INTRODUCTION

Re-Engaging the modern

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In the summer of 2018, the Municipality of Dubai launched the Modern Heritage Initiative with the intent to preserve a series of buildings from the 1970s, including John Harris' World Trade Centre and George Rais and Jafar Tukan's Al-Khuloud Nursery School among others.¹ This was one of the rare occasions in which a Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) government agenda placed the word 'heritage' in direct association with the architectural production of the modernization era. The Gulf has always maintained a complicated relationship with the notion of heritage, a concept often veiled by thirsty aspirations for newness and the expectation of perpetual modernization. However, the trend has been inverted in the past two decades when state-led interests for cultural legacies began to grow exponentially. At a different pace and with varying mechanisms, all the GCC governments 'rediscovered' and invested in their own cultural heritage, aiming at three main goals: to establish the tourism industry as an alternative to their oil-driven economy and real-estate speculation; to increase soft-power and prestige on the global stage; and to reinforce a nation-building narrative that could foster a stronger sense of belonging as partial compensation to citizens in anticipation of the foreseeable decline of welfare-state policies.²

Within this specific agenda, the regional definition of heritage tends to embrace what could be showcased as more authentic or, in other words, perceived as local, traditional, *khaleeji*, Islamic, and – most commonly – non-Western derivative. As discussed throughout this publication, 'authenticity' in the Gulf is often a boundless concept arching out to envelop elements perceived as autochthonous, even when they represent a (re)invented tradition, a mimic of the past or the result of a hybridization process.³ With all these governments' narratives insisting on the 'Arabness' of their local cultural roots, international agencies align to corroborate the vision: for instance, in 2011 UNESCO dedicated a special issue of its magazine *World Heritage* entirely to the Gulf countries. The journal is a catalogue of archaeological sites that depicts through ochre tones idyllic oasis landscapes and desert forts.⁴ The unprecedented transformation of the twentieth century that occurred in Gulf cities, which radically transformed both societies and the built environment with greyish, concrete tones, was not considered as strategically representative.

Like many aspects of the recent past, modern architecture struggled to compete with the 'golden age' represented by the pre-oil days. For decades, modernist buildings have been associated with the demolition of the traditional *medina*, with top-down plans and the gradual 'Westernization' of the region. In the second half of the twentieth century, rapid urban and social transformation was blamed for superimposing foreign narratives onto local customs, blurring the contours of native culture. As a consequence, people and institutions demonstrated disaffection and a low sense of belonging to the 1960s–1970s city. Today, these parts of the city

are not the most appealing residential or commercial locations, and demolition is normally accepted as a common practice to liberate strategic central plots that can attract investors and real estate speculators. Moreover, since the local population has progressively snubbed the once *ville moderne*, it has become a vital and informal gathering point for ‘other citizenships’.⁵

However, and despite its having often resulted in an incomplete vision, modernist architecture was the language – for better or worse – of Gulf cities’ global aspirations in the twentieth century. Modernism, again, both in the arts and in architecture, has been instrumental in reconsidering and negotiating fluid concepts like tradition, contemporaneity, and identity in relation to social changes and transformations of the built environment. A city within a bigger city, the urban fabric produced in the Gulf during the modernization era lost its original meaning but acquired today the potential to narrate the social changes, economic growth, East–West dynamics typical of the region, and citizens’ memories of a recent past.

In the last decade, new tangible interest for these artefacts has grown stronger, as demonstrated by a variety of new studies and initiatives: scholarly research and publications in addition to student theses as well as exhibitions, public debates, and a few place-making campaigns demonstrate a rising and compelling need to re-engage with the concrete city of the 1960s and 1970s. In this sense, it is indicative that the new Qatar National Museum was inaugurated in March 2018 showcasing a temporary exhibit, titled *Making Doha, 1950–2030*, that put in perspective the recent architectural successes of the country, such as the museum itself along with the early modern structures of the post-oil discovery era: in the exhibit presentation, co-curator Samir Bantal defined Doha as “a test ground for modern architecture and planning”.⁶ Earlier and similar examples of displays of modernism would be the Bahraini pavilion at the 14th Venice Architecture Biennale in 2014, which broadened the horizon towards all Arab lands, as well as the participation of Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in the 2012, 2014, and 2016 editions of the Biennale.⁷ Remarkably, Kuwait has also campaigned to introduce a national symbol, the notorious Kuwait Towers (Abraj Al-Kuwait by VBB and Marlene Bjørn, 1965–1977) into the UNESCO World Heritage tentative list.⁸ Also in Kuwait, two exhibitions have focused on the construction of the modern city on an architectural scale: one promoted by the museum Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah (DAI) in 2016 and one by the architectural firm Pan-Arab Consulting Engineers (PACE) for its 50th anniversary in 2018.⁹ The fervent climate present in the region is also reflected in a number of publications, which will be discussed in this introductory text and which have contributed to holding modern architectural production at the centre of the debate.

Now, if, as it seems, the Gulf will move towards the preservation of its recent ‘physical past’, what conservancy can be expected

or envisioned? Architecture is meant to perform as a living organism in synergy with the urban environment. Given some Gulf cities' tendencies to 'spectacularize' or 'museumify' the built environment (e.g. heritage villages or history-themed malls) and given the wave of nostalgia perceivable especially on social media, what could be a projected trajectory for these specific artefacts in the near future?

Obsolescence as opportunity

The State of Arab Cities (SAC), redacted in 2020 by United Nations agencies UNDP and UN-Habitat as well as the Bahrain Center for Strategic, International, and Energy Studies, is considered one of the most comprehensive snapshots that cyclically assesses the status of urbanization in the Arab region; the analysis is conducted in alignment with the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), in particular with SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities, which globally addresses the impact of overpopulation in urban centres.¹⁰ In this sense, the SAC 2020 is driven by an explicit sense of urgency for the continuous expansion of the Arab city's footprint due to urban drift and migration dynamics. These two factors are predicted to bring two-thirds of the population living in cities by the middle of this century.¹¹ The Gulf is already leading the regional ranking with 80% of the population in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE living in urban areas – and figures rising up to 98% in Kuwait and 99% in Qatar.¹²

Although the Arab region is far from uniform, by analyzing a series of different indicators such as socio-economic context, financing capacities, and infrastructure stocks, the 2020 report portrays a bird's-eye view of the most common and acute challenges of the region, demonstrating how the current model of growth has generated an unsustainable built environment "exacerbating low-density urban sprawl, the cost of urbanisation and the dominance of individual transportation".¹³ At the same time, it fails to meet SDG 11 in terms of equality, participation, and inclusivity of the population: "the proliferation of the high-rise building and skyscraper model, and new development trends such as new cities, megaprojects and gated communities risk exacerbating existing spatial disparities and leaving a growing number of residents disadvantaged".¹⁴ The document concludes by proposing various remedies to invert the current trend. The recommendations range from economic diversification to more integrated planning strategies, sustainability, and measures to combat governance flaws, inefficiencies, and the monetization of urban space.¹⁵

By focusing on macroeconomic indicators and different models of governance, the document pays no heed to reflect on a crucial aspect that could potentially aid in containing urban sprawl as well as endemic land consumption: Gulf cities should reconsider already existing building stock, which in many occasions is either obsolete, underused, or abandoned, as an opportunity for localized

interventions and participative efforts to bridge urban divides and stitch a discontinuous urban fabric. The act of preserving and reimagining a new life for an old, but not ancient, part of the city is not only a more efficient and ecological practice but also, as Marcus Berger, Heinrich Hermann, and Liliane Wong state, represents “the continuation of cultural phenomena through built infrastructure, connections across the fabric of time and space and preservation of memory”.¹⁶

A culture of reuse, especially in highly consumeristic sites much like the Gulf, cannot be achieved overnight. It can only be built by an accumulative process made of studies, debates and conferences, public awareness campaigns, training of young professionals, state-led plans, and bottom-up initiatives. As previously mentioned, over the past ten years, efforts have multiplied in this direction although the number of buildings which have escaped the bulldozer by being repurposed has, regrettably, been very few. For instance, in 2016, the Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities charged Studio Holtrop with the rehabilitation of the former Customs House/Post Office ● and the Qatar Museums recently reconverted the old Fire Station ▲ (built in 1982) into a residence for artists, maintaining the main defining aspects of the original building while adapting interiors to new functional needs.¹⁷ Similarly, Sharjah’s ‘Flying Saucer’, originally a French restaurant built in 1978, was acquired in 2012 by Sharjah Art Foundation and converted into a cultural space for contemporary art.¹⁸ Finally, in 2011, DAI and the National Council for Culture, Arts and Letters of Kuwait repurposed the old American Missionary Hospital into an vital cultural hub for lectures, workshops, and exhibitions. ▲ Conversely, a few examples of successful stories cannot compensate for the many more where demolition became the predictable solution due to the lack of appreciations, legal frames, economic incentives, and preservation plans necessary to do otherwise. Also, a new cultural centre cannot be the solution for repurposing all buildings in danger of demolition. In this framework, one of the main purposes of the book is to document and analyze samples of obsolete structures from the modernization era and to read, interpret, and examine their present condition and, when possible, envision an opportunity.

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The context

The book builds on the past few decades of growing interest in Gulf modern architecture, which generated conspicuous traction in the field of regional urban studies. The concise review of literature on the matter included here below does not claim to be exhaustive but rather may portray a map of sources that helped to inform and shape the present study. Many of these titles showcased similarity or complementary aspects to the content offered in this publication. Similarly, several are a joint effort of many scholars and share common production dynamics, sourcing content from academic debate during workshops, conferences, and seminars.

fig.1 Studio Holtrop, Customs House Extension, Manama, Bahrain, 2016–19
(Photo: Anne Holtrop, 2019. Reuse not permitted).

One major challenge for those interested in investigating the trajectories of Gulf modern architecture was the sparse literature on the subject, not to mention the lack of archival documentation, only partially compensated by some very active blogs and social media accounts dedicated to the topic.¹⁹ Before even attempting to historicize urban development in the region and to develop a possible notion of local modern heritage, the initial urge has been to map the survival of modern building stocks, retrace their history and information, and determine their current state. The manuscripts emerging from this initial phase each focus on a distinct GCC country. Among many, it is worth mentioning Fuccaro's *Histories of City and State in the Persian Gulf. Manama since 1800* (2009); Salama and Wiedmann's *Demystifying Doha* (2013); Menoret's *Abu Dhabi Guide: Modern Architecture 1950–1990* (2014); Bambling's *Lest We Forget: Structure of Memory* (2014); Fabbri, Saragoça, and Camacho's double volume *Modern Architecture Kuwait 1949–89* (2016 and 2017); Bani Hashim's *Planning Abu Dhabi* (2019); Reisz's *Showpiece City: The Architecture That Built Dubai* (2020), and Al-Qassemi and Reisz's *Building Sharjah* (2021).²⁰ In the same category, although with a broader geographical horizon, sits Arbid's *Fundamentalists and Other Arab Modernisms* (2014), a catalogue of the Bahraini pavilion at the 2014 Venice Biennale and the result of the foundation of the Arab Center for Architecture in Beirut, one of the first attempts to establish an institutional archive for twentieth-century architecture in the region.²¹

In parallel, and on broader disciplinary terms, several studies have focused on unsettled East–West dynamics. It is the case of Nasr and Volait's *Urbanism Imported or Exported? Native*

Aspirations and Foreign Plans (2003): although not specifically on the Gulf, it opens up the discussion on decolonial studies and urban practices.²² Similarly, Isenstadt and Rizvi's *Modernism in the Middle East* (2008), Elsheshtawy's *Planning Middle Eastern Cities* (2004), followed by *The Evolving Arab Cities* (2011), and Golzari and Fraiser's *Architecture and Globalization in the Persian Gulf Region* (2015) define global patterns of practice in less explored territories and in alignment with the growing notion of 'other modernities'.²³ More recently, Stanek's *Architecture in Global Socialism* (2019) expanded this argument by introducing the architects from the Soviet bloc among the usual geographies of knowledge exchange.²⁴ Finally, the challenging task of defining the multifaceted reality of urban conditions in the region, representing the city as a rich site of investigation, from the modernization era to present times, is the core of Andraos and Akawi's *The Arab City* (2016) and Molotch and Pazzini's *New Arab Urban* (2019), as well as the two seminal volumes of *Al-Manakh* (2007 and 2010).²⁵

With this theoretical framework in mind, and focusing on twentieth-century architecture in today's urbanity, the present study problematizes the tendency that shows modernization of the built environment as a one-directional phenomenon, a West-to-East technical knowledge export and not a layered relationship. Since all Gulf cities have had a very similar growth, a critical and cross-country examination of the architecture of the second half of the 1900s allows us to identify a salient possible trait of common *khaleeji* urban identity. An equally significant contribution is represented by the recognition of Gulf modernist architecture as a paradigm of the relationship between East and West, between historical patterns, indigenous narratives, and cosmopolitan aspirations. Since in most cases the parts of the city where these architectures sit have become areas for informal dwelling or gathering for foreigners, the book also investigates policies of exclusion in relation to the urban environment and how different interventions could rebalance the right to the city.

This volume analyzes and showcases the modern architectural project as an aspect of the contemporary instead of reading city transformation from a historical angle or considering only a present-day perspective as in much of the scholarship. Prior to this study, very little effort has been made to envision future scenarios for modern heritage in the region. With the intention to bridge this scholarly gap and by embracing contributions from authors of different backgrounds, the present research reflects on the legacy of modernism as an original contribution to transdisciplinary literature on the Gulf.

Structure of the book

The book opens with a consideration on modernity in the Arabian Peninsula in broad terms. Part I provides an insight into

how the idea of modernism permeated architecture discourse in the Arab world and also how it has been adopted as the chosen language to showcase the state's progress in the second half of the twentieth century. The essays in this part reflect on the agents of change, from the literature coevally produced to governance practices and to the physical transformations of old traditional spaces. Adopting a cross-country perspective, the chapters read the present situation aiming to retrace the *ville moderne* once envisioned by rulers, architects, and authorities within the current urban fabric as an attempt to assess the legacy of the modernization project and its current potential. The chapters also explore the idea and significance of memory, obsolescence, and liminality as a consequence of the modernization process. As the Gulf city is in constant transformation, twentieth-century structures rapidly became outmoded, and that has led to a marginalization of these areas. Reflecting on abandoned or underused parts of the city, as well as industrial zones and outdated commercial areas, the chapters investigate liminal spaces as a product of modernization and as possible arenas of opportunity for the contemporary city. ▲

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Part II delves into more specific reflections on the East–West relationship in the modernization process. It reflects on patterns of cultural and technical exchange and the significant design opportunities that emerged in various cities of the Arabian Peninsula. Working at different scales, the chapters problematize notions such as locality, tradition, and authenticity by capturing how these plans were initially conceived to mediate global practice and local context and how they are now commonly perceived as alien to local culture, and therefore ignored, misinterpreted, or altered. These texts eventually suggest how authorship inevitably leads to different levels of acceptance in relation to the current, perfectible definitions of locality and authenticity. A much-needed, deeper understanding of the architectural ‘primary sources’ of Gulf urban history can lead to new purposing practices, instead of marginalization or demolition. ▲

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The last part of the book reflects on the concepts of heritage and culture assets and their physical embodiment in the Gulf. It considers governmental agendas and bottom–up initiatives to define, engage, and reclaim spaces of historic value, problematizing the notions of reuse versus ‘museumification’, and how they apply to the urban fabric of Gulf cities. The chapters showcase how modern heritage and its reuse have recently become part, however marginal, of the overall discourse of the heritage industry. Nonetheless, ‘heritage-ization’ could be a first important step towards preservation. To conclude, the section offers a perspective on how educational institutions, such as universities and, in particular, schools of architecture, could advocate for preservation practices and raise awareness among the future generation of professionals who will soon engage with the built environment. ▲

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Notes

- 1 Caline Malek, "Rising Gulf Cities Look to Protect Landmarks", *Arab News*, September 3, 2018, accessed September 20, 2020, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1366346/middle-east>.
- 2 Many authors have voiced critical arguments on the construction of heritage in terms of identity-making and national(ist) narratives in the region. Among them: Karen Exell and Trinidad Rico, *Cultural Heritage in the Arabian Peninsula: Debates, Discourse and Practices* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); Sultan Al-Qassemi, "The Gulf States' National Museums: Iconic Buildings and Collections Battleground for Future Identity", *Gulf Affairs* (Autumn 2016): 30–31; Kristin Smith Diwan, *Gulf Societies in Transition: National Identity and National Projects in the Arabian Gulf States*, workshop report (Washington, DC: Arab Gulf States Institute, 2016), accessed September 20, 2020, https://agsi.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/National-Identity_Web-1.pdf; Susi Mirgani, "Introduction: Art and Cultural Production in the GCC", *Journal of Arabian Studies* 7, no. 1 (August 2017): 1–11; Courtney Freer and Yasmine Kherfi, "Whose Story? Narrative of Nationalism in the Heritage Production of the Arabian Peninsula", *LSE Middle East Centre Paper Series* 39 (August 2020); Serena Wakefield, *Cultural Heritage, Transnational Narratives and Museum Franchising in Abu Dhabi* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020).
- 3 On the relation between tradition and modernity in the built environment, see Miriam Cooke, *Tribal Modern: Branding New Nations in the Arab Gulf* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014); and also Roberto Fabbri, "Allegoric Envelopes: Metaphors, Analogies and Contextual Linkages in Recent Museums of the Arabian Peninsula" (forthcoming).
- 4 UNESCO, *World Heritage. Special Issue: World Heritage in the Gulf Countries* 60 (June 2011), accessed September 1, 2020, <https://es.calameo.com/read/00332997228ca0bd1a46e>.
- 5 With regard to migrant workers and 'other citizenships' in the region, see Neha Vora, *Impossible Citizens: Dubai's Indian Diaspora* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013); Yasser Elsheshtawy, *Dubai: Behind an Urban Spectacle* (London: Routledge, 2010); Andrew M. Gardner, *City of Strangers: Gulf Migration and the Indian Community in Bahrain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010). Also, in this book, see chapters 'Fragmentarium. Episodes of modernity in contemporary Kuwait City' and 'Industrial promises. Speculative thinking for Sharjah's industrial districts'.
- 6 *Making Doha, 1950–2030* was curated by Rem Koolhaas, Samir Bantal (OMA/AMO), and Fatma Al-Sehlawi (Atlas Bookstore). See OMA, "AMO-Designed and Curated Exhibition 'Making Doha, 1950–2030' Opens at the National Museum of Qatar", March 31, 2019, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://oma.eu/news/amo-designed-and-curated-exhibition-making-doha-1950-2030-opens-at-the-national-museum-of-qatar>.
- 7 Regarding the participation of GCC countries in the Venice Biennale, see Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities, "Bahrain at the 2014 Architecture Venice Biennale", accessed November 6, 2020, <http://bahrainpavilion.bh/exhibition/fundamentalists-and-other-arab-modernisms>; UAE Ministry of Culture and Youth, "National Pavilion United Arab Emirates", accessed November 6, 2020, <https://nationalpavilionuae.org/architecture/2020-2>; and Noura Alsager, ed., *Acquiring Modernity* (Kuwait: National Council for Culture, Arts and Letters, 2014).
- 8 UNESCO World Heritage Center, "Abraj Al-Kuwait", accessed September 10, 2020, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5933>.
- 9 The exhibition *Modern Architecture in Kuwait, 1949–89* was inaugurated in March 2016 at the Yarmouk Cultural Centre in Kuwait, and the PACE retrospective *50 Years of Architecture in Kuwait* was inaugurated at Shaheed Park in 2018.
- 10 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), "Goal 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities", accessed November 6, 2020, <https://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals/goal-11-sustainable-cities-and-communities.html>.
- 11 UNDP, UN-Habitat, and Bahrain Center for Strategic and Energy Studies, *The State of Arab Cities 2020. Executive Summary* (United Nations Publications, 2020), 5, accessed November 6, 2020, https://www.arabstates.undp.org/content/dam/rbas/doc/capacity%20building/SACR%202020%20Executive%20Summary_En.pdf.
- 12 Brigitte Dumortier, "The Gulf Cities: A Composite and Evolving Urban Model", in *IEMed. Mediterranean Yearbook 2016* (Barcelona: European Institute of the Mediterranean, 2016), 289.
- 13 UNDP, *The State of Arab Cities 2020*, 17.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 15.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 19–23.
- 16 Marcus Berger, Heinrich Hermann, and Liliane Wong, "Editorial", *The Int/AR Journal* 01 (2009), cited in Liliane Wong, *Adaptive Reuse: Extending Lives of Buildings* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2017), 30–31.

- 17 The adaptive-reuse project was conducted by Qatari architect Ibrahim Al-Jaida. See "Fire Station: Artist in Residence", accessed September 25, 2020, <http://firestation.org.qa/en/about>.
- 18 The rehabilitation was conducted by SpaceContinuum Design Studio. See Osman Can Yerebakan, "SpaceContinuum Design Studio Transforms Sharjah's The Flying Saucer into a Cultural Space", *Interior Design* (November 2, 2020), accessed November 6, 2020, <https://www.interiordesign.net/articles/18561-spacecontinuum-design-studio-transforms-sharjah-s-the-flying-saucer-into-a-cultural-space>.
- 19 Two relevant examples of online resources that collected and shared key information on the subject of modern architecture in the region in the Gulf are Yasser Elsheshtawy's Dubaization, <https://dubaization.com>, and Mohammed Elshahed's Cairo Observer, <https://cairoobserver.com>.
- 20 Nelida Fuccaro, *Histories of City and State in the Persian Gulf. Manama since 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Ashraf Salama and Florian Wiedmann, *Demystifying Doha: On Architecture and Urbanism in an Emerging City* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Pascal Menoret, ed., *The Abu Dhabi Guide: Modern Architecture 1968–1992* (Abu Dhabi: FIND, 2014); Michele Bambling, ed., *Lest We Forget: Machines of Memories*, catalogue of UAE pavilion exhibition at the 14th Venice Biennale (2014); Roberto Fabbri, Sara Saragoça, and Ricardo Camacho, *Modern Architecture Kuwait 1949–89* (Zurich: Niggli Verlag, 2016); Ricardo Camacho, Sara Saragoça, and Roberto Fabbri, eds., *Essays, Arguments and Interviews on Modern Architecture Kuwait* (Zurich: Niggli Verlag, 2017); Alamira Reem Bani Hashim, *Planning Abu Dhabi: An Urban History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019); Todd Reisz, *Showpiece City: How Architecture Made Dubai* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2019); Sultan Al-Qassemi and Todd Reisz, *Building Sharjah* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2021).
- 21 George Arbid, ed., *Fundamentalists and Other Arabs Modernisms* (Bahrain Ministry of Culture and Arab Center for Architecture, 2014).
- 22 Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, eds., *Urbanism Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans* (Chichester: Wiley, 2003); Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi, eds., *Modernism in the Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2008); Yasser Elsheshtawy, ed., *Planning Middle Eastern Cities: An Urban Kaleidoscope in a Globalizing World* (London: Routledge, 2004); Yasser Elsheshtawy, ed., *The Evolving Arab City: Tradition, Modernity and Urban Development* (London: Routledge, 2011); Nasser Golzari and Murray Fraiser, *Architecture and Globalization in the Persian Gulf Region* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).
- 23 "Other Modernisms" is the title of 9th Do.co.mo.mo International Conference held in Istanbul, Turkey, in September 2006. The conference was one of the first occasions in which the international academic community shifted focus from the usual geography of modernist architecture (Western Europe, USA, and Latin America) to other and less known territories.
- 24 Łukasz Stanek, *Architecture in Global Socialism: Eastern Europe, West Africa, and the Middle East in the Cold War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).
- 25 Amale Andraos and Nora Akawi, eds., *The Arab City: Architecture and Representation* (New York: Columbia Books on Architecture and the City, 2016); Harvey Molotch and Davide Ponzini, eds., *The New Arab Urban: Gulf Cities of Wealth, Ambition, and Distress* (New York: New York University Press, 2019); Ole Bouman, Mitra Khoubrou, Rem Koolhaas et al., eds. *Archis: Al Manakh 12* (2006); Todd Reisz and Rem Koolhaas, eds., *Archis: Al Manakh 2: Gulf cont'd 23* (2010).