



المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات  
Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies

# The Sixth Annual Gulf Studies Forum

7-8 December 2019

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# About Conference

## Introduction

The Sixth Gulf Studies Forum, to be held between 7 and 8 December 2019, will consist of two tracks: "Public Policy-Making in the Gulf States", concerning domestic issues and "Gulf Security in a Changing Environment", concerning international relations.

### Track 1: Public Policymaking in the Gulf States

Public policy looks at the development of the state and its role in economy and society. However, in the Gulf States it has been subordinated – whether in interpretation or policymaking itself – to rentier state models rooted in the vast accumulation of oil wealth in those countries, and has been used to expand control over society. Approaches emphasizing the concept of the rentier state to explain public policymaking in the Gulf are important, but have often elided the importance of social forces such as merchants, businessmen, and the private sector more generally to policy. They have likewise downplayed the importance of tribal and familial balances and the role of representative councils. Furthermore, they have sometimes obscured the role played by foreign consultancy firms (e.g. McKinsey) in institutional restructuring and "reform" in the Gulf public sector.

Public institutions are inevitably important to policymaking, contrary to the contention that they play no active role in the Gulf. Public institutions have experienced rapid development in Gulf countries since the 1970s because of various factors, the most important of which was the oil boom following the 1973 Arab-Israeli War (when the average barrel price rose from \$2.30 in 1972 to approximately \$10.70 in 1974). Other factors included the development of education and the importation of skilled workers who contributed extensively to the construction of the modern Gulf states, particularly Arab workers (who made up 70%-75% of foreign workers in the Gulf at the time).

The first period of state-building was characterized by development and institution-building of two major kinds: the apparatus of sovereign authority (the army, internal security forces, police, judiciary, etc.) and the integration of non-official groups within the state (merchants, men of industry, the wealthy, property-owners). From the beginning of the 1980s Gulf policymakers sought to create a model that would accelerate economic and social development domestically and integrate the Gulf with the global economy. Major increases in state revenues, particularly after the second oil boom following the 1979 Iranian Revolution – when the price of a barrel of oil rose from \$12.70 in 1978 to \$28.60 in 1980 – allowed states to orient themselves towards broad investment in public sector development in infrastructure, education, health and commercial and investment institutions, as well as liberating themselves from traditional social structures.

With the 1990s and the rise of an international trend towards privatization further increased by the development of the so-called "Washington Consensus", Gulf states worked to expand their reliance on the

private sector and to diversify their sources of revenue. In Saudi Arabia, for example – where government interest in increasing the role of the private sector had begun in the 1970s – the government announced a plan to move towards privatization at a business conference in Jeddah in 1989. There were attempts to reduce the negative effects of this reorientation: in the UAE, the union government attempted to limit the effect of privatization policies on the less wealthy Emirates, while in Qatar, the government showed a limited interest in expanding privatization, believing that such policies must be weighed up against the interests of those working in state institutions.

From 2004-2014, the Gulf states accumulated a great deal of capital thanks to the third oil boom (in which the average price of a barrel rose from \$25 in 2002 to \$65 in 2006 and \$140 by mid-2008 before falling in 2014 to approximately \$27). Public policymakers now showed an interest in maximizing the returns on this capital. A series of long-term development plans were produced for this purpose, beginning with Oman's 2020 Vision and followed by similar plans released by Qatar, Bahrain, Abu Dhabi and Saudi Arabia. This interest was accompanied by the founding of new sovereign wealth funds alongside the expansion of those that already existed: in 2000 there were only five such funds, while since that date nearly ten new funds have been founded. Alongside this, states showed a great interest in investment and expansion in other sectors, such as media, education, health and research.

While public policy in the Gulf has helped bring about economic development and cultural and social openness, it has also produced many challenges and problems. Unlike the financial, social, and economic sectors, public policymaking is largely opaque; how policies are made and change is unclear, and they often suffer from important defects because of lack of accountability, transparency, rule of law, separation of powers and professionalism in the administrative apparatus. It is rare for there to be general participation in policymaking or a precise and objective assessment of their economic and social costs and effects or their capacity to effect justice in distribution of wealth. Neither do they lend sufficient importance to accumulation of experience, as the result of the opacity of the policymaking process and the change in consultants and consultancy firms with the arrival of a new minister.

Results have thus been mixed. Some states have failed to achieve balanced and sustainable development and diversify their economies. The benefits of growth have not been felt by all parts of society equally. Short-term policies have been adopted to deal with problems, and there has been only superficial interest in the building of a knowledge economy. There have been calls for far-reaching reforms to confront these problems, recognizing that good policy cannot be made without political reform guaranteeing greater participation in its production and implementation. Finally, the blockade of Qatar raises the question of to what extent it is still possible to talk about coordination of Gulf policy or the creation of a regional system based on binding

commitments and agreements which do not only help institutional governance economically and socially but in fighting corruption and increasing transparency and oversight by establishing Gulf-wide standards for implementation and assessment of policies.

## **Track 2: Gulf Security in a Changing Environment**

The threats faced by the Gulf States are ever more numerous. Oil prices – which have witnessed major decline since 2014 – continue to influence public finances and rates of economic growth as non-oil sectors remain sluggish. Natural gas and shale oil have taken on greater global importance, representing a real challenge to the position of the GCC as the largest global producer of gas and oil. Meanwhile, the Gulf Crisis and the divisions it has produced have led to a contraction of investment between different GCC countries and a reorientation towards individual international trade policies on the part of each member state.

A growing sense of economic and financial pressure imposing instability on the region, decreasing trust in American policy and greater tension between Iran and the US after the latter's withdrawal from the nuclear deal are all additional burdens borne by the GCC countries, particularly in the security and defense sectors. The latest report from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute on global arms sales indicates that between 2007 and 2016 weapons imports to the Middle East increased by 86%, while in 2017 alone, military spending on the Middle East increased by 6.2%.

Despite fluctuations in oil prices over the last five years, the Gulf States' demand for arms has remained constant, particularly with the ongoing Gulf Crisis which has dealt a lethal blow to the idea of collective security and changed conceptions of the challenges that it faces. Saudi Arabia and the UAE are the leading importers of weapons in the Middle East: in 2017 Saudi military expenditure increased by 9.2% to a total of 69.4 billion dollars, making it the third largest military spender in the world, while the latest available estimate of the Emirati military budget places it at 24.4 billion dollars. Estimates released recently suggest that the UAE is the fourth largest importer of arms in the world: as much as 4.4% of all arms sales in 2017 were to the Emirati government.

Against the backdrop of a lack of confidence in unstable US policy under Donald Trump, the role played by Russia in the Arab region is expanding. Already strongly present in the Syrian crisis, Moscow is seeking to deepen its political, military and economic links with the Gulf States and to act as an intermediary between the two sides of the Palestinian divide as well as playing a role in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Likewise, non-Arab regional powers – Turkey, Iran, and Israel – are in the ascendant, with some Gulf States attempting to normalize relations with Israel on the pretext of confronting Iran and creating a counterweight to Turkey. The European Union, meanwhile, is playing a less prominent role, preoccupied as it is with the rise of the populist right and the risk of the Brexit bug spreading to other member states.



The ongoing unrest in the Middle East, including the Gulf, is one manifestation of the general instability from which the international system is currently suffering. New poles and powers are in the ascendant, casting their shadow over the Gulf region. All this is happening even as the Arab states themselves are becoming more fragile and non-state actors (militias and extremist organizations) are playing an ever more prominent role. Likewise, both inter- and intra-state polarization is increasing sharply, with the streets once again filled with protesters in more than one Arab country. All this requires the Gulf states to determine their vision, strategy and policy towards these developments.



# Timetable

# Day 1: Saturday, 7 December, 2019

	Cultural Foundation Building (Main Auditorium)	
8:00 - 9:00	Registration	
9:00 - 9:15	Opening Remarks	
09:15 - 10:00	<b>Public Lecture</b> <b>Abdulaziz Bin Nasser Al-Khalifa:</b> The Role of Qatar Development Bank in Achieving Development Policies in Qatar	
10:00 - 11:30	Public Policy in the GCC Countries (Auditorium 2)	Gulf Security in a Changing Environment (Meeting Room)
	<b>Session 1</b> <b>Economic Diversification Policies and Labour in the Gulf</b> <b>Chair: Khaled Shams Abdelkader</b> <b>Khalid Rashid Al-Khater:</b> The Failure of Gulf Economic Integration: How Politics Destroyed the Economies of the GCC countries <b>Radwan Termanini:</b> Public Policy Problems: Labour Policies in Qatar <b>Ahmed Aref:</b> Patterns of Social Inclusion and Exclusion in Gulf Labour Policy Shifts: Evidence from Qatar and Saudi Arabia	<b>Session 1</b> <b>Gulf State Reactions to Security Challenges</b> <b>Chair: Ghanim Al-Najjar</b> <b>Kadhim Niama:</b> Trilateral Relations in the Arab Gulf: Challenges and Security Threats <b>Abdullah Al-Shayeji:</b> Gulf-US Relations and the Security Dilemma in the Gulf <b>Abdullah Al-Ghailani:</b> Security in the Arab Gulf: The Dilemma and the Solution <b>Kristian Ulrichsen:</b> Changing Patterns of Internal and External Security in the Gulf
11:30 - 12:00	Coffee Break	

12:00 - 13:30	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Session 2</b>  <b>Civil Society and Public Policymaking in Kuwait</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Abdul Aziz al-Hurr</b></p> <p><b>Yacoub Al-Kandari:</b> The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Public Policymaking in Kuwait</p> <p><b>Malak Al-Rasheed:</b> The Role of Kuwaiti Civil Society Institutions in Making Public Policy to Advocate Women's Rights</p> <p><b>Shareefa Abdullah Al-Adwani:</b> Female Youths and Public Policymaking in Kuwait</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Session 2</b>  <b>Gulf State Responses to Security Risks</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Rashid Hamad Al-Nuaimi</b></p> <p><b>Dhafer Al-Ajmi:</b> Gulf Security: The Absence of the Gulf Naval Force</p> <p><b>Tyler Parker:</b> Assessing Oman's And Kuwait's Statecraft Toward Saudi Arabia</p> <p><b>Noof Al-Dosari:</b> Oman's Iran Policy and its Role in the Formation of Regional Gulf Policy</p>
13:30 - 14:30	Lunch Break	
14:30 - 16:00	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Session 3</b>  <b>Energy Policies and Climate Change in the Gulf</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Hend Al-Muftah</b></p> <p><b>Rachid El-Bazzim:</b> Nationally Determined Contributions and Climate Change Mitigation Policies in the Arab Gulf States</p> <p><b>Laurent Lambert, Christiana D'Alessandro:</b> Climate Change Challenges and Urban Public Policy in the Gulf Region</p> <p><b>Amel Yennoune:</b> Water Policy in the Arab Gulf States: The Challenge of Natural Geography and Sustainability</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Session 3</b>  <b>US-Iranian Tensions and the Repercussions on Gulf Security</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Chair: Majed Al-Ansari</b></p> <p><b>Mehran Kamrava:</b> Iran and the United States: "Neither Peace, Nor War"</p> <p><b>Mahjoob Zweiri:</b> The US-Iranian Crisis and its Implications for the Gulf</p> <p><b>Ali Fathollah-Nejad:</b> Iran and the USA: Iranian Strategy after Withdrawal from the Nuclear Deal</p>

## Day 2: Sunday 8 December 2019

9:00 – 10:30	<p>Public Policy in the GCC Countries (Auditorium 2)</p> <p><b>Session 4</b> <b>Education, Higher Education and Language Policy in the Gulf</b></p> <p><b>Chair: Fahad Al-Fadala</b></p> <p><b>Ali Watfa:</b> Higher Education Policy in the Gulf States: Future Problems and Challenges</p> <p><b>Saif Al-Mamari, Jalila Al-Balushi, Hilal Al-Salimi:</b> Educational policies in Oman on the eve of the launch of Oman Vision 2040: Scenarios and Challenges</p> <p><b>Abdullah Al-Tobi, Ahmad Al-Fawair:</b> Citizenship in Education Policies and Strategies in the GCC Countries Citizenship in Education Policies and Strategies in the GCC Countries</p> <p><b>Eiman Mustafawi, Hadeel Al-Khatib:</b> Educational Language Policies and construction of National Identity Qatar: A Sociolinguistic Study</p>	<p>Gulf Security in a Changing Environment (Meeting Room)</p> <p><b>Session 4</b> <b>Energy Security in the Gulf: Threats and Prospects</b></p> <p><b>Chair: Suhaim Al-Thani</b></p> <p><b>Damilola S. Olawuyi:</b> Managing Regional Security Threats in the Energy Sector: Strategic Challenges and Opportunities for Gulf States</p> <p><b>Alanoud Al-Khalifa:</b> Energy Security and Nuclear Projects in the GCC States</p> <p><b>Nikolay Kozhanov:</b> Russian-Saudi Dialogue and the Future of OPEC+</p>
10:30 – 11:00	Coffee Break	

11:00 – 12:30	<p><b>Session 5</b>  <b>Policy Challenges in the Gulf (1)</b>  <b>Chair: Hassan Al-Sayed</b></p> <p><b>Ahmed Badran:</b> Public Policymaking and Implementation in the Gulf States from a Networking Perspective</p> <p><b>Reem Ali Al-Ansari:</b> Decision Making Mechanisms in the Arab Gulf States</p> <p><b>Yousuf Hamad Al-Balushi:</b> Public Policymaking in the Gulf States: Oman</p> <p><b>Hilal Al-Habsi:</b> Gulf Representative Councils in Forming Public Policy in GCC Countries: A Comparative Study</p>	<p><b>Session 5</b>  <b>Gulf Security in Light of Regional Conflicts</b>  <b>Chair: Abdullah baabood</b></p> <p><b>Mohammed Al-Misfer:</b> The Lost Role of the GCC</p> <p><b>Liqā Makki:</b> The Effect of Political Change in Iraq on Collective Security in the Gulf</p> <p><b>Ali Al-Dhahab:</b> The Arab Coalition in the US-Iranian Crisis</p>
12:30 – 13:30	Lunch Break	
13:30 – 15:00	<p><b>Session 6</b>  <b>Policy Challenges in the Gulf (2)</b>  <b>Chair: Amina Al-Hajri</b></p> <p><b>Eleni Polymenopoulou:</b> Enhancing human rights policies in the Gulf</p> <p><b>Khawla Mortazawi:</b> The Role of Public Opinion Polls in Policy Making - Qatar as a Model</p> <p><b>Saja Torman:</b> Political Reform in Saudi Arabia and its Impact on Participation in Public Policy Making</p> <p><b>Nabil Hussein:</b> Evaluating the Impact of Government Public Policies on Creating an "Efficient and Committed Workforce" in Accordance with the Qatar Vision 2030</p>	<p><b>Session 6</b>  <b>The Security of the Arabian Gulf from a Regional and International Perspective</b>  <b>Chair: Shafiq al-Ghabra</b></p> <p><b>Mohamed El-Menshawy:</b> Congress and the Gulf States: The Background and Determinants of the Relationship</p> <p><b>Ilias Bantekas:</b> Engaging the UN Security Council in The Embargo Against Qatar</p> <p><b>Emad Y. Kaddorah:</b> Turkey and the Gulf: The Influence of Mutual Conceptions on Current Relations</p> <p><b>Betul Dogan Akkas:</b> An Assessment of Turkey's Overseas Military and Political Initiatives in the Gulf: Kuwait and Qatar</p>





# Participants

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## Abstracts



**Abdullah Al-Ghailani**

Omani researcher focusing on strategic affairs in the Gulf. He has participated in numerous international forums and conferences in the Gulf and beyond. His research focuses on political thought, US foreign policy and Gulf states' strategic concerns. He holds a PhD in International Relations from Durham University, UK.

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## **Security in the Arab Gulf: The Dilemma and the Solution**

Since their belated establishment in the 20th century the Gulf states have been distinguished by a range of unique geopolitical characteristics setting them apart from their regional counterparts. Historically polities have emerged in this region in Oman, Hijaz and Najd, some of which expanded beyond the Arabian region and become regional powers (as in the case of Oman, which established control over large portions of the East African coast). This study considers security in the Arab Gulf region from three main perspectives. Firstly: the transformation of the equations of international conflict and balances of power produced by the Second World War and the subsequent geostrategic realignments that placed the Gulf countries within the US sphere of influence. Secondly: the nature of power structures and the distribution of sources of authority - Gulf states have joined the ranks of the modern state without paying attention to the political philosophy of the age, which is based on citizenship. Thirdly: the rentier phenomenon generated by oil resources, which transformed Gulf countries from centres of "desert poverty" into countries capable of providing modern services. The study argues that the three phenomena together have helped to entrench these countries' security dilemma: politically, they have strengthened the legitimacy of dynastic rule; economically, the state has come to depend on oil rents, which constitute the main economic resource, and has been unable to create new sources of wealth to invest the cash flows brought in by oil production. All this has meant that the Gulf countries are confronted by the phenomenon of rentierism, which lies at the heart of the security dilemma.



**Abdullah Al-Tobi**

Dean of the College of Arts and Humanities at Sharqiya University, Oman. He is a former associate professor at Nizwa University and director-general of the Colleges of Applied Sciences at the Ministry of Higher Education. He has held a series of academic positions at different colleges of applied sciences at the Ministry of Higher Education. His research focuses on the development of educational programs and plans, the training of science teachers, effective teaching methods and environmental education. He holds a PhD in philosophy with a specialization in curricula and science teaching from the University of Warwick (2002).

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## **Citizenship in Education Policies and Strategies in the GCC Countries**

This study investigates citizenship in education policies in the GCC countries with a focus on rights and duties. The research studies the role played by the policies and strategies of the GCC countries in promoting the national education, the values of citizenship and activating the role of civil society institutions. The research also focuses on the contemporary challenges facing GCC policymakers in promoting the values of citizenship. The importance of this research stems from the political, social and economic transformations witnessed in Gulf societies. In addition, the Arab region is undergoing changes that have imposed the values of citizenship as a pillar in the making and development of public policies in the education sector. The research emphasizes youth in the Gulf Cooperation Council, which represents an important segment of society, and has an impact in the dissemination of community culture and values



## Abdullah Al-Shayaji

Professor of international relations at the University of Kuwait and visiting professor of political science at George Washington University, USA. He is a former head of the political science department at Kuwait University. His most recent book is titled *GCC Crises: Roots, Reasons, Mediation, Future Scenarios 2011-2018* (Al Dar Al Arabi, Beirut). He holds a PhD in philosophy of political science from the University of Texas, Austin.

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### Gulf-US Relations and the Security Dilemma in the Gulf

The study identifies a disturbing phenomenon in relations between the United States and its allies in the global system. The study discusses the background of the US-Iranian confrontation and its impact on the security and stability of the Gulf and the security of the GCC countries. It also discusses options and expectations for confrontation and escalation between Iran and the United States and its repercussions on the security of the Arab Gulf region, especially as the Gulf crisis has reached its third year without any sign of a solution on the horizon. The study finds that the security dilemma facing the Gulf states began when US President Barack Obama was elected and continued and exacerbated during the Trump era. It argues that the security dilemma in the Gulf has increased in the absence of GCC confidence in their US ally because of positions and policies taken since the Obama era and developed under Trump. The study illustrates US policy toward the Gulf region, which is based on applying "the most extreme pressure" to change Iran's behaviour and force it to sign a new nuclear agreement. The paper concludes that the US policies and role in the Gulf region exacerbated the security dilemma, as they contributed to the deepening of the strategic vacuum that Iran has filled at the expense of the Gulf allies and their stability. It also concludes that the relations between the GCC states and the United States are in a dangerous phase.



**Ahmad Al-Fawair**

Associate professor of private education and academic counselling at the College of Arts and Sciences, the University of Nizwa, Oman. From 2017-2018 he was head of the Department of Education and Humanities at the same university. He is a former director and supervisor of private education programs in Kuwait. He is the author of a number of contributions to peer-reviewed journals, most recently "Counseling Needs for Students with Special Needs at the University" published in 2017 in the American Journal of Education and Learning.

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## **Citizenship in Education Policies and Strategies in the GCC Countries**

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**Ahmed Aref**

Public policy researcher at the Doha International Family Institute and a member of the Qatar Foundation for Education, Science and Community Development. He worked at the UN Population Fund Regional Office in Cairo. His research focuses on analysis of public policy in the Arab region with concentration on Gulf Studies. He has published numerous studies, policy papers and reports on social care and labor policy in the Gulf and the political economy of foreign aid.

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## **Patterns of Social Inclusion and Exclusion in Gulf Labour Policy Shifts: Evidence from Qatar and Saudi Arabia**

The labour policies of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) have long represented a major topic for academic and political debate. This is due to the fact that the structure of the labour market in the Gulf is distinguished by the huge demographic imbalance between citizens and expatriates as a result of intensive temporary migration, which is regulated under the sponsorship system, rendering the region a unique centre for policy analysis. The study suggests that over the past five years, labour policies in the GCC have undergone many transformations driven by macroeconomic challenges. These began in mid-2014 with oil volatility caused by lower global prices and its impact on the Gulf's hydrocarbon-dependent economy. Political and security challenges have been compounded by the ongoing war in Yemen and the blockade of Qatar. The study argues that this, along with consistent structural challenges related to demographic imbalances and the rentier state model, have contributed to maximizing radical shifts in social policies in general and labour policies in particular in the Gulf. The study unpacks patterns of social inclusion and exclusion targeting migrant workers due to radical changes in labour policies. It seeks to provide a critical insight into the challenges of policymaking in the Gulf from a macro-level perspective and analyses labour policy shifts and the causes of differences in policymakers' responses to inclusion or exclusion.



**Ahmed Badran**

Assistant professor of public policy at the Department of International Affairs, Qatar University. He was formerly assistant professor of public policy at the Department of Political Science, Exeter University. His research focuses on public policy. His most recent article is "Revisiting Independence of Regulatory Agencies: Thoughts and Reflections from Egypt's telecoms sector", published in Public Policy and Administration. He holds a PhD in Public Policy from Exeter.

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## **Public Policymaking and Implementation in the Gulf States from a Networking Perspective**

The process of public policymaking and implementation has recently undergone dramatic changes in various countries across all sectors, including the Arab Gulf States. The traditional model of looking at the government and its institutions as the main or dominant actor in the policymaking and implementation process has been replaced by another that emphasizes a participatory character. Considering these changes, the question is how can governments deal with the new reality of policymaking and implementation? This study attempts to highlight the model of policymaking networks as an approach that highlights the new role of non-state actors. The study suggests that despite the recent changes in the public policymaking and implementation field and the growing role of non-governmental actors in public policymaking and implementation, this does not mean a decline of the governmental role or the loss of full control by governmental public policy-making and implementation processes in the Gulf States. Government authorities still enjoy most policymaking powers. The study concludes that the nature of the role of government institutions changed from being the sole designer or executor in public policies under the traditional model to becoming part of a group of public policy-making actors in the Gulf States.



## Alanoud Al-Khalifa

PhD student in the Gulf Studies program at Qatar University. She is particularly interested in the development of the knowledge economy in the Arab Gulf and contemporary issues in the region. She has written on political and economic issues in the region and their effects on society. She worked for ten years at the Qatari Ministry of Economy and Trade.

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### Energy Security and Nuclear Projects in the GCC States

Energy is considered key to GCC security. With fluctuations in oil prices and the steady growth of energy needs and tension in the political and economic environment, energy security is vital to GCC countries. This study argues that the GCC countries must exercise more effort to ensure energy security by diversifying the energy supply away from dependence on oil and natural gas and attempt to achieve sustainable development that both addresses environmental needs and increases economic growth rate. It asks several questions. What are the GCC countries' strategic needs and motivations for the development of peaceful nuclear development programs? To what extent do the Iranian nuclear program and the security threats it poses affect GCC countries' policy towards peaceful nuclear initiatives? What are the challenges facing such programs? And what are the nuclear safety measures GCC countries should take for peaceful nuclear programs? These questions taken together form the central question of the study: Do peaceful nuclear initiatives reinforce energy security in the GCC or not? The study approaches this question from four major approaches: energy security, the GCC position, its move towards peaceful nuclear initiatives and the dangers of nuclear projects.





**Ali Al-Dhahab**

Researcher specializing in military and strategic affairs with a focus on security in the Gulf. He holds a PhD in military and security strategy in the West Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden from the Arab Academy for Science, Technology and Maritime Transport in Alexandria. He has participated in numerous conferences in Yemen, Egypt and Qatar.

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## **The Arab Coalition in the US-Iranian Crisis**

The war in Yemen is now approaching the end of its fifth year with no end in sight either militarily or diplomatically. The military operations conducted by the Saudi- and Emirati-led Arab Coalition on the western (Red Sea) coast have been suspended through the efforts of the UN Special Envoy Martin Griffiths. But the fierce operations near to the Saudi border, in the provinces of Sa'da and Hajja, have escalated. The Houthis have shown that they are still the most capable of effecting qualitative changes to the variables determining how the war is fought, making full use of the Coalition's failures and diverse Iranian and regional support - as evidenced by hundreds of drone and ballistic missile attacks targeting strategically important targets in Riyadh, the Eastern Region, and southern cities within Saudi Arabia. This paper discusses three main questions. Where do the forces of each of the parties to the conflict stand (operational areas and zones of influence)? How has the coalition transformed from a force supporting the return of the legitimate government to a competitor of that same government? What are the expected scenarios for an escape from the crisis and an end to the war? The study argues that as far as the relationship between the Coalition and the Hadi government is concerned, it is clear that there has been continuous tension - particularly the government's relationship with the UAE, which has supported the rise of the (secessionist) Southern Transitional Council and provided it with military reinforcements in many southern governorates.



## Ali Fathollah-Nejad

Research fellow at the Brookings Institution, Doha. He is a former assistant researcher at the Gulf Studies Program at the University of Qatar and a Postdoctorate Researcher at the Kennedy College, Harvard, working on a project related to Iran. His research focuses on Iranian policy and Gulf region security. He has a forthcoming book: *Iran in an Emerging New World Order: From Ahmadinejad to Rouhani* (Palgrave Macmillan).

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### Iran and the USA: Iranian Strategy after Withdrawal from the Nuclear Deal

The Trump administration's unilateral withdrawal from the Iran nuclear deal in May 2018 signals the beginning of a maximum pressure policy towards Iran: active re-imposition of international sanctions and, more importantly, efforts targeting the Iranian financial system and its oil exports. This study argues that US sanctions against Iranian oil exports, compounded by the end of US-issued exemptions for major importers, have forced Iran to adopt a more pre-emptive bipartite policy (officially known as "Maximum Resistance") based on a broad offence while retaining certain defensive aspects. The study presents some of these offensive tactics, including Iran's gradual withdrawal from its remaining commitments under the Deal in order to place pressure on Europe to keep its promises in order to avoid a new "nuclear crisis" and the retrenchment of the influence it enjoyed before negotiations began on the joint action plan presented to the international community. It also presents some of the defensive tactics used to affirm Iran's fundamental commitment to the deal. The study analytically uncovers these strategies and developments, highlighting the dangers of Iran's strategy: steep costs of war against Iran, including internationalization of the conflict, by creating disruptions to energy security in the Gulf.



**Ali Watfa**

Professor of educational sociology at the department of sociology and social service at the University of Kuwait. He is a former professor of educational sociology at Damascus University, Syria. He has been the recipient of several awards, most recently the Humaid Bin Rashid Award for Social Science (2014). He is the author of numerous articles and books on education, most recently "Arab Issues and Arabic Problems at the University of Kuwait: The Opinions of a Sample of Students at the University of Kuwait" published by the Center of Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies in 2014.

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## **Higher Education Policy in the Gulf States: Future Problems and Challenges**

The accelerated technological changes produced by the Fourth Industrial Revolution have imposed themselves onto public policymaking. In the education and higher education sectors information flows freely thanks to technological acceleration, meaning that students can be provided with information more quickly. Technological developments in social and academic life thus require a radical review of educational systems. This study believes that the technological revolution in education imposed by rapid technological development has forced public policymakers to overhaul educational programs, functions and strategies. It discusses a range of questions. How can Arab and Gulf universities specifically confront these challenges? How can policymakers confront developments in the education sector? What are the new strategies and renewed methods that can be used to confront this unprecedented oncoming wave of technological and social development? The study focuses on analysis and deconstruction of policy content - in other words, it adopts a critical and deconstructionist approach, by which we mean critique of an issue in order to establish the important factors and the weak points in universities and their academic and social functions. It is a qualitative study depending on textual analysis and deconstruction and virtual research taking a descriptive approach.



**Amel Yennoune**

Professor of economics at the Faculty of Economic, Commercial and Management Sciences at Mohamed Seddik Ben Yahia de Dijel University in Algeria. She holds a PhD in International Economics and Sustainable Development from Setif University I. She is the author of numerous studies of water policy and the environmental effects of desalination of seawater, including "Desalination of Seawater in Saudi Arabia: Expected Gains and Possible Costs 2000-2014", published in 2015 in Arab Economic Studies.

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## **Water Policy in the Arab Gulf States: The Challenge of Natural Geography and Sustainability**

Interest in water resources in the Arab Gulf states has increased in recent decades due to the growing changes that have affected these economies, which are mainly related to the development of the economic, social and political structures and the increasing domestic, agricultural and industrial need for water. In this context, this study raises the following question: Does the water policy adopted in the Gulf States since the beginning of the century achieve water resources sustainability and overcome the obstacle of natural geography? This study argues that the water policy adopted in the Gulf Arab states, especially those used to increase water supplies by focusing on desalination, has been ineffective and has incurred excessive financial losses. Consequently, this study recommends the need to apply water governance policies in the Gulf States, promote water education, develop its foundations in educational institutions and universities in the Arab Gulf States, and to bridge the gap between the cost of water production, especially desalinated water and the cost of selling and delivering it to the citizens of the Arab Gulf States. They should work to unify research in the field of desalination industry in the Arab Gulf States, expand cooperation between national authorities and official institutions concerned with water and competent international authorities, and develop monitoring and follow-up systems for water and climate change in the Arab Gulf states. Finally, the standardization of water indicators would enhance opportunities for water cooperation.



**Betul Dogan Akkas**

PhD in Gulf Studies within the joint University of Qatar Gulf Studies Center - University of Durham School of Government and International Affairs program. She earned her MA from Qatar University in 2017 with a dissertation titled "The Role of Security in Qatari Foreign Policy". Her research focuses on security. Her most recent article is "Re-Approaching Food Security of Qatar: Challenges and Possibilities" published in 2018 in the Center of Middle Eastern Studies Journal.

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## **An Assessment of Turkey's Overseas Military and Political Initiatives in the Gulf: Kuwait and Qatar**

The study seeks to provide an objective understanding of Turkish foreign policy and military strategy in the Arabian Gulf region with special emphasis on the recent establishment of military relations with Qatar and Kuwait through the lens of neoclassical realism. The study finds that Turkey's engagement in the Gulf has intermixed military and political relations, driven by economic incentives that benefit Turkey and its political and strategic role in the Gulf. To understand this equation, the study investigates how Turkey is establishing and strengthening its military relations with Qatar and Kuwait, which requires a comprehensive look at the security crises in the Gulf region. The main objective of the study is to provide an in-depth analysis of the potential impact of these military clashes on both the security of the Gulf and Turkey's role in the Middle East. To this aim, it specifically examines several political and military changes that the Arab region has undergone since the outbreak of the Arab revolutions in 2011 with a strong focus on the political and military alliances between the parties involved. By dealing with this phenomenon in the Gulf, the paper attempts to bridge the gap in the academic literature on military relations between Turkey and the Gulf states with an understanding of the motives, results and mechanisms of military cooperation.



## Christiana D'Alessandro

Senior Fellow at the Centre on Governance at the University of Ottawa (Canada), and a Research Fellow at the PRODIG Research Centre, at the University of Paris 1 Sorbonne. Her research focus are urban planning, management and transformation; natural resources and environmental governance; political, economic and territorial governance; institutional capacity building and leadership. She has worked as an international expert in public policymaking with the African Development Bank, UN-WOMEN, the UN Economic Commission for Africa, the French National Agency for Research and Sciences-Po.

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### Climate Change Challenges and Urban Public Policy in the Gulf Region

Global Climate Change and Sea level rise (SLR) are expected to directly affect the standards of living of millions of inhabitants of the Arab world's coastal cities in the decades to come. The literature on climate change risks in the Arab region has mainly focused on the issues of temperature increase and water scarcity, as both phenomena have been directly affecting the populations. This paper highlights however how the lesser-known issue of sea level rise makes Arab states increasingly vulnerable to climate change. Depending on the collective behaviour of the international community, the global phenomenon of SLR will represent a major source of risks or even an existential threat in the Arab world's Gulf region, as most of the population lives within 100 kilometers from the sea or Gulf waters, as well as in cities where rapid demographic growth already exacerbates urban planning challenges. This article highlights the historical difficulties of urban planning in a region strongly marked by 'Äboom and bust' cycles of energy price fluctuations, by geopolitical crises and a strong demographic growth. The authors call for greater urban anticipation of sea-level rise and proactive adaptation policies for urban planning, and conclude that climate change and sea-level rise should already be considered national security challenges to be properly addressed without any further delay.



**Damilola S. Olawuyi**

Associate professor of law and public policy at the College of Law, Hamad Bin Khalifa University. He is also Chancellor's Fellow and Director of the Institute for Oil, Gas, Energy, Environment and Sustainable Development (OGEES Institute), Afe Babalola University, Nigeria. He has served as a visiting professor at Columbia Law School, New York, China University of Political Science and Law and senior visiting research fellow at the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies. He has published numerous articles, book chapters and books most recently *The Human Rights-Based Approach to Carbon Finance* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

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## **Managing Regional Security Threats in the Energy Sector: Strategic Challenges and Opportunities for Gulf States**

This study examines the management of security threats facing the Gulf region in the energy sector with a focus on the strategic challenges and opportunities facing the global energy industry. The global energy industry is exposed to complex volatilities. The ongoing Gulf crisis, decline in the price of oil, dwindling role of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the rise of the United States as a dominant energy producer, increasing global transition to low carbon and alternative fuels, as well as energy efficient production technologies, all create urgent and complex challenges to the growth and sustainability of energy industries in several resource-dependent Gulf countries. The study suggests that the global energy transition to non-Gulf Arab countries could lead to radical shifts in the energy sectors, which may have a huge impact on the economy of the Gulf States. The world is currently witnessing the early stages of a global energy transition that may result in radical transformations of the energy sectors in Gulf States. This study develops a profile of new and emerging legal, socio-economic, technological, environmental and geopolitical challenges facing the energy sectors in Gulf countries. It then analyzes short-term and long-term strategic responses and programs for managing the increasing geopolitical and national security threats in the energy sector. The conclusion argues that the GCC countries should be able to manage their regional security threats in the energy sector, as well as generate a range of strategic opportunities to maximize the benefits to the Gulf States.



## Dhafer Al-Ajmi

Executive director of the Gulf Monitoring Group and a former Staff Colonel (Kuwaiti Air Force). He is the author of numerous books, most importantly *The Security of the Arab Gulf: Development and Problematics from Regional and International Relations Perspective* (2004), *A History of the Kuwaiti Army* (2011), and *The Kuwaiti Army Under Mubarak Al Sabah* (2000). He holds a PhD in Arab Gulf Security.

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### Gulf Security: The Absence of the Gulf Naval Force

At the dawn of the new millennium, some observers of maritime activities stated that we are witnessing a "revolution in maritime affairs" and even a new "post-naval" era, in which there is no place for cooperation between naval fleets like there had been during World War II or cooperation between NATO naval forces against the Soviet navy as occurred during the Cold War. This study argues that the maritime countries have redefined the center of gravity of their operations and worked to determine the programs of building their ships in a way that contributes to maximizing the importance of the maritime force to maintaining security. The study argues that the "post-naval era" theory, coupled with a boom in the trade of the industrialized nations of the world, has contributed to maximizing the importance of naval power. When talking about naval power, I include the military force responsible for maintaining the security of territorial waters, not only the naval fleet. The study suggests that since the beginning of tension between Iran and the United States after the withdrawal of US President Donald Trump from the nuclear agreement concluded in 2015, the importance of naval power in imposing security in the Gulf region has been re-illustrated. This study asks how Gulf states should lead their maritime security away from the dominance of the US Navy, which dominates the world's waters, including those of the Gulf.





**Eiman Mustafawi**

Professor of linguistics at the Department of English Literature and Linguistics at the University of Qatar. She is the former Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences (2011-2016). She was a visiting fellow at Pembroke College and the Center for Islamic Studies at Cambridge University, UK. She has published a number of peer-reviewed studies, including most recently "Imageability, Familiarity, and Age of Acquisition Ratings for 165 Arabic Abstract Nouns, 56 Abstract Verbs, and 109 Adjectives", published in 2019 in The Open Psychology Journal.

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## **Educational Language Policies and construction of National Identity**

Qatar seeks to achieve economic diversification as well as growth in the non-oil sectors in order to transform the country's economy into a knowledge-based economy. This promise from Qatar Vision 2030 has shaped Qatar's recent history and led to a series of structural reforms and transformations in the country's economic, educational and social systems over the past two decades. Perhaps the most prominent of these changes was the decision to adopt English as a language of instruction in public educational institutions in 2002. The study presents a sociological examination and analysis of the relevance of linguistic policies in education, as witnessed by government educational institutions in Qatar, with government efforts to reformulate the national identity to suit the cultural openness, regional excellence and building a knowledge economy. This study provides a theoretical framework that seeks to understand the linguistic transformations in Qatar and monitor their relationship to reformulating national identity in light of the concepts of symmetry and differentiation as well as divergence, and the concept of forming a new collective awareness through education and the concept of "flexible citizenship". The study aims at highlighting the role of language in education and building national identity, using the results of the National Identity Survey conducted by the Social and Economic Survey Research Institute at Qatar University. The study emphasises the need for linguistic planning for education policies based on extensive studies and strict procedures, emanating from policy knowledge and language planning and tools, in order to achieve the desired development goals.



## Eleni Polymenopoulou

Professor of law and public policy at Hamad Bin Khalifa University and visiting professor at the University of Grenoble, France. Her research focuses on human rights issues, particularly cultural rights and freedom of opinion, concentrating on integration of religion, identity and law. She is a former human rights lawyer for various governmental and non-governmental organizations including the Greek Refugee Council.

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### Enhancing human rights policies in the Gulf

This paper examines the current human rights situation in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states and ways to implement human rights at a policy level. In so doing, the paper, firstly, briefly discusses the concept of human rights, and identifies human rights obligations undertaken (or not undertaken) by Gulf States, as well as reasons that explain the generally low human rights record of these countries. Secondly, it examines ways that human rights obligations may be implemented in the GCC - for instance, by introducing legislative changes and enhancing policy transformations in the sectors of business, culture, and education, including in those States whose human rights record is either especially low or deteriorated. In an effort to identify positive trends and examples of 'best practices', the paper focuses on the case of Qatar. This is because of Qatar's gradual improvement in key policy areas, especially visible following the award of the World Cup in 2010 - for example with respect to ratification of key human rights instruments, residency reforms and amendments in labour laws. The paper identifies areas where additional efforts are needed to improve the existing framework (for instance, by ratifying human rights treaties or ILO treaties) and conform with current human rights standards (for instance, the withdrawal of reservations to human rights instruments, especially those related to discrimination against women). It concludes that in order to achieve sustainable economic growth and meaningful collaboration with other States at the global level, it is in the benefit of those States' and their future generations to start taking human rights seriously.



**Emad Y. Kaddorah**

Researcher and head of editing department at Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He holds a PhD in International Relations from the University of Sakarya, Turkey. He has published four books including Turkey: An Ambitious Strategy and Constrained Policy, a Geopolitical Approach (2015); The Future of International Policies toward the Middle East (1996). He has also published twelve peer-reviewed articles including "Salafism in Turkey: The Challenges of Spreading in a Sufi Society," (March 2017); "The Regional Geo-sectarian Contest over the Gulf," (Spring 2018).

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## **Turkey and the Gulf: The Influence of Mutual Conceptions on Current Relations**

Turkey's relations with the Gulf States have changed profoundly and rapidly under the rule of the AKP. Strategic relations with some of these countries - such as Qatar and Kuwait - have been strengthened over the last few years, while in political terms at least relationships with other powers - Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Bahrain - have seen setbacks. Differing or similar visions on regional issues have had a fundamental impact on these relationships. This study contends that from the Turkish perspective, there are two main factors driving the conception of the Gulf as a strategic interest. The first is the concept of "strategic depth": the AKP looks at the Gulf as an extension of the historical and geographical space of Turkey and one of the areas in which Turkey can play a prominent role. The second is the economic factor, key to the AKP's vision of the Gulf region, which sees it as a unique opportunity for the Turkish economy. The Gulf states, meanwhile, see Turkey as a rising political power and the object of mixed geostrategic feelings: on the one hand they want to use Turkey as a counterbalance to Iranian influence, but on the other, they fear Ankara's growing influence and its competing regional agenda. Economically, and within their general policy agenda of economic diversification, they see Turkey as a rising power and one of the countries with the fastest economic growth worldwide.



## Hadeel Al-Khatib

Professor at the College of Education, University of Qatar. She is a former postdoctorate researcher at Humboldt University, Berlin (2017-2018). She has also been a visiting professor at the Georgetown University International and Regional Studies Center. She is the author of several studies in language policy, most recently "Does Qatar Need a Declared Language Policy? A Virtual Ethnography Perspective" (Qatar: Political, Economic and Social Issues, Nova Science Publishers, 2018).

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### Educational Language Policies and construction of National Identity

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**Hilal Al-Habsi**

Policy researcher at the Omani Consultative Assembly. He is a former director of planning and development at the Omani Ministry of Social Development. He is the author of a study on parliamentary elections in the Gulf published in *Shurufat* (Issue 7, April 2019), a journal focusing on parliamentary affairs. He holds a PhD in political sociology from the Lebanese University. His thesis was titled *Constitutional Transformations in the Sultanate of Oman and their Social and Political Ramifications* (2019).

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## **Gulf Representative Councils in Forming Public Policy in GCC Countries: A Comparative Study**

Representative Councils play a fundamental role in implementing active democratic practice, performing several fundamental functions in the system of democratic government. Through elected representative assemblies, peoples are able to exert oversight over national governments, make popular agendas and the demands of public opinion the priorities of government work, and discuss and affirm the state budget. This study discusses representative councils in the Gulf region. The GCC countries have undergone significant development in the infrastructure of democracy by adopting representative councils as part of the institutional makeup of the state. The study contends that although these councils' names differ, they are similar in their function of popular representation and the role they perform. It provides a comparative description of the powers of these councils and the extent to which they are tied to the constitution as the regulator and determiner of states' public powers. By analyzing the internal workings of these councils, we are able to draw out the reality of their functioning and ascertain their real role in the making and directing of policy in those states.



**Hilal Al-Salimi**

PhD student in business management in the United Kingdom. His research focuses on public policy and public management. He is the editor of *Corporate Social Responsibility Best Practices in Oman and the World* (Independent Thought, 2018). He holds an MA in Human Resource Management from Durham University, UK.

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## **Educational Policies in Oman on the Eve of the Launch of Oman Vision 2040: Scenarios and Challenges**

Education is still open for discussion in the Sultanate of Oman despite the developments in both the school and higher education sectors within the last fifty years. This study focuses on education policy within the 2040 Vision, which seeks to effect significant changes in various sectors including the education sector. It aims to explain education policies in terms of their reality, their reference points and the factors influencing them, concluding certain possible scenarios for these policies given the development of the discourse of government change towards the knowledge economy and meeting the needs of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. The study shows that there is a gap between discourse and practice in Omani education policy, and this gap leads to increased worries around quality and may complicate the fulfilment of these aims. It also shows that there is no clear definition of the reference point for these policies and their implementation. Omani educational policy therefore needs review in order to establish its strengths and weaknesses allowing for the making of policy taking into account the different political, economic, social and cultural complications that affect education in the country. This will allow for the creation of better policy that can help confront many problems for which high-quality education may be the best solution.



**Ilias Bantekas**

Professor of International Law and Arbitration at HBKU and senior fellow at the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies (IALS) of the University of London. Before joining HBKU he was a Professor of Law at Brunel University London from 2006'Ä2018. He frequently serves as arbitrator in international commercial disputes and has advised governments and international organizations in matters pertinent to international law and arbitration, including UNDP, UN Special Procedures, Council of Europe, IDEA and the European Union. In 2011 he was nominated by UNDP to co'Ä2author the constitution of South Sudan.

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## **Engaging the UN Security Council in The Embargo Against Qatar**

The UN Security Council has become the dominant forum for peace and security since the early 1990s and the Gulf region was not only the starting point but also one of the key areas of concern to the Security Council (UNSC). By all accounts Qatar's strategy towards the embargo has been twofold; on the one hand, it has engaged in a global public relations campaign, while on the other it has made meticulous and concerted use of all available UN mechanisms, both judicial and political. In this manner Qatar has shown an entrenched commitment to the rule of law and sound governance. This paper suggests that this strategy could go a step further by directly engaging the UNSC. Given that the UNSC views the embargo as a low intensity political skirmish with no discernible victims in the near future, it is unlikely to alienate Egypt and Saudi Arabia by putting the issue on its agenda. The paper argues that given this state of affairs, Qatar might well pursue other indirect ways of engaging the Council. This may be achieved by tagging the embargo to existing thematic issues on the Council's agenda, such as the wars in Syria and Yemen, where the Saudis/UAE and Qatar have some degree of involvement; the situation with Iran, which is a thorny issue for the GCC; the Council's ongoing involvement with international terrorism, and potentially several others.



**Jalila Al-Balushi**

PhD student at the Faculty of Education, Sultan Qaboos University, Oman. She was formerly a civil servant at the Ministry of Education at the Sultanate of Oman. Her research focuses on education. She has recently published a study titled "Cognitive Economy Skills in Omani School Education: An Academic Study in Delphi Style" in the Journal of Education and Psychological Study, a specialist peer-reviewed journal issued by SQU. She has participated in numerous conferences in Oman and Turkey.

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**Kadhim Niama**

Professor of strategy and political science and editor-in-chief of the journal International Studies. He is a former head of the Center of International Studies at the University of Baghdad, Strategic Studies at Al Bakr University, and Regional Studies in Libya. He is the author of numerous books and studies on international relations. He has recently published a book titled "The Arab Gulf and the Dilemma of the New Strategic Triangle" (2019). He received his MA and PhD from the Faculty of International Politics and Strategy University of Wales, Aberystwyth.

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## **Trilateral Relations in the Arab Gulf: Challenges and Security Threats**

Trilateral relations in Arab and Middle Eastern politics go back to the period following WW2. The Arab national movement, the US and the USSR formed a three-way relationship on issues of national liberation and independence as well as the Non-Aligned Movement. Since the 1970s trilateral relations in the Gulf have been dictated more by geostrategic security concerns than any ideological basis. Gulf security has come to rest on the hypothesis that there is a choice between a single great power guaranteeing regional security as a hegemonic force or else a security framework made up of a great power and two regional axes (Iran and Saudi Arabia). This study discusses the nature and form of these trilateral relations in the Arab Gulf, especially three-way dynamics that lead to complications in Arab Gulf security, making it more difficult for Gulf countries to find a way out of the complex security dilemma they face. The study argues that Gulf politics are among the most sophisticated, depending on "triangle" dynamics as a pillar through which it has worked to sustain US hegemony. It also argues that this dynamic has given Israel strategic, political and economic opportunities to penetrate Arab politics.



## Khalid Rashid Al-Khater

Researcher in monetary policy and political economy. He is a research fellow at the Centre for Macroeconomics and the Institute for New Economic Thinking at the University of Cambridge. Previously, he was director of the Department of Research and Monetary Policy at Qatar Central Bank, and a member of the Bank's Monetary Policy and Investment Committees. He has published several papers, the most recent of which is a study titled "The Challenges of Oil Price Collapse and Strategies for Economic Diversification in the GCC", published in Economic Diversification in the Arab Gulf States by the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies in 2019.

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## The Failure of Gulf Economic Integration: How Politics Destroyed the Economies of the GCC countries

Economic integration is one of the main objectives behind the formation of the GCC in 1981. Since its establishment, the GCC has adopted the Unified Economic Agreement with the aim of enhancing economic cooperation among the Gulf States, liberating the movement of individuals and goods, and achieving economic integration and a trade and customs union in the GCC markets to eventually pave the way for a single currency. In an effort to develop the provisions of the agreement to cope with economic progress, in 2001, the GCC countries introduced some items to promote the establishment of a customs union, a common Gulf market and a monetary union in order to emphasize the objectives of the agreement to promote economic cooperation and integration among the GCC countries. But for more than three decades, the Gulf states have faced numerous challenges stalling this economic cooperation. This in itself is an added value to this study, as it seeks to expose the challenges faced by the GCC countries, to reveal the economic and political consequences for the GCC countries, and to reveal the consequences created by the crisis of the blockade of Qatar from June 2017 on the process of economic integration.



## Khawla Mortazawi

PhD Student in Islamic Civilization at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Malaysia Technical University. Since 2018 she has held an MA in comparative religion from the College of Islamic Studies, Hamad bin Khalifa University. She is active in the Qatari media, and has worked for the newspapers Al Sharq and Al Watan and for Alrayyan TV. In conjunction with other activists she founded the Arab Social Media Council and the Al Watan Center for Media Training. She has participated in numerous conferences at Hamad Bin Khalifa University and Qatar University.

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### The Role of Public Opinion Polls in Policy Making - Qatar as a Model

Public opinion polls are one tool employed by strategic planners, policy makers and decision makers in order to identify public trends in thinking on a particular issue or topic and to design public policies accordingly. This study attempts to investigate the role of public opinion polls in public policymaking in the State of Qatar. The research identifies the nature of the underlying relationship between the state and society and the democratization of Qatar's policymaking process based on its attention to the results of public opinion polls that represent the voice of the people, citizens and residents. The importance of this issue stems from the different dimensions raised by the content and presentation of the subject of the new research. There is a communicative media dimension, which is concerned with public opinion polls and their importance in drawing the state political scene. The second dimension is political, regarding the extent to which the decision makers and strategic planners in the state benefit from the results of public opinion polls in the formulation of public policies. The study recommends that policymakers in Qatar pay attention to the findings and recommendations of public opinion polling centres and upgrade their role from describing and analysing public opinion trends to having real contribution to public policymaking. It also recommends the necessity of developing the collection, analysis and classification systems of data, information, planning and quality in the different state institutions, and coordinating the public policies in the various state agencies and institutions and working towards their integration.



**Kristian Ulrichsen**

Fellow for the Middle East at the Baker Institute for Public Policy at Rice University in Houston and a research fellow at Chatham House, London. His research focuses on political economy, security and international relations in the Gulf region. He has published five books on the Gulf, most recently *Qatar and the Gulf Crisis: A Study of Resilience* (Hurst, 2019).

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## Changing Patterns of Internal and External Security in the Gulf

This presentation will explore how rifts within the Gulf over the past decade have reconfigured perceptions of threat in ways that have transformed patterns of internal and external security. For three decades after the formation of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in 1981, its six member-states shared enough of a common regional threat perception to ensure they worked as a bloc and survived periodic bouts of internal discord. Arguably the key to the durability of the GCC was the fact that both in organizational structure and in practice it was loose enough to accommodate a degree of flexibility in the conduct of policymaking by individual members. All this changed after 2011 when the broader pressure of the Arab Spring upheaval intersected with the emergence of three Gulf States - Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE - as assertive participants in regional politics. The presentation will conclude by analyzing how developments since 2013 have shattered both the common perception of external threat, as Gulf capitals now see each other as specific threats, and the flexibility that had been a feature of the GCC, as ruling officials in Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi have sought to ram other Gulf States into a regional straitjacket that offers no room for deviation on sensitive issues. Pragmatic workarounds have evolved to meet the challenges of a greatly-changed regional situation and the presentation will end by assessing how the developments outlined in the presentation will affect regional approaches to internal and external security going forward.



**Laurent Lambert**

Professor of public policy at the College of Public Administration and Development Economics at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He is a former senior policy analyst at the Social and Economic Survey Research Institute at the University of Qatar, a former member of the Advisory Board at the United Nations Climate Convention's center in charge of green technology transfer (the CTCN) and a former representative of the research community at the United Nations climate negotiations (UNFCCC). Laurent holds Bachelor and Masters degrees (Summa Cum Laude) in Development Geography from the Université de Paris1 Sorbonne, and a PhD. from the Oxford University School of Geography and the Environment.

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## **Climate Change Challenges and Urban Public Policy in the Gulf Region**

Global Climate Change and Sea level rise (SLR) are expected to directly affect the standards of living of millions of inhabitants of the Arab world's coastal cities in the decades to come. The literature on climate change risks in the Arab region has mainly focused on the issues of temperature increase and water scarcity, as both phenomena have been directly affecting the populations. This paper highlights however how the lesser-known issue of sea level rise makes Arab states increasingly vulnerable to climate change. Depending on the collective behaviour of the international community, the global phenomenon of SLR will represent a major source of risks or even an existential threat in the Arab world's Gulf region, as most of the population lives within 100 kilometers from the sea or Gulf waters, as well as in cities where rapid demographic growth already exacerbates urban planning challenges. This article highlights the historical difficulties of urban planning in a region strongly marked by 'boom and bust' cycles of energy price fluctuations, by geopolitical crises and a strong demographic growth. The authors call for greater urban anticipation of sea-level rise and proactive adaptation policies for urban planning, and conclude that climate change and sea-level rise should already be considered national security challenges to be properly addressed without any further delay.



**Liqa Makki**

lead researcher at the Al Jazeera Center for Studies. He is a former professor of media and advertising at the University of Baghdad and visiting professor at universities in Yemen, Qatar and Bahrain. He holds an MA from the Department of Media at the University of Baghdad. His research focuses on advertising, propaganda and psychological warfare. He holds a PhD in media from the University of Baghdad in news journalism.

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## **The Effect of Political Change**

This study discusses the effect of political change in Iraq on the security of the Arab Gulf region. It uses a historical methodology to investigate the mutual influence between Iraq and its Gulf neighbours, particularly since the 1970s. It argues that their close geographical interconnectedness produced mutual influence in numerous fields from the time of the Iraqi monarchy through to the Islamic Revolution. This led to bilateral cooperation during the eight years of the Iran-Iraq War. The study suggests that Gulf-Iraqi cooperation during the War was an indicator of the Iraqi role in the balance of power in the Mashreq more generally, a role clearly understood by GCC countries when they threw their weight behind the Iraqi war effort. But this entente collapsed abruptly only a short time later, replaced by a deep enmity with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, leaving Iran to take advantage and draw closer to the Gulf countries. The study also contends that in the 1990s the Gulf countries did not work to produce a security policy that might have provided them with deterrents against neighbouring powers (Iraq, Iran) but rather attempted to tighten the blockade of Iraq and strengthen their relationship with Iran. They preferred to remain reliant on US protection, which appeared openly after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003.



**Mahjoob Zweiri**

Director of the Center for Gulf Studies and associate professor of Middle Eastern Contemporary History at the University of Qatar. From 2011-2016 he was head of the Department of Humanities at the same university. From 2007-2009 he was a professor at Islamic Studies Program and the Center of Strategic Studies at the Jordanian University. From 2003-2006 he worked as a research fellow at and then director of the Center for Iranian Studies at the University of Durham. He is the author of numerous studies and books on Iran and the Gulf.

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## **The US-Iranian Crisis and its Implications for the Gulf**

The Gulf and local Gulf players have played a prominent role in US-Iran relations since WW2. As the nature of this role has changed, it is important to note that the political geography of the region and the nature of international competition have also played an important role in the changing dynamics of these relations. This study contends that while US-Iran relations were strong to the point of constituting an alliance under the Shah, specifically from 1941 until the Islamic Revolution in 1979, this was abruptly replaced by hostility and confrontation with the foundation of the Islamic Republic. It presents an in-depth understanding of the most recent period of the US-Iran crisis - during the Trump presidency - by analysing political behaviour and media discourse. The study assumes that the crisis of relations between the US and Iran has taken its particular form because of the presence of Gulf players, including Saudi Arabia and the UAE. These players see support for Trump's offensive on Iran as an important bridge to strengthen relations with the US on the one hand will forming a strong front on the other, including Israel, to confront the Iranian regime (as a precursor to regime change). The study analytically traces the formation of this alliance and the support that US steps have received from Saudi Arabia and the UAE.



**Malak Al-Rasheed**

Associate professor of social work at the College of Social Science, University of Kuwait. From 2016-2019 he was a member of the Supreme Council for Family Affairs and a member of the steering committee of the National Council for Culture, Arts and Literature. She is the author of numerous studies on public policy, social work and women. Since 2004 she has held a PhD in the philosophy of social work from the University of Denver, USA.

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## **The Role of Kuwaiti Civil Society Institutions in Making Public Policy to Advocate Women's Rights**

Policymaking is one of the basic tasks of any state. But policies are not created from nothing and cannot be made randomly. Public policymaking is a dynamic process, the product of consultation, communication and pressure between governmental and non-governmental bodies. Civil society - organizations, associations, unions, initiatives - has a key role in this process. This study discusses the nature of this relationship between the state and civil society organizations in Kuwait, taking as an example the making of policy to combat violence against women. The study argues that women's rights issues and efforts to promote gender equality within the framework of justice and equality and the Future Vision for the country are not new to Kuwait. While the countries of the region were taking their first steps towards the concept of the state, Kuwait had established a consensus between ruler and ruled based on a belief that a state can only be built and can only develop along with its people, and that the people are simultaneously the central pillar and the object of development. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that there are still numerous social, economic, cultural and legislative challenges limiting Kuwaiti women's role in the public sphere and their freedom more generally - and indeed expose them to various forms of gender-based mistreatment and violence, making them victims of exploitation.





## Mehran Kamrava

Professor and director of the Center for International and Regional Studies at Georgetown University Qatar. He holds a PhD from Cambridge University. He is the author of a number of studies on the Gulf, most recently *Inside the Arab State, Troubled Waters: Insecurity in the Persian Gulf* (Cornell, 2018).

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### Iran and the United States: "Neither Peace, Nor War"

Tensions between Iran and the United States have reached unprecedented heights, especially after the Trump administration unilaterally withdrew from the 2015 nuclear accord. These tensions culminated in the shooting down of an American spy drone by Iran in June 2019. The risks of war between the two sides have been considerable, backed by tough rhetoric from Washington and Tehran and also by occasional provocative and bellicose moves. Nevertheless, despite the imminent danger of warfare between the United States and Iran, neither side is likely to deliberately launch a military attack on the other and to initiate open hostilities. In particular, the United States, which has taken an especially hostile and bellicose attitude toward Iran during the Trump administration, is unlikely to deliberately translate that bellicosity into military action against its old nemesis. The reason for this lies in the realization of the catastrophic consequences involved, which would only undermine the interests of the side initiating the hostilities. In the process of attacking the adversary, each side is likely to inflict even greater harm to its own interests. Interest-preservation is an important restraining factor, particularly for the United States, which is by far the more superior military party and which has on many occasions threatened war on Iran. For the foreseeable future, the conflict between the two sides'Äirooted as it is in their clashing policy objectives'Äiwill remain dangerously volatile. But this volatility will be kept in check through the imperative of interest-preservation. Motivated by self-interest, both sides will pursue the conflict, while, at the same time, each side will strive to keep it relatively managed. Barring the eruption of an accidental war, the policy line advocated by the Iranian Supreme Leader, Ali Khamenei, namely "no peace, no war," is the most likely default option between the two countries.



## **Mohamed El-Menshawy**

Director, Washington Analytica for Political Consulting. He holds an MA in International Relations from the University of Akron, USA. He is the author of a book titled *America and the Egyptian Revolution* (2014). He recently published an article titled "Saudi-US Relations and their Transformations Between Risks and Possibilities" in Issue 40 of *Siyasat Arabiya* (2019).

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### **Congress and the Gulf States: The Background and Determinants of the Relationship**

Since Donald Trump came to power in January 2017 several factors have driven Congress to play an ever-larger role in US foreign policy. The new President's lack of any experience in this field, his withdrawal from numerous international commitments - including the Paris Climate Agreement, the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Iran nuclear deal - and his constant threats to NATO have all set alarm bells ringing in both the House and the Senate. This paper discusses how the Gulf countries have dealt with Congress under Trump and whether their approach has differed from that taken with previous administrations both Republican and Democratic. Focusing on three Gulf countries: Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the UAE, it concludes that the Gulf and its issues have been close to the sphere of disagreement between Congress and the Administration. The blockade of Qatar, American support for the Arab Coalition in Yemen, the murder of Jamal Khashoggi, issues surrounding Saudi political detainees, and finally the question of transferring nuclear technology to Saudi Arabia have all led Congress to play a larger role during Trump's years in power. The making of Gulf policy is caught in a tug of war between the White House and the two chambers of Congress.



## Mohammed Al-Misfer

Retired professor at the University of Qatar and a former Qatari diplomat. He is the author of numerous books and studies on political science and Arab nationalism. His most recent book is *Gulf-Gulf Relations: The Dilemma of the Strategic Vacuum and Division 1971-2018* (2018) published by the Al Jazeera Center for Studies. He is a regular contributor to the Qatari and Arab press. He received his PhD in political science from the State University of New York in 1984.

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### The Lost Role of the GCC

The GCC was first conceived of in 1981, the product of a complex regional, international and Arab context. The 1979 Iranian Revolution, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the beginning of the Iran-Iraq War in 1980, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the political and security unrest in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen all encouraged the rapid formation of an organization uniting the Arab Gulf states under one banner. The GCC's foundation was facilitated by the similarity of its constituent states' economic structures, all of which were fundamentally based on oil and gas. This study contends that the GCC - now some 38 years old - has failed to play the role expected of it in confronting the challenges facing the Gulf states. The conditions that led to its establishment, far from having been overcome, have in fact worsened: Iraq, the eastern gateway to the Gulf, is now under Iranian-US influence; the Iranian Revolution interferes ever more aggressively in Arab affairs; some GCC states have become the theatre of wars in Yemen and Libya; efforts to interfere in the domestic affairs of Egypt, Sudan and Tunisia have increased; and finally, the 2017 Gulf Crisis has led to a schism within the GCC between a pro-blockade group (Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain) and a group opposed to this blockade (Oman, Kuwait).



**Nabil Hussein**

Palestinian researcher working in the editorial department of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He holds a Master of Development Economics specializing in international cooperation from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. His research interests focus on the political economy and specifically on democracy, as well as systems of governance, institutions and their development and their impact on the economy.

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## **Evaluating the Impact of Government Public Policies on Creating an "Efficient and Committed Workforce" in Accordance with the Qatar Vision 2030**

The study is built on the premise of the Qatar National Vision 2030 that the hydrocarbon sector is a non-renewable and depleted sector, and therefore its representation in GDP should be reduced while that of the non-hydrocarbon sector should be increased. This comes within the comprehensive economic diversification plans aimed at establishing good infrastructure that provides a climate that stimulates investment in the establishment of small and medium level enterprises. The aim is to expand the private sector and increase the participation of Qatari citizens in it, guided by the process of economic development and other types of development within the banner of sustainable development. To test how this goal of increasing entrepreneurship in Qatar is being implemented, this study employs an "institutional approach" to track the impact of changing policy assessment as independent variables, in changing the entrepreneurial rate as a dependent variable. It uses the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) data that monitors entrepreneurial framework conditions through the annual expert assessment of the policies of the 12 countries related to entrepreneurship, and the extent to which they changed in the rate of entrepreneurship in the early stages (TEA rate), in a panoramic image monitoring the conditions of the entrepreneurial framework in different economies and compared to the economy from 2008-2018. The results show that the hydrocarbon sector remains a major challenge in the economic diversification plan, with funding for entrepreneurs falling after the 2014 oil price crisis. Moreover, the socio-cultural values, attitudes and self-perceptions of entrepreneurs in Qatar have not affected the increase in entrepreneurship rates.



**Noof Al-Dosari**

PhD student studying governance at the University of Essex. She has worked as a research and teaching assistant at the College of International Affairs (Public Policy) at the University of Qatar and at the Policy Assessment Department at Silatech. She is a former research assistant at the Center for Islamic Legislation and Morals at the College of Islamic Studies, Qatar Education Foundation. She is the author of a study titled "Foreign Policy from Khatami to Ahmadinejad: There is One Foreign Policy in Iran, Which is Khamenei's Foreign Policy" (World Journal of Social Science Research).

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## **Oman's Iran Policy and its Role in the Formation of Regional Gulf Policy**

It is very satisfying to see Oman playing a major role in the Gulf - a role that Saudi Arabia is incapable of playing despite being larger and having more political clout. The secret of this role is not the USA or the UK but rather Iran. This paper contends that the Sultanate of Oman's policy is unique in that it has built a generally positive relationship with Iran despite being a member of the GCC - established after the Iranian Revolution in 1979 and during the Iraq-Iran War (1980-1988), in part to repel the "Iranian threat". The paper contends that while this is a goal of all GCC member states in order to preserve their own security and that of the region as a whole, it seems that Oman rejects the idea that Iran is a threat. This is clear from analysis of Oman's history or its current foreign policy discourse as regards Iran. Oman typically describes Iran as a friend and a neighbor, despite being a member of an alliance that sees the country as an enemy. The study focuses on the important role of Oman's Iran policy and its relationship to the GCC states. It asks whether Oman's independent foreign policy as regards Iran has affected the other Gulf countries; whether this policy has run against the general movement towards Gulf integration; and to what extent the Iranian-Omani sociopolitical system is important for the stability of the region.



**Nikolay Kozhanov**

Associate professor for energy in political geography at the Center for Gulf Studies, University of Qatar. He is the head of a Chatham House project on Russian policy in the Middle East. Since 2010 he has held a PhD in Middle Eastern economic security from the University of Saint Petersburg. His research focuses on the political geography of Gulf energy, the Iranian economy and the Russian presence in the Middle East.

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## **Russian-Saudi Dialogue and the Future of OPEC+**

In early February 2019, the international media resources reported on Saudi and Russian efforts to create a new structure to regulate the oil market. This institution is expected to be formed on the base of the 2016 Vienna agreement, a deal between OPEC and 10 non-OPEC countries (so-called OPEC+) to temporary limit their oil output in order to stabilize oil market and ensure oil prices growth. Since 2016, this agreement has several times been extended and partly managed to achieve its goals. However, the experience of the past two years clearly showed that, in order to affect the oil market situation, temporary measures are not enough. Instead, there is a need for a forum-like structure that would be able to monitor the situation at the oil market and, when necessary, make practical steps to regulate the volume of oil productions by its members to ensure the balance between supply and demand. Under these circumstances, it was natural for Saudi Arabia and Russia, informal leaders of the OPEC+, to suggest the creation of such a new structure. To have a say in OPEC+, a country should have high volume of production and, preferably, the spare output capacities as well as the ability to change the output within the wide range of volumes. The Saudi and, for now, Russian oil sectors perfectly fit all these parameters. Consequently, this determines the situation when the dynamics of the Russian-Saudi dialogue at OPEC+ has a decisive meaning for the finalization of those decisions taken by the members of the Vienna agreement. Nevertheless, the word alliance or partnership should be applied with the extreme caution to the Russian-Saudi dialogue at OPEC+.



**Rachid El-Bazzim**

Research at Ibn Zohr University, Agadir, Morocco. He is a former professor of public law at Hasan I University. He has published numerous studies on energy in the Gulf, most recently "The Gulf States and Challenges of Transformations in Energy", published in *Siyasat Arabiya* in 2019, and "Anticipating the Future of Energy Transition in the Arab World: A Study of the Moroccan Model" in *Istishraf For Future Studies*, 2018.

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## **Nationally Determined Contributions and Climate Change Mitigation Policies in the Arab Gulf States**

The formulation of nationally determined contributions (NDCs) represents an opportunity for the Gulf States to enhance synergies between climate action and other development priorities. The study examines the contributions of the Gulf states, their integration and overlap with their long-term development plans, and the relevance of climate commitments to climate change mitigation efforts. The study also examines the ability of Gulf states to employ economic diversification to move to low-carbon, low-emission economies. This study argues that the sectors that have been included as climate priorities in the contributions of the six countries remain limited, compared to the broad outlines of long-term national plans, with a lack of attention to the sustainable development goals and human rights. This could be a missed opportunity for policy coherence and international image enhancement. The results of this study indicate that the Gulf states should benefit more from integrating their national development policies in the process of reducing climate change. This would lead to planning for the implementation and evaluation of more effective programs, with social, economic and environmental flexibility. This will enhance the contributions of the Gulf States, thus increasing their ability to fulfill their obligations and achieve their aspirations over time. One of the main findings of the study is that the sectoral policies that the Gulf States have chosen to highlight in their NDCs constitute only a fairly narrow subset of their development visions.



**Radwan Termanini**

Researcher and international economist. He previously worked as an economic researcher in several countries, including Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and the United States. He has served on the boards of several international companies in Egypt, Morocco, Syria and Bahrain, and has served on international economic boards and councils in the UK and Turkey. He has published many papers in the field of economics.

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## **Public Policy Problems: Labour Policies in Qatar**

Interest in public policymaking in the Arab Gulf states began in the 1970s. This interest increased in the early 1980s, starting with policies to consolidate sovereignty and the regime. Interest then turned to policies to provide social services and job security to citizens, in keeping with the role of the rentier state. Public policy makers in the Arab Gulf states then focused on establishing and expanding sovereign funds like many other countries in the world. But policymaking itself has been subject to a great deal of ambiguity. It has never been clear how public policies are made, changed, or brought into effect. Some policies have failed to achieve the pillars of the so-called sustainable development, or more correctly, balanced development and these countries have failed to varying degrees in the diversification of their economies. Many have observers attributed this failure to the lack of transparency and accountability, whereby overlapping roles within the authorities have led to deep distortions in those policies. Public policies are one of the tools on which the political system in the country depends to pursue political, economic and social development. However, the main reason for the failure of these policies is that there were no realistic challenges to their implementation. This study thus raises the following questions: How are public policies designed in Qatar? Who are the official actors in public policymaking? What legislative frameworks determine and control public policymaking in Qatar?





**Reem Ali Al-Ansari**

Director of Studies and Research at the Centre for the Rule of Law and Combatting Corruption in the State of Qatar. She is a former professor of law at Qatar University and a researcher in governance and combatting corruption at the World Bank. She has participated in various research conferences in Qatar and the USA, and has published numerous studies in peer-reviewed journals on public policy and law. She received her PhD in Law from Georgetown University in Washington DC.

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## **Decision Making Mechanisms in the Arab Gulf States**

The research highlights the decision-making mechanisms in the Arab Gulf States. The study finds that the centralized process of public policymaking, the absence of the participation of various stakeholders, and the overlap of wills and interests all suggest the need to examine the public policymaking mechanisms adopted by the Gulf states. The study finds that the procedures and rules that governments are committed to implement are seldom fully accepted. The paper consists of five main sections, starting with the stages of developing the established policies and the criteria used in the decision-making process. It then evaluates the criteria used in the decision-making process and goes on to discuss the difference between policies and their application on the ground. The fourth section addresses the reasons for disrupting decision-making processes, and the final section makes a number of recommendations to help create a fair environment, including strengthening the concept of monitoring, creating an approved mechanism for following up the policy making, application and implementation, isolating the policy-making process from parties with interests, invoking the principles of transparency and cooperation between the authority and the public, considering establishing monitoring mechanisms between state agencies and institutions, and investing the state's financial resources in the creation of channels for the transfer of information and digital storage facilitates to ensure the management and retention of information.



**Saif Al-Mamari**

Associate professor at the College of Education, Sultan Qaboos University, Oman. He has published several books on education and curricula and their relationship to citizenship as well as numerous articles for Arab and non-Arab periodicals, newspapers, and Omani and non-Omani journals. He has worked with various international organizations including the Carnegie Center, UNESCO, Adyan and the Lebanese Association for Education Studies. He holds a PhD in Philosophy of Education from Glasgow University.

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## **Educational Policies in Oman on the Eve of the Launch of Oman Vision 2040: Scenarios and Challenges**

Education is still open for discussion in the Sultanate of Oman despite the developments in both the school and higher education sectors within the last fifty years. This study focuses on education policy within the 2040 Vision, which seeks to effect significant changes in various sectors including the education sector. It aims to explain education policies in terms of their reality, their reference points and the factors influencing them, concluding certain possible scenarios for these policies given the development of the discourse of government change towards the knowledge economy and meeting the needs of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. The study shows that there is a gap between discourse and practice in Omani education policy, and this gap leads to increased worries around quality and may complicate the fulfilment of these aims. It also shows that there is no clear definition of the reference point for these policies and their implementation. Omani educational policy therefore needs review in order to establish its strengths and weaknesses allowing for the making of policy taking into account the different political, economic, social and cultural complications that affect education in the country. This will allow for the creation of better policy that can help confront many problems for which high-quality education may be the best solution.



**Saja Torman**

Teaching assistant at the College of Law and Public Administration at the University of Bir Zeit in Palestine. She is a former researcher at the Social and Economic Policy Observatory in Ramallah. She holds an MA in Public Policy from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. Her research focuses on public policy issues, concentrating on reform, social justice and reconstruction.

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## **Political Reform in Saudi Arabia and its Impact on Participation in Public Policy Making**

This study is devoted to public policy making in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, focusing on political reforms that sought to create channels for activating community participation represented by the Shura Council, local elections, and national dialogues. The Basic Law institutionalized certain practices of the authorities, by giving them a legal nature, embodied in the reforms, reflecting a realistic representation of Saudi society, giving it the possibility of some type of representation. In the context of the Kingdom's gradual reforms and priorities, it could be argued that elections represent a qualitative leap in community participation, but they did not reflect a concrete role in public policymaking. Despite the sensitivity of the subjects the national dialogue deals with, the issue of the selection of participants in the dialogue has robbed the institution of its effectiveness and deprived it of any institutional dynamics. Despite the above-mentioned reforms, the rise of Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman was a setback for attempts at political, social and economic reform towards greater societal participation in decision-making. The arms of power and the increasing near-total control of the kingdom internal and external affairs were concentrated at the top. This was evidenced by the ministerial amendments that led to the upgrading of a number of loyalists of the Crown Prince to his allies, and the concentration of the powers of the Council for Political and Security Affairs and the Council for Economic Affairs and Development in the hands of Mohammed bin Salman, who heads them.



## Shareefa Abdullah Al-Adwani

Professor at the College of Political Sciences and director of the Center for Gulf Studies at the American University of Kuwait. Her research focuses on economic and social policy and government change in GCC countries. She is a regular contributor to the publications of the Kuwaiti Center for Research and Studies. She received her doctorate in political sciences from the University of California Davis in 2016.

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### Female Youths and Public Policymaking in Kuwait

In Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states, the overall public policymaking process - from policy initiation and agenda setting to policy legitimation - often resides in the highest levels of government. In an effort to engage with the public beyond the formal National Assembly, Kuwait formally established the Kuwait Youth Assembly (KYA), whose membership was recently announced mid-May of this year. Comprised of thirty-six youths with an even split among men and women, members of this assembly are responsible for delivering recommendations and proposals on public policy at a national level. The Kuwait Youth Assembly is the first of its kind in the GCC and secondly, there is equal representation of the sexes. While membership in the National Assembly has failed to replicate the gender divide of the state, the KYA offers a more representative gender composition, giving young women an opportunity to both impact the national public policymaking process and create opportunities for their societal peers. In this piece, I interview members of the KYA regarding the engagement and employment of female university graduates in public policymaking. This paper focuses on: (1) The current opportunities for female university graduates in the public policymaking process; (2) The representatives' ideas regarding the solution to the gap between female employment in the public sector (roughly equivalent to men) and leadership positions in the public sector (less than men); (3) The relationship of young female policymakers to Kuwait Vision 2035; and (4) The possibility of youth assemblies in other GCC states. These interviews will be coupled with relevant national and regional policies, laws, and statistics to derive potential directions regarding the employment of female university graduates in the public policymaking process in Kuwait and the GCC.



**Tyler Parker**

PhD student in international relations at Boston College, Massachusetts. He is a researcher and analyst at the Gulf States Analytic Center in Washington, which specializes in the security and strategy of the GCC. His research interests include diplomacy, governance and security in the Gulf and Yemen. He holds an MA in Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies from Washington University, St. Louis.

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## **Assessing Oman's And Kuwait's Statecraft Toward Saudi Arabia**

The ambition of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) for "coordination, cooperation and integration in all fields" has been strained'—especially for the past decade'—as its five small monarchies address the hegemonic aims of Saudi Arabia in three different ways. First, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates have bandwagoned onto Saudi initiatives to gain influence with their larger neighbor. Second, Qatar has balanced against Saudi security, political, and economic aims. Third, Oman and Kuwait have opted for hedging: a geopolitical strategy where both states engage with Saudi Arabia selectively while counteracting it with military, diplomatic, and financial measures. In this paper, I draw on Cheng-Chwee Kuik's conceptualization of hedging to argue that Oman and Kuwait prevent the risks of entanglement found in bandwagoning, escalation inherent to balancing, and the isolation of neutrality by pursuing a hedging strategy of "with" and "against" tactics toward Saudi Arabia. I first assess their "returns-maximizing" tactics, which include efforts of "limited-bandwagoning," "binding-engagement," and "economic-pragmatism" which signal deference to Saudi Arabia. I then analyze their "risk-contingency" behavior by assessing the foreign security connections that enhance their "indirect-balancing," the diplomatic initiatives that provide them "dominance-denial," and the economic policies which promote their "economic-diversification." Using a qualitative approach, the paper incorporates leadership statements, journalistic discourse, and trade figures. I argue that despite questions over succession, both Oman and Kuwait are well-positioned to retain their autonomy toward Saudi Arabia.



## **Yacoub Al-Kandari**

Professor at the department of sociology and anthropology, University of Kuwait. He is the editor-in-chief of Humanities and Social Sciences Annals. He holds a PhD in anthropology from the University of Ohio, USA. He has held numerous posts including Dean of Social Sciences at the University of Kuwait, Director of Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies and Editor-in-Chief of Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies.

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### **The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Public Policymaking in Kuwait**

Civil society organizations play an important role in social development and public policymaking in all First World countries. This study considers the role of civil society organizations in Kuwait and the part they play in public policymaking, particularly through education. It considers the extent to which these organizations participate in matters related to social issues and public policymaking and presents the major elements of civil society in Kuwait as well as the major challenges facing these organizations. It also defines core concepts relating to civil society and its developmental role, civil society organizations and their structure in local society, and the most significant developmental and policymaking achievements in the social sphere by considering their role in social issues.



## Yousuf Hamad Al-Balushi

Omani researcher and a former IMF consultant for direct foreign investment statistics. He is the author of numerous studies and book chapters, most recently "Challenges and Horizons of the Oman 2020 Future Vision: An Analytic Reading" in Economic Diversification in the Gulf States (ACRPS, 2019). He is the editor of two books, one on diversification in the GCC. He holds a PhD in Political Economy from King's College London.

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### Public Policymaking in the Gulf States: Oman

All Gulf countries have the necessary resources and abilities to move towards more welcoming horizons of development but lack, like other developing countries, the necessary public policy formula to bring about sustainable growth and confront local structural challenges. The study considers the making and implementation of public policy in Gulf states, focusing on the Sultanate of Oman. It is divided into three parts. The first part summarizes the theoretical framework: the question of how to best write public policy. The second section considers the development of the philosophy of policymaking and planning in the Sultanate of Oman, beginning with the first Five Year Plan (the Oman 2020 vision) and ending with the tenth (the Oman 2040 vision). The third section discusses the reality and horizons of policymaking in Oman and how successful its public policies have been in managing commercial and economic activities in the short, medium and long term. It holds that it is important to understand the wider context of public policymaking in the Gulf, particularly given the number of overlapping macro variables: every Gulf society has its own makeup and specificity requiring a different public policy dispensation for the stage of development it is passing through. This means that the study of public policy in the Gulf requires a real understanding of the links and intersections governing the relationship between variables, who affects and who is affected, before attempting to analyze public policymaking and put in place solutions for the clear defects that the local economy suffers from and which affect all factors of production.

# Keynote Speaker

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## Abdulaziz Nasser Al-Khalifa

CEO of QDB, and Chairman of the Board of Directors at Elan, a Member of the Board of Directors at Qatar Science Technology Park and the Chairman of Qatar Business Incubator Center and the Bedaya Center for Entrepreneurship and Career Development. With an accumulated experience of over 15 years, he has a large and diversified exposure in the SME, private and entrepreneurship sectors. He played the leading role in the launch of several flagship development initiatives, including Al Dhameen Partial Guarantee Program, Tasdeer Qatar Export Development Agency and the Housing Loan Program for Qatari citizens, Moushtarayat Exhibition & Congress and Al Fikra National Competition. Mr. Al-Khalifa holds an MBA from Qatar University, a Bachelor in Electrical Engineering from University of California, and has received several specialized diplomas from Harvard and INSEAD Universities.

# Moderators

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## Abdul Aziz Al-Hurr

Director of the Diplomatic Institute, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Qatar. Previously, he was the Executive Director of the Qatar Academy of Finance and Business. He also served as Director of Al Jazeera Media Training Center and Director of the Institutional Development Office. Prior to that, he was Director of the Arab Center for Educational Training in the GCC (2003-2007). He holds a PhD in Education from the University of Durham in the United Kingdom (1996).

## Abdullah Baabood

Director of the Gulf Studies Center at Qatar University's College of Arts and Sciences. Baabood completed MA degrees in Business Administration and International Relations in the UK, before also completing a PhD in Political Economy in Britain.

## Amina Al-Hajri

Deputy Director General of the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO) and director of the Educational Research Center of the Ministry of Higher Education in Oman. She holds a PhD in Educational Statistics



from the University of Plymouth, UK. She has worked at the Omani Ministry of Education (1996-2003) and has received many awards and certificates in her career. She has also been a member of several NGOs and academic bodies.

## **Fahad Al-Fadala**

Technical Consultant the Arab Planning Institute in Kuwait. He was a faculty member and head of the Education Department at the Open University of Kuwait and the faculties of the Public Authority for Applied Education and Training and a member of the Social Transformation Management Program at UNESCO. He holds a PhD in Education from Cairo University. He was awarded the State Prize for Encouragement in the Humanities and Social Sciences.

## **Ghanim Al-Najjar**

Professor of political science at Kuwait University, founder of the Center for Strategic and Future Studies at the same university, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He has been a visiting Professor at a number of Universities, lectured in many foreign and Arab universities, and is an international expert in many international organizations. He has many publications in the fields of human rights and political science.

## **Hassan Al-Sayed**

Professor of Law at Qatar University, and a Judge at Qatar's International Court and Dispute Resolution Centre. He is the author of a number of papers which have been published in peer reviewed journals. Al-Sayed earned a PhD in Law from East Anglia University in the United Kingdom, in 2003.

## **Hend Al-Muftah**

Vice President of Administration and Finance at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies and Associate Professor in the Public Administration program. She has held several managerial positions, working as the Director of Human Resources at Qatar University (2004-2008), an advisor to the Vice President of Administrative Affairs at Qatar University (2009), an advisor to the Minister of Economy and Commerce (2010), Director of Human Resources at the Qatar Railways Company (2012-2014), the Executive Director of the Childhood Cultural Center (2012-2014) and as an Associate Professor at Qatar University since 2010. She has published her research in a number of academic journals.

## **Kaltham Al-Ghanim**

Professor of Sociology at the College of Arts and Sciences, Qatar University. From 2014-2018 she was Director of Center for Humanities & Social Sciences (CHSS) at the same university. She is the author of numerous

publications including "The Relation Between Spaces and Cultural change: Supermalls and Cultural Change in Qatari Society," published by Scientific Culture in 2017.

## **Khaled Shams Abdelkader**

Dean of the College of Business Studies and Economics at Qatar University. Until 2013 he was Head of the Department of Finance and Economics at the same faculty. His research interests are varied, and include: risk management; banking; securities; inflation; and the Gulf labor market. Over the course of his professional career Abdelkader has been involved in research and advisory roles within a number of state institutions, including the Masraf Al Rayyan and the Qatar Central Bank. Abdelkader gained an PhD from the University of Wales-Bangor in 2003.

## **Majed Al-Ansari**

Professor of Political Sociology and Researcher at the Social and Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI) at the University of Qatar. His research interests include social capital and civil society. Al-Ansari holds an MA in Social Transformation from Manchester University, UK and a PhD from the Cathie Marsh Institute at Manchester University on "The effect of religious, social, and political values on social cohesion in Qatar." He also writes a weekly article for the Qatari newspaper Al-Arab and has worked as a consultant for several charitable foundations.

## **Rashid Hamad Al-Nuaimi**

Director of the Qatar Armed Forces Strategic Studies Centre. He previously held several positions, including the director of the office of the Air Force Commander and liaison officer to the Gulf Cooperation Council in 2009. He has published many studies on security issues in the Arab Gulf States and contributed as a speaker in international conferences. He holds a PhD in International Relations.

## **Shafeeq Ghabra**

Professor of Political Science at Kuwait University. From 2016-2017 he served as visiting professor at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and from 2017-2018 as a visiting professor at Qatar University. He contributed to the founding of the American University of Kuwait. He held several local, regional and international posts and has a long publishing record. His most recent publication is a book entitled The Nakba and the Emergence of the Palestinian Diaspora in Kuwait, published by the ACRPS, and the book The Arab Revolutions and Their Enemies.

## Suhaim Al-Thani

Former Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He has published a number of studies in academic journals and holds an MA in Political Science specializing in International Relations from Royal Holloway College, London.