q are in bold. For more information, please visit the GU-Q [Research](#) website

Statistics



AUTHORED BOOKS

Kendall, E., & Mohamed, Y. A. (2020). *Diplomacy Arabic: An Essential Vocabulary*. Edinburgh University Press. <https://edinburghuniversitypress.com/book-diplomacy-arabic.html>
Contains user-friendly lists of Arabic-English diplomacy terms with brief definitions What is the word for 'peacebuilding' in Arabic? How would you translate 'multilateral negotiations'? This vocabulary gives you ready-made lists of 1,300+ Arabic expressions, terms and idioms in 10 key areas of diplomatic discourse: General, Concepts & Practices Diplomatic Service & Protocol, Organisations, Elections & Government, Negotiations, Treaties & Agreements, Conflict Resolution & Defence, Civil Society & Human Rights, and Globalisation & Economic Development. Key Features: Groups terms in thematic sections, Easy-to-learn lists to test translation, and Check your pronunciation with online audio resources. Includes an alphabetical index of all English-language terms to help you find the translation of the precise word you're looking for.

Khalīfah, O. (2020). *قالبض الرمل: رواية* = *Sand catcher*. Amman, Jordan: al-Ahlīyah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī'.

My father was not happy seeing me confront him and ask him to stop bothering my grandfather when they were arguing about past affairs. My father accused me of being stupid and repeating my grandfather's sayings like a parrot. He said that if the Palestinians had done what my grandfather wanted, no one would know their story and they would have disappeared from the world map. My grandfather once heard him say this to me. Wait until I go to my room and then call me. "What does your father want?" "He wants me to not hear your words." - "why?" - "He said that the Palestinians have lost everything and only memories remain. Our duty is to preserve our memories and pass them on to our future generations so that the world knows what happened." "And then what?" - "what?" - "The world knew what happened. So what?" I didn't know how to answer. He grabbed my hand and started talking nonstop. A novel by Palestinian writer Omar Khalifah. The work addresses awareness of identity, through awareness of events, memory, imagination, reality." –

لَمْ يَكُنْ أَبِي سَعِيداً وَهُوَ يَرَانِي أَوَاجَهُ وَأَطْلُبُ مِنْهُ الْكَفَّ عَنْ إِزْعَاجِ جَدِّي حِينَ يَتَجَادَلَانِ فِي شُؤْنِ الْمَاضِي. أَتَهْمِي أَبِي بِالْغَبَاءِ وَتَكَرَّارِ مَقُولَاتِ جَدِّي كَالْبَيْغَاءِ. قَالَ إِنَّ الْفَلَسْطِينِيِّينَ لَوْ فَعَلُوا مَا يَرِيدُهُ جَدِّي لَمَا عَرَفَ قِصَّتَهُمْ أَحَدٌ وَلا خُتِفُوا عَنْ خَرِيطَةِ الْعَالَمِ. سَمِعَهُ جَدِّي مَرَّةً وَهُوَ يُوَجِّهُ هَذَا الْكَلَامَ لِي. انْتَظِرْ إِلَى أَنْ تُوَجِّهَتْ إِلَى غُرْفَتِي ثُمَّ نَادَانِي. - "شَوْ بَدَّهْ أَبُوكَ؟" - "يُرِيدُنِي أَلَّا أَسْمَعَ كَلَامَكَ." - "لَيْشَ؟" - "قَالَ إِنَّ الْفَلَسْطِينِيِّينَ خَسَرُوا كُلَّ شَيْءٍ وَلَمْ يَبْقَ سِوَى الذِّكْرِيَّاتِ. وَاجِبْنَا هُوَ أَنْ نَحَافِظَ عَلَى ذَاكِرَتِنَا وَنَوَرِّثَهَا لِأَجْيَالِنَا الْقَادِمَةِ كَيْ يَعْرِفَ الْعَالَمُ مَا جَرَى." - "وَبَعْدِينَ؟" - "مَاذَا؟" - "عَرَفَ الْعَالَمُ شَوْ صَارَ. وَبَعْدِينَ؟" لَمْ أَعْرِفْ كَيْفَ أَجِيبُهُ. أَمْسَكَ يَدِي وَبَدَأَ يَتَحَدَّثُ بِلَا تَوَقُّفٍ.

قالبض الرمل هو اسم الرواية الأولى للكاتب والأكاديمي عمر خليفة، والذي يطرح من خلالها رؤية تجربتنا على أن نحدّق في المأساة الفلسطينية بعيون أخرى، وتتساءل عن فائدة أن يحكي الفلسطينيين قصصهم ويسجلوها. تدور أحداث الرواية في الوقت الراهن في العاصمة الأردنية عمان، وتتركز حول مجموعة من الصحفيين الذين يسعون لإجراء مقابلة مع عجوز فلسطيني بهدف تسجيل ذاكرته حول النكبة الفلسطينية وما جرى عام 1948 من تطهير عرقي لفلسطين ودمار للمجتمع الفلسطيني، لكن المقابلة تأخذ طريقاً مغايراً تماماً يفاجئ الصحفيين وعائلة العجوز على حد سواء. يركز الدكتور خليفة في أبحاثه على موضوعات الأدب العربي والعالمي والسينما والقومية في العالم العربي، وهو ينسج القصص المتشابكة معاً على نحو يثير تساؤلات حول الذاكرة والمأساة والروابط البشرية، من خلال وجهات نظر متعددة. عن هذه التجربة الثرية يقول د. خليفة إن هذه الرواية هي نتيجة انشغاله الشخصي والثقافي

بأسئلة الذاكرة الفلسطينية وأثرها في إدراك الفلسطينيين لذواتهم، ويضيف قائلا: "تتناثر عبر الرواية خيوط سردية تطرح أسئلة حول الذاكرة والمأساة والحب، وتقدّم شخصيات تتساءل عن معنى فلسطين بالنسبة لها. الرواية مزيج من التراجيديا والكوميديا، ودعوة سردية لإعادة التأمل في علاقة الفلسطينيين بماضيهم وحاضرهم."

Laude, P. (2020). *Keys to the Beyond: Frithjof Schuon's Cross-Traditional Language of Transcendence*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

<https://sunypress.edu/Books/K/Keys-to-the-Beyond>

This book explores the work of the religious philosopher Frithjof Schuon (1907–1998) by focusing on the way he develops his own expansive adaptations of traditional religious terms. As a leading proponent of perennial philosophical and religious thought, Schuon borrows widely from specific religious traditions, expanding the scope of traditional terminology—from upāya and yin-yang to "quintessential Sufism" and "vertical Trinity"—beyond their respective traditional definitions. This is one of Schuon's strengths as a thinker, but it can also be an obstacle to understanding his writings. This study develops the full implications of these key terms by first delving into their specific traditional denotations and, secondly, exploring their universal connotations in Schuon's universe of meaning. Such a task is particularly timely when both hardened religious identities and skepticism or hostility toward religious traditions increasingly clash with each other. The current questions and challenges surrounding cross-civilizational relations make such a contribution particularly needed and likely to receive a broader attention in the years to come. Patrick Laude is Professor at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar. He is the author of many books, including *Shimmering Mirrors: Reality and Appearance in Contemplative Metaphysics East and West*; *Pathways to an Inner Islam: Massignon, Corbin, Guénon, and Schuon*; and *Frithjof Schuon: Life and Teachings* (coauthored with Jean-Baptiste Aymard), all published by SUNY Press.

Lieven, A. (2020). *Climate Change and the Nation State: The Case for Nationalism in a Warming World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The first book to show how nationalism can help us to fight climate change. The climate emergency is intensifying, while international responses continue to falter. In *Climate Change and the Nation State*, Anatol Lieven outlines a revolutionary approach grounded in realist thinking: redefining climate change as an existential threat to nation states - which it undoubtedly is-and mobilizing both national security elites and mass nationalism. He reminds us that nationalism has proven to be the most powerful force in motivating people to care about the wellbeing of future generations. Throughout, Lieven draws on historical examples to show how earlier political movements marshaled nationalism to implement progressive social reform. In order to implement and maintain a policy revolution such as "Green New Deal," he argues, it will be necessary to create dominant national consensus like those that enabled and sustained the original New Deal and the advanced welfare states in Europe. Now updated in paperback, *Climate Change and the Nation State* is an essential contribution to the debate on how to deal with a climatic crisis that-if left unchecked-threatens the survival of every nation.

EDITED VOLUMES

Kamrava, M. (2020). Nation-Building in Central Asia. *The Muslim World*, 110(1), 1-125.

The articles in this special issue grew out of a multiyear research initiative undertaken by the Center for International and Regional Studies (CIRS) at Georgetown University in Qatar. The primary purpose of the study was to examine the various dimensions of nation-building processes underway across Central Asia. These processes, which began in the early 1990s in former Soviet spaces, represent only the third wave of nation-building the world has witnessed over the last several centuries. The first nation-building wave dates back to 1648, when the modern nation-state emerged in Western Europe. The second wave started in the 1960s, when the era of colonialism came to a formal end. Our goal in this special issue is to contribute to the debate on the most recent wave of nation-building by focusing on some of the more salient dimensions of the phenomenon in relation to Central Asia.

Kamrava, M. (Ed.) (2020). *The "resource curse" in the Persian Gulf*. Routledge. <https://doi-org/10.4324/9780367809836>

The "Resource Curse" in the Persian Gulf systematically address the little studied notion of a "resource curse" in relation to the Persian Gulf by examining the historical causes and genesis of the phenomenon and its consequences in a variety of areas, including human development, infrastructural growth, clientelism, state-building and institutional evolution, and societal and gender relations. The book explores how across the Arabian Peninsula, oil wealth began accruing to the state at a particular juncture in the state-building process, when traditional, largely informal patterns of shaikhly rule were relatively well established, but the formal institutional apparatuses of the state were not yet fully formed. The chapters show that oil wealth had a direct impact on subsequent developments in these two complementary areas. Contributors discuss how on one hand, the distribution of petrodollars enabled political elites to solidify existing patterns of rule through deepening clientelist practices and by establishing new, dependent clients; and how on the other, rent revenues gave state leaders the opportunity to establish and shape institutions in ways that solidified their political control. The "Resource Curse" in the Persian Gulf will be of great interest to scholars of Middle Eastern studies, focusing on a variety of subject areas, including human development, human resources, clientelism, infrastructural growth, institutional evolution, state-building, and societal and gender relations. This book was originally published as a special issue in the *Journal of Arabian Studies*.

Kamrava, M. (Ed.) (2020). *Routledge Handbook of Persian Gulf Politics*, Taylor and Francis. <https://doi-org/10.4324/9780429201981>

The Routledge Handbook of Persian Gulf Politics provides a comprehensive and up-to-date analysis of Persian Gulf politics, history, economics, and society. The volume begins its examination of Ottoman rule in the Arabian Peninsula, exploring other dimensions of the region's history up until and after independence in the 1960s and 1970s. Featuring scholars from a range of disciplines, the book demonstrates how the Persian Gulf's

current, complex politics is a product of interwoven dynamics rooted in historical developments and memories, profound social, cultural, and economic changes underway since the 1980s and the 1990s, and inter-state and international relations among both regional actors and between them and the rest of the world. The book comprises a total of 36 individual chapters divided into the following six sections: Historical Context, Society and Culture, Economic Development, Domestic Politics, Regional Security Dynamics, and The Persian Gulf and the World. Examining the Persian Gulf's increasing importance in regional politics, diplomacy, economics, and security issues, the volume is a valuable resource for scholars, students, and policy makers interested in political science, history, Gulf studies, and the Middle East.

Meijer, R., Sater, J. N., & **Babar, Z. R.** (Eds.) (2020). *Routledge Handbook of Citizenship in the Middle East and North Africa*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429058288>

This comprehensive Handbook gives an overview of the political, social, economic and legal dimensions of citizenship in the Middle East and North Africa from the nineteenth century to the present. The terms citizen and citizenship are mostly used by researchers in an off-hand, self-evident manner. A citizen is assumed to have standard rights and duties that everyone enjoys. However, citizenship is a complex legal, social, economic, cultural, ethical and religious concept and practice. Since the rise of the modern bureaucratic state, in each country of the Middle East and North Africa, citizenship has developed differently. In addition, rights are highly differentiated within one country, ranging from privileged, underprivileged and discriminated citizens to non-citizens. Through its dual nature as instrument of state control, as well as a source of citizen rights and entitlements, citizenship provides crucial insights into state-citizen relations and the services the state provides, as well as the way citizens respond to these actions. This volume focuses on five themes that cover the crucial dimensions of citizenship in the region: (1) Historical trajectory of citizenship since the nineteenth century until independence; (2) Creation of citizenship from above by the state; (3) Different discourses of rights and forms of contestation developed by social movements and society; (4) Mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion; and (5) Politics of citizenship, nationality and migration. Covering the main dimensions of citizenship, this multidisciplinary book is a key resource for students and scholars interested in citizenship, politics, economics, history, migration and refugees in the Middle East and North Africa. Zahra R. Babar is Associate Director at CIRS at Georgetown University in Qatar. She has published several articles on citizenship, including "Enduring 'Contested' Citizenship in the Gulf Cooperation Council" in *The Middle East in Transition: The Centrality of Citizenship* (2018); "The 'Enemy Within': Citizenship-Stripping in the Post-Arab Spring GCC" in *Middle East Journal* (2017); and "The Cost of Belonging: Citizenship Construction in the State of Qatar" in *Middle East Journal* (2014). She served as editor for a special issue of the *Middle East Journal* titled "Citizenship" (2019).

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Akhtar, R. C. (2020). Contemporary issues in marriage law and practice in Qatar. *Hawwa*, 12(1), 124-158. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15692086-12341389>

This paper discusses changing marriage practices in modern-day Qatar, drawing on empirical data gathered in a sociolegal study involving interviews with individual citizens and residents about their marriage and family experiences, and with legal personnel and experts in family law. It presents a unique insight into evolving relationship behaviours occurring within and on the periphery of Qatar's family-law framework in the context of its population make-up, historic traditions, trends in education, and globalisation. Changing practices examined include 'late' first marriages and 'marrying out.' The empirical research findings are used to analyse the link between the administrative process of obtaining permission to marry out and non-state-registered marriages, the gender imbalance in the treatment of those marrying out, and the link between child custody rights and unofficial marriages. The emerging narrative depicts couples navigating marriage laws and utilising non-state-registered 'religious-only' marriages as a temporary measure to overcome legal and administrative hindrances.

Akhtar, R. C. (2020). From 'non-marriage' to 'non-qualifying ceremony'. *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, 42(3), 384-387. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09649069.2020.1796375>

The landmark first instance decision in *Akhter v Khan* [2018] EWFC 54 was welcomed by women's rights activists campaigning for legal recognition of religious only marriages in England. The judgment seemed to indicate a move away from the pre-established legal position of 'non-marriage' occupied by those in religious-only marriages where no steps were taken to undergo a ceremony recognised under English law. Williams J pronounced a decree of nullity in this case based on its particular facts, despite no civil ceremony; taking a 'flexible' approach to the interpretation of section 11 of the Matrimonial Causes Act 1973 (2018: [94], [96]). However, the purposive legal reasoning which included human rights law justifications was widely critiqued and the resultant uncertainty in the law, no doubt compounded by a fear of floodgates and media misreporting (e.g. British court recognises Sharia law in landmark divorce case, *The Telegraph*, 1 Aug 2018) culminated in an appeal by the Attorney General. In *Attorney General v Akhter and Khan* [2020] EWCA Civ 122 the Court of Appeal allowed the appeal, rejecting the flexible approach in the earlier decision and reinforcing the applicability of the 'nonmarriage' category, albeit relabelled as 'non-qualifying ceremony' (2020: [7], [64]). I will begin by outlining the facts of the case and the first instance decision, before moving on to consider why this reasoning was rejected on appeal.

Akhtar, R. C. (2020). Non-legally binding Muslim marriages in England and Qatar: circumventing the state. *EJIMEL: Electronic Journal of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law*, 8(1), 13-24. <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-187603>

Marriage and relationship norms are changing globally. The state's role in administering marriages and relationship breakdown is coming under mounting stress due to the

increasing manifestation of differing relationship norms. In England, the state is grappling with non-legally binding marriages and non-formal relationships, including Muslim religious-only marriages and cohabitation respectively. In Qatar, on the other hand, the state carefully regulates marriages, including, in some instances, the question of who marries whom. However, the issue of nonlegally binding “religious-only” marriages can be located in both of these very disparate legal systems. This paper explores the way in which couples in both countries are bypassing the state to enter marriages based on their individual circumstances, and the situations in which non-legally binding marriages are a conscious choice.

Akinade, A. E. (2020). Holy Dilemma: Engaging Prayer and Power in African Pentecostalism. *Journal of World Christianity*, 10(2), 147-169.
<https://doi.org/10.5325/jworlchri.10.2.0147>

African Pentecostalism continues to experience robust growth and transformation. This phenomenon is an integral part of the resurgence of Christianity in the global South. This article grapples with the inevitable linkages between prayer and power in African Pentecostalism. It argues for a limit-transcending paradigm that connects prayer and praxis. In order to fully come to terms with God's prophetic mandate, African Pentecostal congregations must embrace a theological profile that celebrates both orthodoxy and orthopraxis. The article proposes that the dysfunctional role of religion in Africa rests on a binary model that intentionally creates a separation between present and futuristic eschatology, between the noumenal and the phenomena, and between the earth and the ethereal.

Al-Hamad, M., & **Mohamed, Y. A.** (2020). An orthographic phonological-based error analysis of the Arabic of English-speaking learners. *Language Scholar*, 6, 8-25. Can be retrieved from <https://languagescholar.leeds.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2022/05/Language-Scholar-Special-Issue-6-Arabic.pdf#page=9>
The complex interrelation between orthographic and phonological aspects in L2 learning pose different linguistic and pedagogical challenges. However, this paper focuses on the orthographic phonological-based errors resulting of this relationship and tries to explain these errors committed by learners, since Arabic and English have different phonological systems. For this purpose, a study was conducted on a corpus of about 250 pages generated by the written production of sixty-one English-speaking A1 learners of Arabic as a second language (acc. CEFR) at the Manchester Metropolitan University to examine how the phonological competence at the early stages of learning Arabic reflects on their orthographic production. It is hoped that the results of this study will provide answers for linguist researchers and educationists alike.

Almond, I. (2020). Representing the representers: Non-Western depictions of Orientalists and Orientalism in Turkish, Mexican, and Bengali writing. *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*. 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021989420920343>
How do writers from regions with a historical experience of colonialism depict Western Orientalists in their work? What exactly does it mean to “reverse the gaze” and include

the Orientalist within the frame of representation? The article considers the non-Western representation of Orientalists and Orientalism in literary texts from three different regions (Turkey, Mexico, and Bengal), concentrating in particular on Oguz Atay's *Tutunamayanlar* (The Disconnected), Ignacio Padilla's *Antipodes*, and Amitav Ghosh's *In an Antique Land*, but also referring to a wide selection of other texts in the process. It suggests three categories of such representation — parodic, empathetic, and authoritative, in ascending order of sympathy — and proposes, in the analysis of the various fictitious representations of Orientalists examined, a central link between Orientalism and the sacred. Finally, the question of the ironic representation of Orientalists — the extent to which a redemptive irony is adopted by structures of power as a tool of self-preservation — is also considered.

Alonso, S., & Ruiz-Rufino, R. (2020). The costs of responsibility for the political establishment of the Eurozone (1999–2015). *Party Politics*, 26(3), 317-333.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068818766182>

The objective of this article is to analyse the costs of responsible governance on the national political establishment of the Eurozone in the aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis. Our analysis tests two main hypotheses. First, we argue that financial crises like the one unleashed by the global financial meltdown of 2008 have an asymmetric impact on the electoral records of establishment parties depending on whether the countries affected by the financial crisis were financially intervened in or not. Our second hypothesis states that externally imposed austerity affects Left and Right national establishment parties differently. By choosing to act responsibly, that is, assuming the conditions of the intervention, the establishment Left pays a much larger electoral price than the one paid by the establishment Right under the same circumstances. To test our argument, we use a panel data set of 12 countries from the Eurozone in the period between 1999 (stage III of the monetary union) and 2015 that contains 54 country-election-year observations. Our findings show strong support for our two hypotheses.

Antoniades, A., & Calomiris, C. W. (2020). Mortgage market credit conditions and U.S. Presidential elections. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 64(101909), 1-20.

<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2020.101909>

Voters punish incumbent Presidential candidates for contractions in the county-level supply of mortgage credit during market-wide contractions of credit, but do not reward them for expansions in mortgage credit supply in boom times. Our primary focus is the Presidential election of 2008, which followed an unprecedented swing from very generous mortgage underwriting standards to a severe contraction of mortgage credit. Voters responded to the credit crunch by shifting their support away from the Republican Presidential candidate in 2008. That shift was large and particularly pronounced in states that typically vote Republican, and in swing states. Without it McCain would have received half the votes needed in nine crucial swing states to reverse the outcome of the election. We extend our analysis to the Presidential elections from 1996 to 2012 and find

that voters only react to contractions, not expansions, of credit, and reactions are similar for Democratic and Republican incumbent parties.

Asturias, J. (2020). Endogenous transportation costs. *European Economic Review*, 123(103366), 1-33. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euroecorev.2019.103366>

Quantitative trade models used to evaluate the effects of policy changes have largely abstracted away from modeling the transportation industry. This paper extends a standard Armington trade model to incorporate an oligopolistically competitive transportation industry in which shippers endogenously choose a transportation technology. I collect detailed data on the containerized maritime transportation industry to calibrate the parameters of the model. I then conduct quantitative experiments in which there is a symmetric increase in tariffs. On average, changes in transportation costs account for almost half of the changes in welfare. These findings suggest that the endogeneity of transportation costs is an important mechanism determining the welfare effects of such a policy change.

Babar, Z. R. (2020). Migrant workers bear the pandemic's brunt in the Gulf. *Current History*, 119(821), 343-348. <https://doi.org/10.1525/curh.2020.119.821.343>

The six Arab monarchies of the Persian Gulf host some of the largest global populations of international labor migrants. As COVID-19 began spreading across the Gulf, migrants made up a large share of the positive cases identified. Migrants' living and working conditions in the Gulf and other structural vulnerabilities increased their exposure to the disease. Despite the risks of staying in the Gulf, many lower-income migrants preferred to do rather than returning to their home countries. For them, travel restrictions and the difficulty of finding work back home in the midst of the pandemic have outweighed the immediate danger of infection and illness.

Babar, Z. (2021). Purveyors of dreams: labour recruiters in the Pakistan to Saudi Arabia migration corridor. *Migration and Development*, 10(1), 68-85. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21632324.2020.1787104>

This paper provides an empirical account of how Pakistani labour recruiters, or 'overseas employment promoters' (OEPs), manage the needs and expectations of their migrant-clients while contending with the challenges of state governance. OEPs' first-hand accounts suggest that they are frustrated by their inability to adequately ensure that the migrants they send to the Persian Gulf will thrive from the experience. OEPs identify three main issues that affect their ability to do their job well: unscrupulous recruiters and companies based in the Gulf who use the issuance of labour contracts to extract profits from migrants and Pakistani recruiters; a lack of support both from the Pakistani and Saudi Arabian state to address core issues that hamper migrants' success; and the challenge of mediating long-distance on behalf of their migrant-clients once they are working in the Gulf.

Chandra, U., & Promodh, I. (2020). A Divided City in a Time of Pandemic: Dispatches from Doha. *City and Society*, 32(2). <https://doi.org/10.1111/ciso.12310>

Doha, once a sleepy Indian Ocean port and now a symbol of Qatar's rise as a petro-state, is a city divided between its wealthy citizens and resident aliens and the migrant workers that serve them. The city's spatial divisions are rooted in its transoceanic history as much as its makeover as an urban experiment in authoritarian modernism (Hashim, Irazábal, and Byrum 2010). As Qatar's monarchical regime liberalized its economy with an eye to the post-hydrocarbon future (Nonneman 2006), Doha came to be defined by imposing edifices towering over awestruck subjects and a lack of public spaces and street corners in which different strata of society can mingle or gather freely. With the arrival of COVID-19, the well-planned residential neighborhoods of wealthy citizens and expatriates seem starkly separated from those of the working poor even as their dependence on each other is arguably greater than ever before. This deeply divided city, wrestling with the politics of contagion, shows how logics of exclusion and interdependence are, paradoxically, intertwined inextricably.

Elmusa, S. S. (2020). The Occupation of Water. *Michigan Quarterly Review*, 59(2), 252-267. Can be retrieved from <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/occupation-water/docview/2436144772/se-2?accountid=8555>

Early in 1991, through the Institute for Palestine Studies in Washington, D.C., where I was a senior research fellow, I secured a Ford Foundation grant to write the book that appeared seven years later under the title *Water Conflict: Economics, Politics, Law and the Palestinian-Israeli Water Resources*. As a graduate student at MIT, I had become interested in the question of development in what was dubbed the "Third World" and in the environment, especially after becoming a teaching assistant for a course titled *The Finite Earth*. [...] as if I were experiencing the onset of an early midlife crisis, or to make up for the enormous expense and opportunity cost of graduate school, I soaked up all I could from what MIT had to offer, including poetry writing workshops; my first poems in English were published in a short-lived campus literary magazine, *Rune*. The book investigates the social and environmental transformation brought about by the diffusion of drip irrigation and greenhouse technologies into the area's agriculture. Was my rendezvous with the Jordan River an exiles attempt to hold onto his roots, a desire to keep memories alive inside me, or because the maelstrom of the conflict I grew up in wouldn't subside:1 Or perhaps, as the poet María Melendez says, A river killed a man I loved, And I love that river still4 The seeds of the contest over water in Israel/Palestine were sown a century ago, integral to the struggle for the land between the Zionist movement, and later Israel, and the indigenous Palestinian population. Despite resistance by Palestinians, persistent power disparities rendered by local, regional, and global configurations were largely responsible for the outcome.5 WWI led to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, enabling the victors, the two colonial powers, Britain and France, to split control of the Fertile Crescent-Iraq, Syria, Palestine, and Transjordan-between them.

Feenstra, R. C., Xu, M., & **Antoniades, A.** (2020). What is the price of tea in China? Goods prices and availability in Chinese cities. *Economic Journal*, 130(632), 2438-2467. <https://doi.org/10.1093/EJ/UEAA066>

We examine the price and variety of a sample of consumer goods at the barcode level in cities within China. Unlike the position in the United States, in China the prices of goods tend to be lower in larger cities. We explain that difference between the countries by the more uneven spatial distribution of manufacturers' sales and retailers in China, and we confirm the pro-competitive effect of city size on reducing markups there. In both countries, there is a greater variety of goods in larger cities, but that effect is more pronounced in China. Combining the lower prices and greater variety, the price indexes in China for the goods we study fall with city size by around seven times more than in the United States.

Garrett, A. (2020). The End of Kafala?: Evaluating Recent Migrant Labor Reforms in Qatar. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 21, 201-208.

<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1353/gia.2020.0029>

The Kafala Status Quo While the practice of kafala has historical roots in the Islamic world and in the pearl diving industry, today it is the central institution through which migrants are accounted for across the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC, including Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE).⁴ Nearly all foreigners find themselves subject to this sponsorship system in some way, which amounts to roughly 85 percent of Qatar's 2.6 million residents.⁵ The most pronounced feature of this system is that it ties each foreign worker directly to a specific employer-sponsor (kafeel), who may be a company or private citizen. Very quickly, international scrutiny of the migrant situation increased and a number of human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International, issued reports painting a dire picture of workers living in squalid conditions, being denied payment, and having passports confiscated.⁸ There were even reports of worker deaths associated with World Cup building sites due to construction accidents or health issues from working in extreme heat.⁹ After 2010, the international community saw the kafala system as an urgent question of safeguarding basic human rights. The sponsor acts as the official interlocutor between migrant and state, but this system has been widely accused of institutionalizing structural dependence and a dangerous imbalance of power.¹² Most of the criticism lodged falls into two closely related camps: first, the sponsors wield substantial power to limit an employee's freedom of movement, and second, workers find themselves vulnerable to abuse and mistreatment.¹³ For example, although not legally allowed, confiscation of passports for the duration of the worker's contract is fairly common.¹⁴ In one of the first large-scale survey studies of 1,189 low-income labor migrants in Qatar, Gardner et al. report that the passports of 90 percent of respondents were in their employers' possession.¹⁵ Similarly troubling is the failure of employers to provide or renew a residence permit (QID), without which a migrant is considered illegal and highly vulnerable. According to the same survey, 7 percent of low-income respondents were not in possession of a valid QID.

Jedlicka, S. R., Harris, S., & **Reiche, D.** (2020). State intervention in sport: a comparative analysis of regime types. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 12(4), 563-581.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2020.1832134>

The historical use of sport for political purposes is well documented. Since the early twentieth century, many states have shaped their national sport policies to support broader domestic and foreign policy agendas. However, while sport policy scholars, in particular, have developed descriptive accounts of disparate approaches to sport policymaking, relatively little attention has been paid to identifying the factors that explain this variance. As a consequence, the variables that influence and constrain state choice when it comes to sport policy remain underspecified. This project addresses this deficit in the current literature by exploring how political regime type influences sport policy development. The analysis compares the recent sport policies of three countries which differ on the basis of regime type: an autocracy (Qatar), a partial democracy (Lebanon), and a full democracy (United Kingdom). While there is tentative evidence to support the widely held notion that states 'use' sport for similar purposes, this comparative survey reveals that the policy approaches and efficacy likely vary on the basis of regime type, and argues that this variable should be more explicitly considered in future sport policy research.

Kahle, T. (2020). The front lines of energy policy: The coal mining workplace and the politics of security in the American century. *American Quarterly*, 72(3), 627-649.

<https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2020.0038>

[...]the energy crisis was bound up with efforts by Third World oil producers to assert their own sovereignty and international influence.³ But it was also a profoundly domestic problem, calling into question the politics of postwar liberalism, which pursued national stability through economic growth, the more-measured extension of welfare systems, and the global projection of American power, culture, and political economy.⁴ He more likely intended to call forth World War II: the "good" war against which Vietnam was positioned in US politics. In the two decades after the end of World War II, coal became the primary fuel for producing electric power in the US, and the electric utilities became, overwhelmingly, the primary consumers of coal. The raised standard of living that defined midcentury American life was coal-fired.⁹ Coal-fired illumination powered domestic security efforts by state actors, industry leaders, and a wide range of ordinary people who did things like install floodlights outside their homes. Mitchell's juxtaposition of coal and oil energy regimes underemphasized the importance of coal in post-1945 US politics, in the process obscuring the continued dependency on coal-fired power in US energy production that lasted through at least the 1990s.¹³ Yusoff, however, offers an account that situates extraction more broadly, as a conceptual category linked to modern forms of governance.

Kamrava, M. (2020). Cities, globalized hubs, and nationalism in the Persian gulf. *The Middle East Journal*, 74(4), 521-537. <https://doi.org/10.3751/74.4.12>

This article examines the three major cities of the Persian Gulf region — Doha, Abu Dhabi, and Dubai. At the regional level, all three cities have become transportation hubs, and Doha and Abu Dhabi have become educational and cultural centers. At the global level, however, only Dubai has succeeded in becoming a key node in international networks of finance, commerce, services, telecommunications, logistics, and transportation. The

others' aspirations to become global cities are undermined by continued reliance on oil and gas revenues. On balance, while these cities are comparatively successful regional hubs, their long-term position as global cities is far from certain.

Kamrava, M. (2020). Nation-Building in Central Asia: Institutions, Politics, and Culture. *The Muslim World*, 110(1), 6-23. <https://doi.org/10.1111/muwo.12315>

Despite a wealth of invaluable insights generated over the last three decades about ongoing processes of nation-building in Central Asia, our understanding of the broader dynamics at work in the construction of the region's five republics remain woefully incomplete. More specifically, by focusing on many of the particular dimensions of nation-building in Central Asia, most existing studies tend to overlook one or more of the crucial ingredients that have made nationbuilding possible across the region. A popular focus of attention has been on religion in general and on Islam in particular, along with similar studies on personality cults and authoritarian politics. Despite the invaluable contributions of these studies, how broader processes of nation-building were initiated and carried out, and what their intended and unintended consequences have been, remain largely unexplored. This article examines the macro dynamics that continue to shape nation-building in Central Asia.

Kamrava, M. (2020). Sources of (In)Security in the Persian Gulf. *International Studies Journal*, 16(4), 27-47. Can be retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/44244201/Sources_of_In_Security_in_the_Persian_Gulf.

The Persian Gulf suffers from chronic insecurity. This insecurity is the result of two complementary developments. First, the American-engineered security architecture—which is designed to marginalize Iran and is meant to directly and indirectly deepen America's military presence in the region—is itself a major source of insecurity. Second, preoccupation with military dimensions of security overlook equally important elements of human security, which have hitherto been largely ignored by scholars of the Persian Gulf as well as by regional policymakers. Despite increased militarization of the region, in fact because of it, the Persian Gulf is likely to remain insecure so long as threats to human security, such as identity, natural resources, and employment persist.

Khattab, N., Babar, Z., Ewers, M., & Shaath, M. (2020). Gender and mobility: Qatar's highly skilled female migrants in context. *Migration and Development*, 9(3), 369-389. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21632324.2020.1723216>

Very little is known about the life experiences of highly skilled female migrants and almost nothing about them outside of Western contexts. This paper attempts to address this knowledge gap by examining the experiences of highly skilled migrant women working in the Persian Gulf monarchy of Qatar. Drawing on in-depth interviews with a sample of highly skilled migrants in Qatar, the paper examines the experiences of highly skilled migrant women in the Gulf in order to understand how their experiences compare with male counterparts, and the ways in which these experiences are gendered as a result of marital and family status. It also examines how the kafala labor sponsorship system differentially conditions highly skilled female versus male labor market participation,

thereby producing very different professional and personal migration experiences. Finally, the paper highlights the importance of intersectionality on migrants' lived experiences, as it finds that social, cultural, national, and geographical categories are important when thinking about the mobility of highly skilled women.

Laude, P. (2020). Intimations of a perennial wisdom. *Algemeen Nederlands Tijdschrift Voor Wijsbegeerte*, 112(3), 357-370. <https://doi-org/10.5117/ANTW2020.3.008.LAUD>

This essay sketches some of the main characteristics of a perennial and cross-civilizational concept of wisdom. It argues that the latter is based upon a strong and deep sense of transcendence and upon the discernment that flows from it. This essay highlights the ways in which this discriminative wisdom does not amount to any form of dualism, but, on the contrary, leads its proponents and practitioners to an all-encompassing experience of anthropocosmic harmony and metaphysical unity. Taking stock of Asian wisdom traditions such as Advaita Vedānta and Zen Buddhism this paper also stresses the intimate connection between wisdom and objectivity; hence the ideal of a full attentiveness to reality in its irreducible suchness. Finally the essay broaches wisdom's power of intellectual and spiritual displacement as a means of realizing the aforementioned objectivity. The final section discusses the circumstantial and ontological reasons for wisdom's concealment, and the ways in which sagely expressions must be adjusted to a wide spectrum of human limitations.

Lieven, A. (2020). Climate Change and the State: A Case for Environmental Realism. *Survival*, 62(2), 7-26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2020.1739945>

Strong and legitimate states remain central to any efforts to limit climate change and maintain Western democracy.

Lieven, A. (2020). Nature's fury. *National Interest*, 2020(167), 14-26. Reproduced from <https://nationalinterest.org/print/feature/its-time-america-first-green-new-deal-147951>

Faced with climate change, pandemics, and other growing threats to the US--which are not speculative but already visibly well underway--the guiding intellectual and political watchword of intelligent, democratic, and patriotic citizens in the years to come should be national resilience on the basis of technological progress, economic prosperity, and social solidarity: a Green New Deal if you will, but in an explicitly national and nationalist form. It is indeed striking how in recent weeks some on the Left have begun to use phrases like "national resilience" and "national self-sufficiency," which until the pandemic they would probably have dismissed as reflective of "patriarchal values" and "authoritarian chauvinism."

Lieven, A. (2020). Tocquevillian exceptionalism. *National Interest*, 2020(169), 32-40.

Reproduced from: <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/can-america-remember-what-it-takes-survive-democracy-166821>

American exceptionalism is in an exceptionally parlous condition. The Right declares with metronomic regularity that America is exceptionally good; the Left that it is exceptionally

bad. Neither side makes much of a pretense at serious historical study or international comparisons. Meanwhile, the liberal establishment consoles itself with the belief that America is a very good thing, but only when it is governed by very good people like themselves. For now, the demonstration of their own goodness to themselves and the world, however, tends to take a very Protestant evangelical form: that of loud public confessions of their own badness, the public admission of which goes to show how exceptionally good they are. These attitudes put together might make for a diverting picture if some of its implications were not so menacing. American exceptionalism--or what the scholar D.W. Brogan once called the illusion of omnipotence--has all too often led to grief at home and abroad. Under both George W. Bush and Barack Obama, it contributed to military adventures that damaged US interests and the stability of the Middle East.

Miller, R. (2020). Qatar, Energy Security, and Strategic Vision in a Small State. *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 10(1), 122-138. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21534764.2020.1793494>

Since Qatar launched its gas strategy in the mid-1990s, it has transitioned from an economic and political backwater into a relatively significant small state actor in the international system. In these few decades, this tiny country has established itself as a key player in the global financial, investment and property markets. In 2010, it became the world's number one exporter of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG). Over the same period, it also established itself as a diplomatic player with a pro-active and multidimensional, not to mention controversial, foreign policy engagement across the Arab and wider Muslim world. This paper will examine Qatar's rise as a global gas power since the 1990s in terms of the country's evolving strategic vision. In particular, it will assess the centrality of gas power to the decision of policy elites since the late 1990s to prioritize long-term strategic positioning over short-term stability. Finally, it will conclude with an assessment of the ways in which Qatar has used its gas power since the launch of the embargo against it in June 2017 to achieve its strategic objectives at a time of rapid change in the regional security system and the global energy market.

Miller, R., & Cardaun, S. (2020). Multinational security coalitions and the limits of middle power activism in the Middle East: The Saudi case. *International Affairs*, 96(6), 1509-1525. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiaa158>

This article examines Saudi Arabia's decision in recent years to use novel and hitherto unexplored informal alliance formats, which we term multinational security coalitions (MSCs). This development was initiated by the new Saudi political leadership under King Salman and Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman, who have a much greater inclination to pursue proactive foreign and security policies than their predecessors. However, it will be highlighted that beyond the priorities of individual personalities, this shift in Saudi Arabia's behaviour occurred against the backdrop of significant changes in the existing security environment, including the perceived withdrawal of the United States from the security affairs of the region during the presidency of Barack Obama, and crucially also Saudi Arabia's frustration over the failure of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) to develop into a viable security mechanism. The article begins with the introduction of the

key ideas relating to institutional design, the conceptual framework for this study. Section two outlines the most important reasons for Saudi Arabia's choice of the MSC format. The third section examines the strengths of the MSC format—especially informality, the resulting low entry-thresholds and the low risk of entrapment—that provided Saudi Arabia with partial and temporary success in recruiting coalition partners and thus bolstering its leadership role. The final section demonstrates, however, that ultimately MSCs are not a panacea. The informality of MSCs that makes it easy for the pivotal state to assemble a coalition also makes it hard for it to forge, and enforce, a common vision.

Miller, R., & Verhoeven, H. (2020). Overcoming smallness: Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and strategic realignment in the Gulf. *International Politics*, 57(1), 1-20.

<https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-019-00180-0>

Geography and the anarchic state system incentivise the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Qatar to collaborate in managing the threat posed by being neighbours of two (aspiring) regional hegemonies, Saudi Arabia and Iran. However, both small states have responded very differently to the causes and consequences of instability in the Gulf region and developed very different foreign policies to deal with their structural IR problem. Just how divergent their external relations now are is clearly seen in the UAE's lead role in the diplomatic boycott and economic embargo launched against Qatar in June 2017—including the de facto dissolution of the Gulf Cooperation Council. Framing our examination in the theoretical literature on small states, we explain the ultimately colliding foreign policy trajectories of the UAE and Qatar in terms of diverging ideational and strategic considerations in the cause of what we term 'overcoming smallness'.

Nonneman, G. (2020). European Policies Towards the Gulf: Patterns, Dynamics, Evolution, and the case of the Qatar Blockade. *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 10(2), 278-304.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/21534764.2020.1883575>

This paper discusses European policies towards the Qatar crisis in the context of the evolution of broader past and present European policies towards the Gulf. It starts with a summary discussion of historical patterns of relations between Europe and the Gulf, before briefly sketching the major changes in the regional environment after the Second World War, beginning with the US supplanting the UK as the dominant hegemon, through to the changes wrought by Trump's elevation to the US presidency. It then turns to a discussion of the effects of these changes for the Gulf and other regional states and their policy postures, before going on to examine the ways in which European states and the EU have interpreted and reacted to this changing environment. These reactions are often at one and the same time a reaction to the changes and uncertainties in US policy under Trump, since this changing US role is also a crucial ingredient both in the region and for Europe's room for manoeuvre. Against this background, the paper will outline European policies towards the Gulf theater in particular, focusing on Iran and the JCPOA nuclear deal, and the GCC (or Qatar) crisis — while also briefly considering the Yemen crisis and the impact of Gulf competition on and in the Libyan theater. From October 2018, the Khashoggi affair added an additional

dimension to the crisis, as did the renewed oil price crash amidst the global COVID-19 pandemic beginning in 2020.

Onley, J., & **Nonneman, G.** (2020). The Journal of Arabian Studies and the Development of Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies. *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 10(1), 1-50.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/21534764.2020.1847245>

On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Journal of Arabian Studies (JAS), this article offers the first history of the field of Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies (GAPS), including the origins and evolution of JAS. It begins with an overview of the origins and evolution of GAPS as a field of scholarship, then provides a detailed survey of the field's institutional development, which can be traced back to the region's post-war oil wealth and the large oil-funded archaeological expeditions of the 1950s–60s. This is reflected in GAPS's first societies, centres, and journals, which catered exclusively to archaeologists, historians, and Arabists. The transformation of GAPS into a global interdisciplinary field (encompassing both humanities and social sciences) began in 1969, although it remained a fringe field within Middle East Studies. The expansion of GAPS into a mainstream field in its own right began in the 2000s, reaching critical mass in the 2010s, resulting in the establishment of the Association for Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies (AGAPS) and the launch of JAS. In the past decade, GAPS also expanded beyond Middle East Studies to embrace Indian Ocean Studies. The article concludes with an overview of JAS's first decade: 2011–20.

Oruc, F. (2020). "Cinema programmes" of the British public relations office in the Persian Gulf, 1944-1948. *Film History: An International Journal*, 32(3), 197-209.

<https://doi.org/10.2979/FILMHISTORY.32.3.09>

This commentary introduces the "Cinema Programmes" of the British Public Relations Office in Bahrain from 1944 to 1948. In addition to propaganda-based newsreels and information films, the programs included Hollywood feature films that were borrowed from Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO). BAPCO rented the films from distributors in India for screening in its employees-only cinema in Awali. Following screenings in the company cinema, the films were exhibited in a range of nontheatrical venues and for different audiences. These programs, which were collected and archived in the India Office Records, provide us with one of the few sources to track the formative years of film culture in the Gulf.

Oruc, F. (2020). Petrocolonial circulations and cinema's arrival in the gulf. *Film History: An International Journal*, 32(3), 10-42. <https://doi.org/10.2979/FILMHISTORY.32.3.02>

This article traces the introduction of cinema to the Gulf through the archives of the India Office Records (IOR). The records of the political agent in Bahrain illustrate clearly the extent to which cinema was closely monitored and regulated by the British colonial network of administrative functions in the Persian Gulf, India, and England. Following the discovery of oil in 1932, hydrocarbon modernity gave rise to new spaces of urban culture, most prominently cinema. But in the oil cities of the Gulf, film spectatorship in its early years was refracted through three spheres of moving-image culture: private, corporate-

sponsored, and commercial public cinemas. What was common to these three spheres was a certain logic of exclusion and restricted access norms. Administrators in the Gulf looked to how cinema was handled in India for models and ideas to create actual policies on the ground. The bureaucratic traffic over the case of early public cinema petitions in Bahrain shows how regulatory practices and norms of governance over cinematic spheres circulated from one colonial context (South Asia) to another (the Gulf). The core political issue of the emergence of a cinema culture in the Gulf was the restriction of cinematic medium and space to certain populations. As such, regulating cinema was linked to the question of managing the social forces of hydrocarbon modernity that the discovery of oil unleashed. The arrival of cinema in the Gulf took place in an exclusionary and uneven world, entangled with circulations of colonial practices, regimes of segregation, expansionist oil capital, international labor, and film cans.

Oruc, F. (2020). Rewriting the Legacy of the Turkish Exile of Comparative Literature: Philology and Nationalism in Istanbul, 1933-1946. *Journal of World Literature*, 3(3), 334-353.

<https://doi.org/10.1163/24056480-00303007>

Numerous critics have revisited the Turkish exile of "the founding fathers" of humanist philology, Erich Auerbach and Leo Spitzer, in the period between the rise of Nazism in Germany and the end of World War II. Yet these recuperative analyses have been centered on the role of the experience of cultural displacement in the intellectual transformation of the émigré scholars. By contrast, this article offers a critical analysis of how the Turkish end of humanism (especially in the case of Auerbach and Spitzer's students) was entangled with the politics of Kemalist cultural reforms. If comparative literature was "invented" during the Istanbul exile of Spitzer and Auerbach, this article re-writes this invention process by highlighting the semantic and ideological inflections it took in the hands of the Turkish humanists.

Pirbhai, M. R. (2020). Intention and Implication: The Disputed Legacy of Shāh Walī Allāh. *Journal of Islamic and Muslim Studies*, 5(2), 24-47.

<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2979/jims.5.2.02>

This article advances an alternative approach to the academic dispute over the legacy of the eighteenth-century Sufi and scholar Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi (d. 1762 CE). It shows that largely as the consequence of a Weberian teleology of modernization, Orientalism, and nationalism, works on Shāh Walī Allāh produced between the 1940s and 1980s overwhelmingly considered him a progenitor of modern Islam in South Asia. Although some scholars continue to assert the same into the present, the influence of post-modern critical theory since the 1980s has refined the argument about Shāh Walī Allāh's legacy in various ways but has also led to the rise of another current of scholarship that denies him any substantive legacy, largely because he worked in an environment free of European influence. Common to such scholarship are assumptions about Shāh Walī Allāh's motivations with respect to his policy of Islamic reform. Critical of such an approach, this article turns from the debate about his motivations to the agreed-upon implications of his thought relative to the eighteenth-century intellectual and social context in which he lived. On this basis, this article finds that Shāh Walī Allāh's legacy has been extensive in

the modern period insofar as the latter-day South Asian thinkers who reference him - whether Sufi, fundamentalist, or modernist - attempt to follow through on his principles.

Rozell, M. J., & **Wilcox, C.** (2020). Federalism in a Time of Plague: How Federal Systems Cope With Pandemic. *American Review of Public Administration*, 50(6-7), 519-525.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0275074020941695>

This article compares and contrasts the responses of Australia, Canada, Germany, and the United States to the COVID-19 outbreak and spread. The pandemic has posed special challenges to these federal systems. Although federal systems typically have many advantages—they can adapt policies to local conditions, for example, and experiment with different solutions to problems—pandemics and people cross regional borders, and controlling contagion requires a great deal of national coordination and intergovernmental cooperation. The four federal systems vary in their relative distribution of powers between regional and national governments, in the way that health care is administered, and in the variation in policies across regions. We focus on the early responses to COVID-19, from January through early May 2020. Three of these countries—Australia, Canada, and Germany—have done well in the crisis. They have acted quickly, done extensive testing and contact tracing, and had a relatively uniform set of policies across the country. The United States, in contrast, has had a disastrous response, wasting months at the start of the virus outbreak, with limited testing, poor intergovernmental cooperation, and widely divergent policies across the states and even within some states. The article seeks to explain both the relative uniform responses of these three very different federal systems, and the sharply divergent response of the United States.

Shabana, A. (2020). Islamic Ethics and the Legitimacy of Scientific Innovation: Reproductive Genetic Counseling within the Muslim Context. *Sociology of Islam*, 8(2), 265-289.

<https://doi.org/10.1163/22131418-00802006>

This paper examines bioethical discourses concerning genetic counseling within the area of assisted reproduction. More particularly, it investigates the extent to which mainstream Western or secular bioethics is considered lacking from an Islamic perspective. The paper argues that invocation, incorporation, and even interrogation of Islamic norms ensure the legitimacy of genetic counseling within the Muslim context. The paper suggests a distinction between two levels of analysis within Islamic bioethical discussions on the consequences of genetic testing. The first addresses ethical-legal dimensions and is primarily concerned with balancing immediate benefits and harms in this world. The second addresses theological and metaphysical dimensions and is primarily concerned with faith-based convictions and religious commitments. The paper argues that both levels are needed for a nuanced understanding of the process of genetic counseling within a Muslim setting. The paper gives special attention to institutional fatwas on two main issues: prenatal genetic screening and preimplantation genetic diagnosis.

Shabana, A. (2020). Science and Scientific Production in the Middle East: Past and Present.

Sociology of Islam, 8(2), 151-158. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22131418-00802001>

Discussions concerning science and scientific production in the Middle East often trigger a comparison between a glorious past and a gloomy present. The past witnessed a thriving scientific culture within the Islamic civilization. In the present, however, science is usually entangled in a series of debates, ranging from the normative dimensions of modern science to the larger social and political circumstances shaping current realities, particularly in light of an incessant juxtaposition, competition, or rivalry with an imagined West.

Siddiqui, S. (2020). Good Scholarship/Bad Scholarship: Consequences of the Heuristic of Intersectional Islamic Studies. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 88(1), 142-174. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jaarel/lfz101>

In her article, "Islamic Legal Studies: A Critical Historiography," published in The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Law, Ayesha Chaudhry criticizes the field of Islamic law, and Islamic studies more broadly, for promoting two hegemonic methodologies: White Supremacist Islamic Studies and Patriarchal Islamic Studies. She argues that these modes of scholarship perpetuate patriarchy, decenter Muslim narratives, privilege precolonial texts, and create barriers to entry into academia. Her resolution is a new form of Islamic studies-Intersectional Islamic Studies-which seeks to recenter Muslim narratives, is committed to social justice, and exposes the problematic power structures within academic inquiry. Chaudhry argues that scholarship produced using the first two methods is "bad scholarship," whereas scholarship produced using the third method is "good scholarship." In this article, I problematize the dichotomy between "good" and "bad" scholarship and argue that Chaudhry's methodology is restrictive, hegemonic, and detrimental to meaningful scholarly engagement.

Slezkine, Y., Krastev, I., Aust, M., Sowa, J., Enyuan, W., **Lieven, A.**, . . . Miller, A. (2020).

Victimhood olympics. *Russia in Global Affairs*, 18(4), 62-99.

<https://doi.org/10.31278/1810-6374-2020-18-4-62-99>

In January 2020, the Russian-language bimonthly "Russia in Global Affairs" published an article on "memory politics" and related conflicts, following a roundtable hosted by the magazine (Rossiya, 2020). To our amazement, the discussion caused a very keen reaction, especially in Europe. Our modest publication was immediately dubbed as nearly a forge of Kremlin ideas regarding "memory wars," which, of course, is flattering, but, alas, is not true. In general, the willingness to see behind everything a conspiracy of dark forces and the belief that everything happens for a reason, well-known to us from our own history, have now spectacularly become commonplace. So, since the topic triggered such a powerful response, we decided to take it further by asking members of the academic community in different countries how they assess the current state of affairs in "memory politics." They came up with a very broad range of opinions, which we gladly share with our readers.

Zisser, E., **Kamrava, M.**, Ahram, A. I., & Milton, P. (2020). Bringing the state back in: between fragility and overstatement. *Bustan: the Middle East Book Review*, 11(1), 46-64.
<https://doi.org/10.5325/bustan.11.1.0046>

The institution of the state in the Middle East, including even those territorial states whose roots go back only to the Western presence, are of much greater importance than recent scholarship would suggest. Furthermore, following the outbreak of the “Arab Spring” in the winter of 2010, which degenerated into widespread regional turmoil, questions of religious affiliation, family and clan, ethnic communal, and tribal identity generated renewed interest, especially in regard to their interaction with the institution of the state. The violence that erupted in 2010–11 destabilized the unity of some of the states in the region and led to the collapse of others. This article addresses four recent books that attempt to grapple with the nature of the state in the Arab world and the attenuation of the regional order in the Middle East.

BOOK CHAPTERS

Akhtar, R. C. (2020). Religious-Only Marriages and Cohabitation: Deciphering Differences. In R. Akhtar, P. Nash, & R. Probert (Eds.), *Cohabitation and Religious Marriage: Status, Similarities and Solutions* (pp. 69-84): Policy Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1332/policypress/9781529210835.003.0006>

This chapter explores the similar legal outcomes faced by cohabitants and those in religious-only marriages. It argues that law reform recommendations which focus solely on religious-only marriages while ignoring the often-identical outcome for cohabitants are erroneous, and that law reform providing legal rights for cohabitants will protect both types of families.

Akhtar, R. C., Nash, P., & Probert, R. (2020). Conclusion. In R. Akhtar, P. Nash, & R. Probert (Eds.), *Cohabitation and Religious Marriage: Status, Similarities and Solutions* (pp. 155-160): Policy Press. <https://doi.org/10.1332/policypress/9781529210835.003.0012>

This chapter sums up the state of debate in the field. It highlights the problems with the current law as discussed throughout the book and emphasises the need for major reform. It ends on an optimistic note by drawing attention to the current Law Commission project to design effective marriage laws.

Akhtar, R. C., Nash, P., & Probert, R. (2020). Introduction. In R. Akhtar, P. Nash, & R. Probert (Eds.), *Cohabitation and Religious Marriage: Status, Similarities and Solutions* (pp. 1-13): Policy Press. <https://doi.org/10.1332/policypress/9781529210835.003.0001>

This introductory chapter focusses on the status of cohabitants and those in religious only marriages, the similarities in how they are treated by the law and the potential solutions that could be adopted. It shows that law reform is needed in the light of new and evolving relationship norms and the poor outcomes on relationship breakdown for all cohabiting couples, including those in religious-only marriages. It considers legal solutions which fall broadly within two categories: (1) amend wedding laws to facilitate simpler procedures for legal recognition thereby encouraging more couples to legally marry; and (2) extend

family law rights available to all legally recognised couples to include those in cohabiting relationships.

Akinade, A. E. (2020). Nigeria. In *World Christian Encyclopedia* (pp. 589-595). Edinburgh University Press.

Babar, Z. (2020). Labor migration in the Persian Gulf. In *Routledge Handbook of Persian Gulf Politics* (pp. 216-231): Taylor and Francis.

Migration flows in the current age of international relations are heavily managed by states, as ultimately states have the power and authority to regulate and manage the movement of people across their borders. While states maintain their sovereign right to enact national laws of entry and exit and determine what legal status people have once they enter onto a state's territory, these powers are not absolute. National migration policies and regulations exist within a broader cooperative framework of international law, which serves to uphold the interests of different states but also to protect the rights of individuals who are crossing national borders.

Meijer, R., Sater, J. N., & **Babar, Z. R.** (2020). Introduction. In *Routledge Handbook of Citizenship in the Middle East and North Africa* (1-16). Routledge.

The study of citizenship has been a recent phenomenon in Middle East and North Africa studies. Citizenship studies, however is not united in its approach to the subject. There are two main trends. The first is more structuralist and focuses on state-citizen relations. The second trend looks more at how citizens constitute citizenship through "acts of citizenship". This introduction presents an overview of the key concepts discussed in the subsequent chapters of this book. The book analyzes the transition from colonial pact with intermediaries to the middle-class social pact of national unity, state-led economic development and social equality and expansion of education in both the Mashreq and the Maghreb. It describes different versions of social contracts and models of citizenship that states attempted to impose, with varying success. The chapter focuses on the techniques and instruments of state control as an essential part of citizenship regimes.

Babar, Z. (2020). Migrant labor and human rights in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries. In *Why Human Rights Still Matter in Contemporary Global Affairs* (pp. 231-248): Taylor and Francis.

Migration is one of the most obvious markers of the fact that the world is a highly unequal place, and that people are born into countries and communities with very different natural, economic, social, and political resources. While hydrocarbon resources in Qatar, the UAE, and other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states have allowed citizens to thrive financially, they have also drawn millions of migrants from less well-endowed parts of the world to come and seek better opportunities for themselves and their families. Within the human rights discourse, there have been historic variances in determining which bundle of rights ought to take center stage, with some scholars and practitioners emphasizing the primacy of civil and political rights, while others suggesting that economic, social, and cultural rights are to be the priority. There remain questions

regarding whether these rights arise out of a moral universalism that applies to all states and societies, or whether context and history make such an universalism undesirable and unacceptable.

Babar, Z. R. (2020). Economic Migrants and Citizenship in the GCC. In *Routledge Handbook of Citizenship in the Middle East and North Africa* (pp. 410-421): Taylor and Francis.

The six monarchies of the Persian Gulf have gotten increasing negative attention over past few decades for their lack of capacity and interest in protecting human, economic, and social rights for their vast population of migrant workers. Many migrants across the region who work in low-wage jobs cannot bring family members to destination countries, depriving them of the right to family unity. Labor standards enforcement is inadequate, and as a result few employers are punished for unpaid wages and other legal violations. Many migrant workers pay relatively large sums to labor recruiters to access temporary jobs in the Gulf, leaving them indebted and therefore more vulnerable. The kafala system as a whole functions to bring in temporary workers for what are really permanent jobs, leading to a permanent state of temporariness. This chapter provides a review of the interaction between migration and citizenship in the Gulf, and how the dynamics around one have influenced the other. It is particularly important to consider the relationship between migration and citizenship in this region and beyond the traditional Western hubs, as patterns of South-to-South mobility are becoming an increasingly dominant form of transnational migration.

Babar, Z. R. (2020). Labor Migration to the Persian Gulf Monarchies. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of the Middle East* (216-231). Oxford University Press.

The six oil monarchies of the Persian Gulf together form one of the most concentrated global sites of international labor migration, with some of the highest densities of non-citizens to citizens seen anywhere in the world. A somewhat unique feature of the region is that while it hosts millions of migrants, it allows almost no access to permanent settlement. Gulf States have hosted large cohorts of migrants for more than half a century but have done so without efforts toward formal integration through citizenship. Although labor migration as a phenomenon is both permanent and prominent, the Gulf States' mechanism for governing migration systematically reinforces the temporariness and transience of their migrant populations.

Babar, Z. R. (2020). Understanding Labour Migration Policies in the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries. In *Asianization of Migrant Workers in the Gulf Countries* (37-53). Springer.

In light of mounting international criticism over the living and working conditions for many migrant workers in the region, over the past few years, many of the Gulf Cooperation Council governments have initiated reforms in relation to their mechanisms for governing regional migration. Critical interventions have been initiated to address problems that have arisen as a result of the kafala or worker sponsorship system, as well as to mitigate shortfalls within regional labour law. This chapter will examine the evolution of Gulf labour migration policies, contentious areas which have come under

criticism by proponents of migrant workers' rights, and current reforms that are underway.

Hubail, F. (2020). From Kuwait's margins to Tolaytila's mainstream: Sheno Ya3ni challenging social positioning through Dystopian Satire. In *Creative Resistance: Political Humor in the Arab Uprisings* (pp. 259-295): Transcript-Verlag.

Kamrava, M. (2020). Chronic Insecurity in the Middle East: Causes and Consequences. In *The Arab World Beyond Conflict* (pp. 53-61). The Arab Center Washington. Can be retrieved from <https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/chronic-insecurity-in-the-middle-east-causes-and-consequences/>

Kamrava, M. (2020). Politics in the Persian Gulf: An overview. In *Routledge Handbook of Persian Gulf Politics* (pp. 1-3): Taylor and Francis.

In the introductory chapter, Kamrava provides a framework for approaching this collection of articles as well as politics within the Persian Gulf as a whole, which he describes as “a fine layer of complex, interwoven, symbiotically related patterns, followed by successive and equally complex, linked patterns.” From its examination of Ottoman rule in the Arabian Peninsula to modern-day tensions among the Gulf states, this chapter lays out the book’s historical, economic, and political trajectories.

Meijer, R., Sater, J. N., & Babar, Z. R. (2020). Introduction. In *Routledge Handbook of Citizenship in the Middle East and North Africa* (pp. 1-16). Routledge.

This comprehensive Handbook gives an overview of the political, social, economic and legal dimensions of citizenship in the Middle East and North Africa from the nineteenth century to the present. The terms citizen and citizenship are mostly used by researchers in an off-hand, self-evident manner. A citizen is assumed to have standard rights and duties that everyone enjoys. However, citizenship is a complex legal, social, economic, cultural, ethical and religious concept and practice. Since the rise of the modern bureaucratic state, in each country of the Middle East and North Africa, citizenship has developed differently. In addition, rights are highly differentiated within one country, ranging from privileged, underprivileged and discriminated citizens to non-citizens. Through its dual nature as instrument of state control, as well as a source of citizen rights and entitlements, citizenship provides crucial insights into state-citizen relations and the services the state provides, as well as the way citizens respond to these actions. This volume focuses on five themes that cover the crucial dimensions of citizenship in the region: Historical trajectory of citizenship since the nineteenth century until independence Creation of citizenship from above by the state Different discourses of rights and forms of contestation developed by social movements and society Mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion Politics of citizenship, nationality and migration Covering the main dimensions of citizenship, this multidisciplinary book is a key resource for students and scholars interested in citizenship, politics, economics, history, migration and refugees in the Middle East and North Africa.

Miller, R. (2020). The anti-Zionist 'Jewish Khazar' syndrome in the official British mind. In *The British Mandate in Palestine: A Centenary Volume, 1920-2020* (pp. 29-44): Taylor and Francis.

This chapter focuses on one of the more intriguing arguments disseminated by members of the British pro-Arab elite involved in groups like the Palestine Information Centre as they attempted to influence policy circles managing the mandate in its final decade: the Khazar theory. During 1941, discussions between senior Zionists and Colonial Secretary Lord Moyne, Namier rejected any territorial alternative to Palestine as a way of solving the Jewish problem on exactly these grounds. The historian Walter Laqueur has argued that before 1948 there was only a limited number of Zionist and anti-Zionist arguments in the battle over Palestine. Critics of Britain's role in Palestine, and the wider Middle East, during the mandatory era commonly viewed Baggallay as a cunning, shadowy mastermind of anti-Zionist obstructionism in Whitehall. Cecil Hourani's claim is backed up by an internal Foreign Office assessment of Arab interactions with Jewish anti-Zionist activists that also noted Freedman's role in promoting the Khazar theory in Arab policy-making circles.

Mirgani, S. (2020). Making the Final Cut: Filmmaking and Complicating National Identity in Qatar and the GCC States. In *Cinema and the Arab World. Global Cinema* (pp. 45-70). Springer.

While media has thrived in Qatar since the 1990s, attempts at creating a systematic film industry have only recently come into being with the establishment of Northwestern University in Qatar and the Doha Film Institute. This chapter highlights how the creation of a local Qatari film industry presents one facet of a larger strategic national agenda of representing Qatari national identity—one that is scripted, edited, packaged, and exhibited. Even as the film industry purports to commit to film what it means to be Qatari, the country's extraordinary demographic makeup, 88 percent of which is foreign, will necessarily be reflected in the workforce of this industry as well as in the creative content of the films being produced. Even as they are in service of promoting Qatari culture, these cosmopolitan cinematic collaborations serve to create connections between the different communities and encourage a hybrid merging of disparate cultural knowledge. This chapter shows how the budding Qatari film industry answers to, complicates, or negates the overarching national vision.

Mirgani, S. (2020). Oil for art's sake art and culture in the GCC. In *Routledge Handbook of Persian Gulf Politics* (pp. 151-160): Taylor and Francis.

The wealth accrued from the Gulf states' hydrocarbon industries has been used strategically by ruling families to promote all the hallmarks of the modern state, with specific attention to the art and cultural sector. However, the rise and fall of oil prices is mirrored in the rise and fall of investments in the culture sector of the Gulf states—the availability of the former directly affecting the latter. This chapter examines how the development of the Gulf's hydrocarbon resources is expressed through its art and cultural endeavors—oil for art's sake, so to speak.

Sonbol, A. (2020). Evolving family patterns in the arabian peninsula. In *Routledge Handbook of Persian Gulf Politics* (pp. 83-98): Taylor and Francis.

This chapter explores the transformation of the modern family in Arabia over the decades, particularly in the last few years of the twenty-first century. The evolution of the nuclear family system, which often serves as the legal basis of the laws and constitutions of Gulf states, is particularly examined. The chapter discusses the basic laws and basic beliefs regarding the family in countries of Arabia before analyzing the challenges that the family faces today and the transformations, with particular concerns for the marital crisis that confronts these communities.

Wilcox, C. (2020). Anti-LGBT and Religious Right Movements in the United States. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1170>

The Christian Right continues to oppose lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) rights, but the nature of this opposition has evolved over time—often in conjunction with changes in public opinion. From the formation of groups such as the Moral Majority and Concerned Women in America in the late 1970s through the late 2010s, Christian Right groups and LGBT rights groups have frequently responded to each other's arguments, strategies, and tactics. The Christian Right of the 1980s used antigay themes and rhetoric to raise money and to motivate its members, but it was not effective in reaching individuals outside of its relatively narrow membership base. In the 1990s and 2000s, a number of more sophisticated Christian Right groups were active at the national level, and a number of state and local-level organizations formed to address LGBT issues specifically. Focus on the Family, for example, took a national approach. Its radio programs reached millions of listeners and its mailing list consisted of 2.5 million names. Focus on the Family's efforts were aimed at converting sexual minorities and attacking both the "radical homosexual agenda" and the gay rights groups that promoted it. At the same time, Family Research Council (FRC) worked with state affiliates to distribute materials across the country. As public opinion shifted in support of same-sex marriage (SSM), and after the Supreme Court overturned state bans on SSM in *Obergefell v. Hodges* in 2015, the movement then worked to pass "religious freedom" laws. These laws would allow conservative Christians to refuse to provide services for SSMs, and in many cases allow far broader forms of discrimination. Although the Christian Right was successful in the realm of electoral politics (e.g., the Christian Coalition once claimed to control 35 state Republican Party committees), it has not been able to stop growing public acceptance of LGBT rights.

Williams, J. A., & Schiwietz, C. (2020). Current Understandings of Global Competency in Shaping Globally Engaged Citizens. In *Leadership Strategies for Promoting Social Responsibility in Higher Education* (pp. 45-62): Emerald Publishing Limited.

<https://doi.org/10.1108/S2055-364120200000024006>

Colleges and universities play a significant role in preparing students to navigate the many issues and challenges that characterize contemporary societies, challenges that are simultaneously local, national, and global in nature. This has led to increased calls within

higher education to re-envision educational practices to prioritize global competency. However, ambiguity persists regarding how faculty in transnational higher education contexts, specifically international branch campuses, understand global competency and conceive of their role in shaping students' sense of self, perspective-taking, and social responsibility. Using a social constructivist lens, this chapter outlines initial case study research, informed by King and Magolda's (2005) constructive-developmental model of intercultural maturity, Kegan's (1994) scholarship on self-authorship, as well as Kolb's (1984) experiential learning theory. This investigative research may be useful in terms of understanding how administrators and educators facilitate the environmental conditions and educational practices that lead to global competency and socially responsible global citizens. The broader implications of such study could potentially inform educational change policy and confirm the important role internationalized institutions, such as branch campus universities play in shaping and transforming societies.

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<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743820001075>

There is no precise English equivalent to this Hindustani proverb. A rolling stone gathers no moss, between the devil and the deep blue sea, between a rock and a hard place, torn between two masters—none of these really fit. The dhobi ka kuta is the dog who figuratively and literally runs every day between two places, two obligations, and two choices. Does he stay behind to guard the master's house or does he guard his master as he washes clothes by the river? There will be a trade-off either way. The phrase does not conjure up vagabond restlessness or nomadic liberation. It evokes the anxiety of rootlessness, and the lack of certainty about choice and loyalty. It is about the doubt cast your way for not picking one thing over the other. It is about being stuck in the vagaries of the in-between.

Kamrava, M., & Dorzadeh, H. (2020). Arab Opinion Toward Iran 2019/2020. *Siyasat Arabiya*, (47), 119-144. Can be retrieved from:

<https://siyasatarabiya.dohainstitute.org/ar/issue047/Pages/Siyassat47-2020-Kamrava-Dorzadeh.pdf>

By making use of the data provided by the Arab Opinion Index during the periods 20172018- and 20192020-, a survey implemented by the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies in 13 Arab countries, this paper deals with Arab public opinion towards Iran in two periods – before and after 2011 – based on an analysis of survey respondents' views of Iranian foreign policy, as conveyed in their answers. It answers a set of sub-questions: How has Iran's involvement in Syria and Yemen affected its image in the Arab world? Is Iran seen as a threat in the Arab world? Did Iran's policy towards Palestine contribute to improving its image in the Arab world? Are sectarian goals seen to be driving Iran's foreign policy towards the Arab world?

Lieven, A. (2020). The coronavirus holds up a mirror to existing societies: What will they see? *Russia in Global Affairs*, 18(2), 15-18. <https://doi.org/10.31278/1810-6374-2020-18-2-15-18>.

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Walther, K. (2020). The Greek War of Independence and the Ideological Manifestations of the Clash of Civilizations Theory in the United States, 1821–32. In J. Ghazvinian & A. Mitchell Fraas, *American and Muslim Worlds before 1900* (pp. 18–30). Bloomsbury Academic. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350109544.0007>