

LIBRARY CIRCLES

**SALMA SERRY**

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## Introduction

In this project commissioned by Art Jameel’s Library Circles, I explore food menus as a point of confluence where material culture, memory and history -with its political, economic and social developments- become interconnected elements that are produced and reproduced throughout time. The Research examines and investigates a collection of menus of different migrant communities in Dubai’s modern history from the 1950s to 1990s.

Between what was once consumed and enjoyed as food and what is left as documentation of multiple histories, are remnants of menus and the people they catered to. Menus in their classic sense, are lists of dishes offered in restaurants, coffeeshops, bakeries, or at social functions. In this project, however, the construct of a menu is reapproached and made more malleable to include lists of food items that were consumed in the everyday life of the migrant communities: meals at home, birthday parties spreads, school and work lunches, and street snacks from roaming bakery canteen-vans.

In pursuit of unconventional research material, I bring menus forward to the center stage as a principal historical source. At the same time, I employ memory work and oral history interviews to not only act as supporting context, but as a means to reproduce menus of the everyday life of individuals through their memories. Here, memory becomes a site of excavation and reproduction of historical material on the level of the individual, pushing back on the dominant history of the larger collective and the nation. This aims to fill the gap created by the lack of documentation and archiving of these recalled menus, due the quotidian nature of food, the transient quality of the migrant communities, and the prevalent oral culture of the region. In addition to memory, menus are located in and recreated from archives, community cookbooks, television and the press, as well as conversations around ‘expat’ memories on social media.

By studying menus, in their content, form, and context, we gain insight and understanding of larger themes: underlying tension around food of the “other”, lingering remnants of an imperial past, complexities of identity and belonging, informal ways of place-making, meanings of loneliness, and further realities of economic migration in a globalized world. But perhaps most of all, the research sheds light on the high adaptability of these communities, and the legacy left from the simple human need to recreate the food of home, as evident in the massive variety of food and the giant food import industry the city boasts today.

In this way, the project collects and presents material that records parts of an unofficial heritage of various groups and communities whose presence in Dubai unquestionably contributed to its history. And finally, by dusting off materials that might otherwise go overlooked, I hope this research invites further inquiry into them, to build and expand on the endless possibilities food gives us to understand the city’s history and present.

*Salma Serry*



# 1. Trucial Oman Levies Daily Rations 1953

A letter from the British Residency office in Bahrain to the British Middle East Office at the Foreign office in London outlines proposed food ratios to be distributed among the military force soldiers serving as the Trucial Oman Levies (including Dubai and other gulf states before the establishment of the UAE in 1972).

© Images reproduced by permission of The National Archives, London, England.

Other letters and telegraphs found at the Arabian Gulf Digital Archive reveal the influence of a developing lifestyle that changes what local Arab soldiers expect to receive as ‘privileges,’ at a time when living standards and ‘local awareness of the outside world’ was beginning to change. One, for example, states how ‘eating meat everyday instead of occasionally’ is a reason for increasing the benefits, (a subject of another letter), and provisions to Arab soldiers recruited under British administration (FIG. 1 & 2).

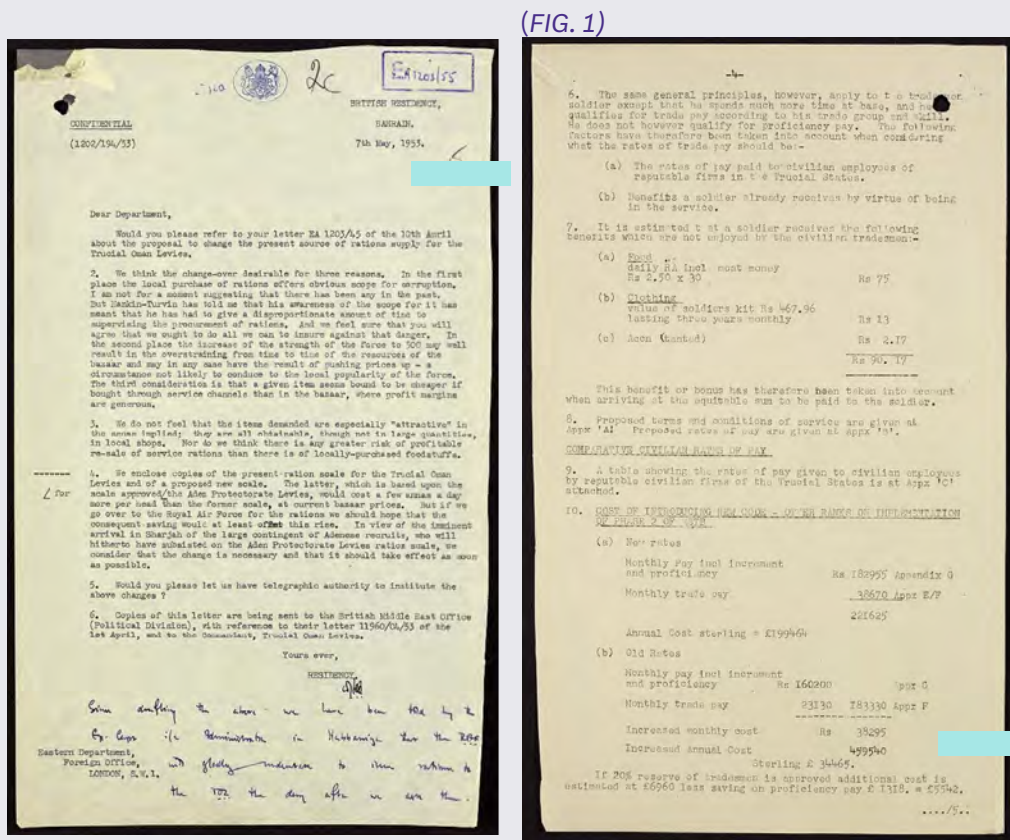
A third letter sent from the Dubai office seems to bring to attention the issue of inequality between the local ‘Arab’ officers in the force and the British officers with regards to food rations (figure 3). It reflects how issues of race were approached in this context, and amplifies underlying tensions and realities of British imperial and colonial expansions in the gulf. These archival communications, highlight ways in which a group is thought of deserving of certain foods in the eyes of those in power, and show how economic priorities were at the heart of political endeavors of the time.

Further investigations that shed light on continued perceptions of race and social hierarchy produced in the TOL context, can be found in postcolonial and sociological studies of Dubai.

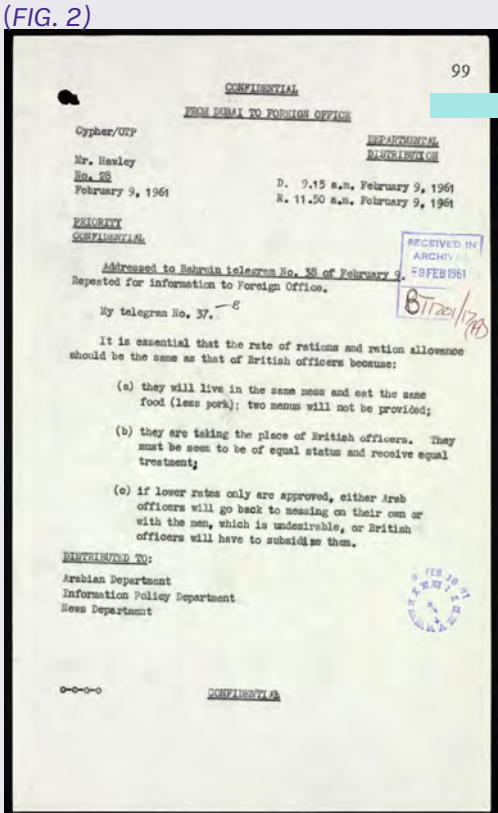
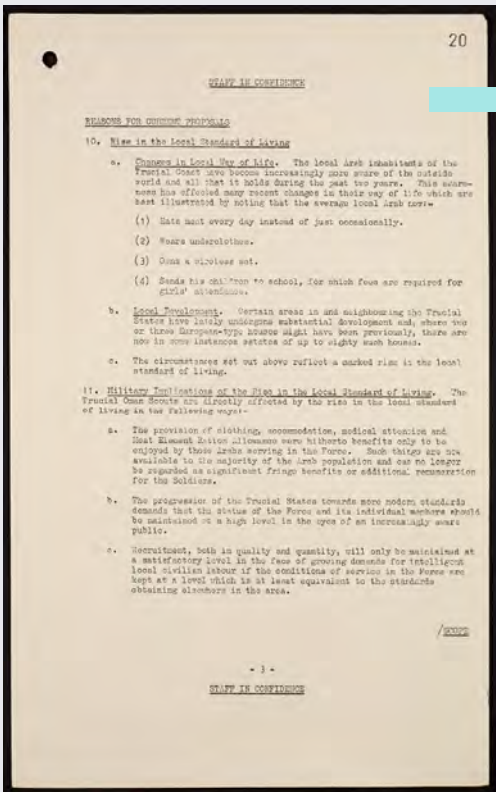
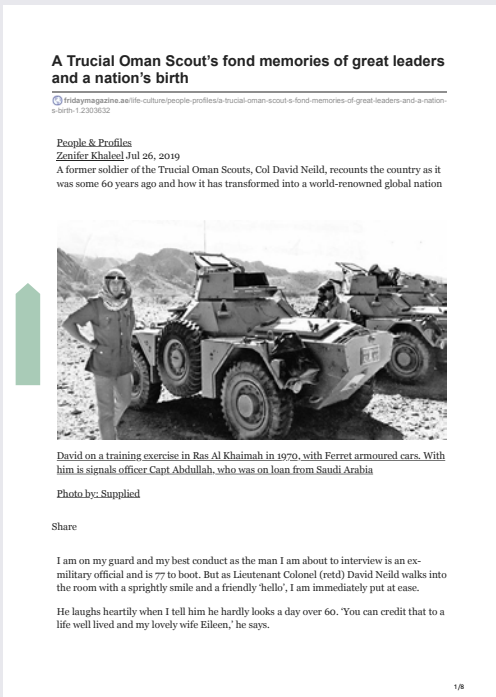
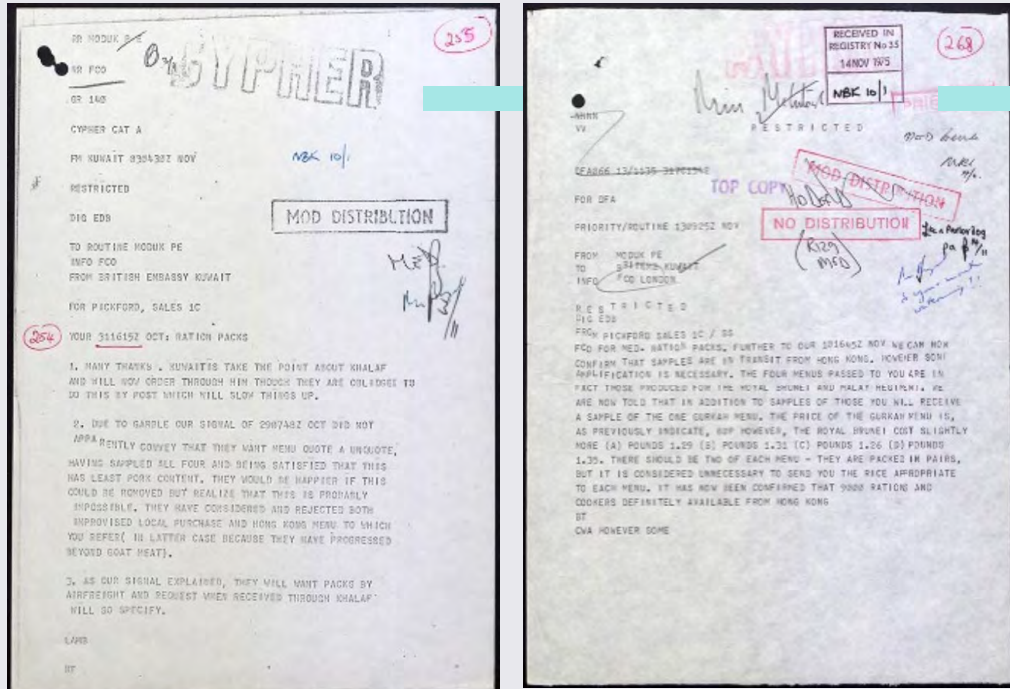
Analysis of British ‘expatriate’ discourses and social practices of the subsequent decades in Dubai reveal that ‘a sense of superiority and a long trail of racial arrogance left by Empire’ (Coles and Walsh 2010, Morris 1978), persisted long after the dissolution of the Trucial Oman Levies.

# 1. Trucial Oman Scouts Rations

# Library Circles: Salma Serry



TRUCIAL OMAN LEVIES			TRUCIAL OMAN LEVIES		
Proposed Nation Scale			Present Nation Scale per Man per Day :		
	Ops.	Alternative	Consumed by	Scale	
Salt	1/4				
Sugar	3				
Tea	1/4				
Milk	1 1/2		Bread	12	
Bread	13		Eggs	1	
Rice	8		or Cheese	1	
Dates	3		or Vegetables (fresh)	4	
Oil	1 1/2		or Tomatoes (tinned)	2	
Meat on hoof	10	Fish or Bully	Onion	2	
Onions	2		Rice	8	
Vegetables, fresh	5		Ghee	1	
Fruit, fresh	3	Fruit-Juice	or Meat	6 1/2	
		Unconcentrated or	or Meat	3 1/2	
		Lemonade/Orangeade	or Fish	5	
		powder	Sugar	3	
Cheese	1	Egg (one egg)	Milk	1	
Ginger	1/6		Tea	1/6	
Garlic	1/6	Curry powder	Vegetables	5	
Mustard	1/6	or Tomato	Salt	1/2	
Chillies	1/6		Fruit	3	
Compound Vitamin Tablet	No. 1.		Dates	3	



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TRUCIAL OMAN LEVIES			
Proposed Ration Scale			
	Ozs.	Alternative	Ozs.
Salt	$\frac{1}{2}$	2c	
Sugar	3		
Tea	$\frac{1}{4}$ (1/8)		
Milk	$1\frac{1}{2}$ (1)		
Bread	13 (12)		
Rice	8	Flour	11
Dates	3		
Ghi	$1\frac{1}{2}$ (1)		
Meat on hoof	10	Fish or Bully	10 & 4 respectively
Onions	2		
Vegetables, fresh	5		
Fruit, fresh	3	Fruit-juice	4
		unconcentrated or	
		Lemonade/Orangeade	2
		powder	
Cheese	1	Egg (one egg)	1
Ginger	1/6)		
Garlic	" )	Curry powder (1/24)	$\frac{1}{3}$
Tumeric	" )	or Tomato	1
Chillies	" )		
Compound Vitamin Tablet			
No. 1.			

TRUCIAL OMAN LEVIES		
Present Ration Scale per Man per Day :		
Commodity	Scale	
	Ozs.	
Bread	12	
Eggs	1	
or Cheese	1	
Tomatoes (fresh)	4	
or Tomatoes (tinned)	2	
Onion	2	
Rice	8	
Ghee	1	
Meat	6.4	
or Meat	3.2	
and Fish	5	
Sugar	3	
Milk	1	
Tea	1/6	
Vegetables	5	
Curry	1/24	
Salt	$\frac{1}{2}$	
Fruit	3	
or Dates	3	



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FROM DUBAI TO FOREIGN OFFICE

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Cypher/OTP

Mr. Hawley

No. 28

February 9, 1961

99

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES

59 FEB 1961

BT 201/17

Addressed to Bahrain telegram No. 38 of February 9.

Repeated for information to Foreign Office.

My telegram No. 37.

It is essential that the rate of rations and ration allowance should be the same as that of British officers because:

(a) they will live in the same mess and eat the same food (less pork); two menus will not be provided;

(b) they are taking the place of British officers. They must be seen to be of equal status and receive equal treatment;

(c) if lower rates only are approved, either Arab officers will go back to messing on their own or with the men, which is undesirable, or British officers will have to subsidize them.

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REASONS FOR CURRENT PROPOSALS

10. Rise in the Local Standard of Living

a. Changes in Local Way of Life. The local Arab inhabitants of the Trucial Coast have become increasingly more aware of the outside world and all that it holds during the past two years. This awareness has effected many recent changes in their way of life which are best illustrated by noting that the average local Arab now:-

(1) Eats meat every day instead of just occasionally.

(2) Wears underclothes.

(3) Owns a wireless set.

(4) Sends his children to school, for which fees are required for girls' attendance.

b. Local Development. Certain areas in and neighbouring the Trucial States have lately undergone substantial development and, where two or three European-type houses might have been previously, there are now in some instances estates of up to eighty such houses.

c. The circumstances set out above reflect a marked rise in the local standard of living.

11. Military Implications of the Rise in the Local Standard of Living. The Trucial Oman Scouts are directly affected by the rise in the local standard of living in the following ways:-

a. The provision of clothing, accommodation, medical attention and Most Excellent Ration Allowance were hitherto benefits only to be enjoyed by those Arabs serving in the Force. Such things are now available to the majority of the Arab population and can no longer be regarded as significant fringe benefits or additional remuneration for the Soldiers.

b. The progression of the Trucial States towards more modern standards demands that the status of the Force and its individual members should be maintained at a high level in the eyes of an increasingly aware public.

c. Recruitment, both in quality and quantity, will only be maintained at a satisfactory level in the face of growing demands for intelligent local civilian labour if the conditions of service in the Force are kept at a level which is at least equivalent to the standards obtaining elsewhere in the area.

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STAFF IN CONFIDENCE

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(1202/194/53)

BRITISH RESIDENCY, BAHRAIN.

7th May, 1955.

Dear Department,

Would you please refer to your letter EA 1203/45 of the 10th April about the proposal to change the present source of rations supply for the Trucial Oman Levies.

2. We think the change-over desirable for three reasons. In the first place the local purchase of rations offers obvious scope for corruption. I am not for a moment suggesting that there has been any in the past. But Hankin-Rurvin has told me that his awareness of the scope for it has meant that he has had to give a disproportionate amount of time to supervising the procurement of rations. And we feel sure that you will agree that we ought to do all we can to insure against that danger. In the second place the increase of the strength of the force to 500 may well result in the overstraining from time to time of the resources of the bazaar and may in any case have the result of pushing prices up - a circumstance not likely to conduce to the local popularity of the force. The third consideration is that a given item seems bound to be cheaper if bought through service channels than in the bazaar, where profit margins are generous.

3. We do not feel that the items demanded are especially "attractive" in the sense implied; they are all obtainable, though not in large quantities, in local shops. Nor do we think there is any greater risk of profitable re-sale of service rations than there is of locally-purchased foodstuffs.

4. We enclose copies of the present ration scale for the Trucial Oman Levies and of a proposed new scale. The latter, which is based upon the scale approved by the Aden Protectorate Levies, would cost a few annas a day more per head than the former scale, at current bazaar prices. But if we go over to the Royal Air Force for the rations we should hope that the consequent saving would at least offset this rise. In view of the imminent arrival in Sharjah of the large contingent of Adenese recruits, who will hitherto have subsisted on the Aden Protectorate Levies ration scale, we consider that the change is necessary and that it should take effect as soon as possible.

5. Would you please let us have telegraphic authority to institute the above changes?

6. Copies of this letter are being sent to the British Middle East Office (Political Division), with reference to their letter 11960/04/53 of the 1st April, and to the Commandant, Trucial Oman Levies.

Yours ever,

Eastern Department, Foreign Office, LONDON, S.W.1.

Since drafting the above we have been told by the 6th Corps (Lt. Remington) in Muscat that the 2000 men of the 100th the day after we are there.

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6. The same general principles, however, apply to the trade of a soldier except that he spends much more time at base, and he does not however qualify for proficiency pay. The following factors have therefore been taken into account when considering what the rates of trade pay should be:-

(a) The rates of pay paid to civilian employees of reputable firms in the Trucial States.

(b) Benefits a soldier already receives by virtue of being in the service.

7. It is estimated that a soldier receives the following benefits which are not enjoyed by the civilian tradesmen:-

(a) Food. Daily RA incl. mess money Rs 2.50 x 30 Rs 75

(b) Clothing. Value of soldiers kit Rs 467.96 Rs 13

(c) Accn (anted). Lasting three years monthly Rs 2.17 Rs 90.17

This benefit or bonus has therefore been taken into account when arriving at the equitable sum to be paid to the soldier.

8. Proposed terms and conditions of service are given at Appx 'A'. Proposed rates of pay are given at Appx 'B'.

COMPARATIVE CIVILIAN RATES OF PAY

9. A table showing the rates of pay given to civilian employees by reputable civilian firms of the Trucial States is at Appx 'C' attached.

10. COST OF INTRODUCING NEW CODE - OTHER RANKS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF PHASE 2 OF 1955

(a) New rates

Monthly Pay incl increment and proficiency Rs 182955 Appendix G

Monthly trade pay. 38670 Appx E/F

221625

Annual Cost sterling = £199464

(b) Old Rates

Monthly pay incl increment and proficiency Rs 160200 Appx G

Monthly trade pay 23130 183330 Appx F

Increased monthly cost Rs 38295

Increased Annual Cost 459540

Sterling £ 34465.

If 20% reserve of tradesmen is approved additional cost is estimated at £6960 less saving on proficiency pay £ 1318. = £5542.

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FROM BRITISH EMBASSY KUWAIT

FOR PICKFORD, SALES IC

YOUR 511615Z OCT: RATION PACKS

1. MANY THANKS. KUWAITIS TAKE THE POINT ABOUT KHALAF AND WILL NOW ORDER THROUGH HIM THOUGH THEY ARE OBLIGED TO DO THIS BY POST WHICH WILL SLOW THINGS UP.

2. DUE TO GARBLE OUR SIGNAL OF 290748Z OCT DID NOT APPARENTLY CONVEY THAT THEY WANT MENU QUOTE A UNQUOTE, HAVING SAMPLED ALL FOUR AND BEING SATISFIED THAT THIS HAS LEAST PORK CONTENT. THEY WOULD BE HAPPIER IF THIS COULD BE REMOVED BUT REALIZE THAT THIS IS PROBABLY IMPOSSIBLE. THEY HAVE CONSIDERED AND REJECTED BOTH IMPROVISED LOCAL PURCHASE AND HONG KONG MENU TO WHICH YOU REFER( IN LATTER CASE BECAUSE THEY HAVE PROGRESSSED BEYOND GOAT MEAT).

3. AS OUR SIGNAL EXPLAINED, THEY WILL WANT PACKS BY AIRFREIGHT AND REQUEST WHEN RECEIVED THROUGH KHALAF WILL SO SPECIFY.

LAMB

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FROM PICKFORD SALES IC / RS

FCO FOR MED. RATION PACKS; FURTHER TO OUR 101645Z NOV WE CAN NOW CONFIRM THAT SAMPLES ARE IN TRANSIT FROM HONG KONG. HOWEVER SOME AMPLIFICATION IS NECESSARY. THE FOUR MENUS PASSED TO YOU ARE IN FACT THOSE PRODUCED FOR THE ROYAL BRUNEL AND PALAT HEBURNIA. WE ARE NOW TOLD THAT IN ADDITION TO SAMPLES OF THOSE YOU WILL RECEIVE A SAMPLE OF THE ONE GURAN MENU. THE PRICE OF THE GURAN MENU IS, AS PREVIOUSLY INDICATED, HSP HOWEVER, THE ROYAL BRUNEL COST SLIGHTLY MORE (A) POUNDS 1.29 (B) POUNDS 1.31 (C) POUNDS 1.26 (D) POUNDS 1.35. THERE SHOULD BE TWO OF EACH MENU - THEY ARE PACKED IN PAIRS, BUT IT IS CONSIDERED UNNECESSARY TO SEND YOU THE PRICE APPROPRIATE TO EACH MENU. IT HAS NOW BEEN CONFIRMED THAT 9000 RATIONS AND COOKERS DEFINITELY AVAILABLE FROM HONG KONG BY

ONE HOWEVER SOME

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## From ‘Trucial State’ to ‘Postcolonial’ City? The Imaginative Geographies of British Expatriates in Dubai

Anne Coles and Katie Walsh

*This collaborative article adopts a postcolonial theoretical framework to examine the imaginative geographies of British expatriates in Dubai. The analysis compares qualitative data from two time periods: 1968–71, immediately prior to the Federation of the United Arab Emirates when this area of the Arabian Peninsular was known as the ‘Trucial States’, and 2002–04, some 30 years post-Federation. We argue that imaginative geographies of Self/Other are evident in the practices and discourses of both time periods, and, in spite of their being reconfigured, there are strong continuities in evidence. These imaginative geographies help to constitute the British (expatriate) Self, while contributing to the separateness of the British expatriate community in the colonial and postcolonial contexts. In order to trace the dis/continuities in this process, we focus on four sets of cultural practices and the discourses that surround them: social clubs, dress, food, and excursions.*

**Keywords:** Postcolonialism; Expatriates; Dubai; British Emigration; Cultural Practices

### Introduction

Nearly one in ten British nationals lives abroad (Sriskandarajah and Drew 2006). In the global mobilities of such migrants, Knowles argues that we can find clues to the contemporary salience of empire: ‘Empire survives as a feeling of choice and opportunity, (divergent) forms of entitlement, facilitated by a (racialised) geography of routes already carved out and traversed by others’ (2005: 107).

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ISSN 1369-183X print/ISSN 1469-9451 online/10/081317-17 © 2010 Taylor & Francis  
DOI: 10.1080/13691831003687733

## Feeding the 42,000 Public Institutional Eating: the British Army in the Gulf

by Joan P. Alcock



### Introduction

In every sphere of public eating that of institutional eating is the one which is remembered by most people, probably because they have been subjected to it at some time in their life. Of those institutions perhaps school, hospital and the armed forces in wartime or during National Service conjure up the most vivid memories, partly because of the quality and quantity of food – or, indeed, the lack of it.

When turning out some old newspapers recently my attention was riveted by a paragraph in the *Evening Standard* December 6 1990 which recorded, ‘While US soldiers wait in patient line for their chow wagon to arrive, the Desert Rats are cooking their own meals on a stove that is fitted to every Challenger tank and Warrior Fighting Vehicle’. The American officers were astonished to find that soldiers, at even a remote camp, could be provided with hot water for shaving and making a drink. This was achieved by the use of a small petrol-fired boiler, known as a ‘Tommy Turbo’.

Intrigued by this, I therefore decided to find out more about how the British army was fed during the Gulf War. In doing this I found that I had to consider the role of the Army Catering Corps as well as the work of the cooks themselves. Some of the regiments, which have provided information, are to be amalgamated in the new defence structure; some may even disappear. This paper surveys a little known area of the Gulf conflict and puts on record the high standard of catering and hygiene achieved by the British forces during their service in the war.

### The Gulf War

The crisis in the Gulf took place between August 1990 and February 1991. On August 2 1990 the Iraqi forces of Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait. The Emir, Sheik Jaber Ahmed al-Sabah, and his family fled to Saudi Arabia and the Crown Prince was killed defending his country. The United Nations condemned the invasion in Resolution 660, which ordered the Iraqi forces to withdraw immediately and intensive negotiations to start for the resolving of differences between Iraq and Kuwait. In a series of moves over the next few days several countries, including the United States, Britain and Japan began to freeze Iraqi assets, initiate sanctions and institute embargoes against Iraqi trade. On August 7, the day after the United Nations voted in Resolution 661 for economic and military sanctions against Iraq, President George Bush, in response to an invitation by King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, ordered aircraft and troops to go to the Gulf to

## A Trucial Oman Scout's fond memories of great leaders and a nation's birth

fridaymagazine.ae/life-culture/people-profiles/a-trucial-oman-scout-s-fond-memories-of-great-leaders-and-a-nation-s-birth-1.2303632

### People & Profiles

Zenifer Khaleel Jul 26, 2019

A former soldier of the Trucial Oman Scouts, Col David Neild, recounts the country as it was some 60 years ago and how it has transformed into a world-renowned global nation



David on a training exercise in Ras Al Khaimah in 1970, with Ferret armoured cars. With him is signals officer Capt Abdullah, who was on loan from Saudi Arabia

Photo by: Supplied

Share

I am on my guard and my best conduct as the man I am about to interview is an ex-military official and is 77 to boot. But as Lieutenant Colonel (ret'd) David Neild walks into the room with a sprightly smile and a friendly 'hello', I am immediately put at ease.

He laughs heartily when I tell him he hardly looks a day over 60. 'You can credit that to a life well lived and my lovely wife Eileen,' he says.



The author in 1960 at a tradition Arab communal meal. As usual, this armed retainer has his rifle with him

Supplied

On several occasions David accompanied Shaikh Zayed on his hunting expeditions where they would spend long hours talking. 'It was so obvious, even then, that here was a great man who loved the desert and everything associated with it, but was also more than capable of understanding the complex problems of the modern world. The time would soon arrive when it would be his destiny to transform his beloved desert into what the UAE has become today.'

After completing his 18-month tour of duty, David joined the Kings Regiment (Manchester and Liverpool) and saw service in Kenya, Berlin and Northern Ireland. However in 1966, a return to TOS was offered to command the support group based in Manama, where he spent a lot of time with Shaikh Rashid Bin Humaid, the Ruler of Ajman. The call of Arabia had proved too strong and David started his second tour with a much better command of the Arabic language.



Middle Eastern Studies



ISSN: 0026-3206 (Print) 1743-7881 (Online) journal homepage: <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/mes20>

## The hand of Glubb: the origins of the Trucial Oman Scouts, 1948–1956

Tancred Bradshaw

To cite this article: Tancred Bradshaw (2017) The hand of Glubb: the origins of the Trucial Oman Scouts, 1948–1956, Middle Eastern Studies, 53:4, 656–672, DOI: 10.1080/00263206.2017.1286475

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British Officers encounters with local ‘feasts’ or lunch invitations from tribesmen and leaders are many. See: Are You The Man by Word + Arabian Days by Curbs & Casrern







**Al-Muhallab Boys School Meal**  
(1969-1972)

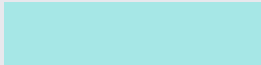
- 1 samoun
- 2 processed cheese triangles
- 1 fruit jam packet
- 1 apple, orange, or banana
- 1 box of milk or fruit juice

**Indian High School home-packed meal**  
(1961)

- Poori bhaji or fried potatoes & poori
- Koki bread or dal pakwan
- Nuts
- Whole fresh fruit

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أحدى مدارس أبوظبي في بداية الستينات من القرن الماضي. من المصدر

A father ... at his children to  
I did ... the way

صورة  
3/3  
المصدر:  
إيلس محسن – أبوظبي

2/7

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Chapter 3

## Constructing transnational higher education spaces

### International branch campus developments in the United Arab Emirates

Kate Geddie

Introduction

The last decade has witnessed an extraordinary growth in the number of North American and European universities establishing international branch campuses (IBCs) in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Although the UAE did not have a single university in the country in the early 1970s, the growth of post-secondary institutions in this nation of 8.2 million residents has exploded to now number over 70 (NBS 2011). Nearly three-quarters of these higher education institutions (HEIs) have been established after 2005, and the vast majority involve foreign providers setting up an overseas campus. One commentator has described this staggering development as akin to ‘mushrooms sprouting after the rain’ (Altbach 2010: 2). Yet despite the evident interest of Western universities in establishing a presence in the region, the various factors contributing to this astonishing increase remain largely unexamined.

This chapter seeks to explore and analyse the remarkable expansion of transnational educational provision in the UAE over the last ten years.<sup>1</sup> By considering the diverse factors and motives that have contributed to the growth of foreign universities in the Emirates, this chapter aims to illustrate the geographically and historically contingent nature of these developments and to delineate the different cross-border educational models that now populate the evolving UAE landscape.

I begin by situating our understanding within the historical role of foreign educational providers in the country, before turning to consider the contemporary political-economic aspirations and policy goals of the independent UAE. Particularly as Abu Dhabi, Dubai and Ras Al Khaimah have undertaken remarkably different approaches to engaging with foreign universities, I consider in turn policy developments at the emirate-level for shaping the emerging types of foreign university partnerships.

The following section changes perspective to the sending institutions themselves and offers a typology of the modes of entry that foreign universities

Chapter 3 of ‘Changing Spaces of Education-New prerspectice on Nature of Learning”, 2012 New York Routledge Costructing (extract from Kate Greddie’s Transnational Higher Education Spaces.

**The UAE’s historical context of international education and the evolving federal higher education policy landscape**

When the UAE gained independence from British rule in 1971, the existing educational system was largely decentralized and limited to primary and secondary level schooling. **Britain had provided little early educational or social infrastructure during her administration**, rather ‘viewing her collection of protected coastal sheikdoms as being little more than an informal part of her empire’ and therefore invested few resources in the development of the region’s schooling system (Davidson 2008a: 23). **Despite the UK’s absence, educational development from Arab neighbours and expatriates established an early and prominent role for foreign educational providers in the region throughout the twentieth century.**

For example, at the height of the region’s pearling industry between 1900 and the 1930s, wealthy pearling merchants across the lower Gulf established formal primary schools for local boys that were principally staffed by foreign or expatriate teachers from Egypt or Palestine, using a predominantly Egyptian curriculum. **Later in the 1950s and 1960s, the educational assistance funds provided by Kuwait’s Sheikh Abdullah Salem al-Sabah introduced a primarily Kuwaiti curriculum through expanding the school system and funding expatriate teachers, largely around Dubai (Deira, Jumeirah, Bur Dubai), Sharjah, Abu Dhabi, and Al-‘Ayn (Davidson 2008c).** **In the 1960s, other national governments such as Iran, Saudi Arabia and India also began providing schools and teachers from their respective national systems to educate their growing expatriate communities in the region.** The result was a diverse, predominantly secular, and mainly rudimentary ‘hybrid native and expatriate Arab educational system’ that formed the foundation upon which the rulers of the new created UAE were to build their independent national educational system (Davidson 2008a: 37). It also established the early tradition of foreign providers contributing to decentralized educational system development.

Within the newly founded federation that brought together the UAE’s seven emirates, educational policy assumed a prominent role in the early

THE GLOBAL eLEARNING JOURNAL  
VOLUME 4, ISSUE 1, 2015

### A History of Education in the United Arab Emirates and Trucial Sheikdoms

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Abstract

This research examined the history of education in the United Arab Emirates. A meta-analysis of existing historical Arabic and English literature on the formulation of education in the region for the past 200 years was conducted. A historical framework was established to examine the four iterations of educational development to include the Mutawa and the Katateeb, Educational Circles, Semi-Organized Education and the Modern Educational System. The study identified the role of Islam in the development of past and present educational structures. The article establishes a cohesive relationship between past and modern educational practices as a means of stabilizing shared social values and norms based on religious belief.

Keywords: United Arab Emirates, Education, Mutawa, Katateeb, Educational Circles, Semi-Organized Education, Modern Educational System

An Introduction to the History of Education in the United Arab Emirates

The United Arab Emirates was officially established as a nation in 1971 with the alliance of six of seven Emirates. The seventh Emirate, Ras Al Khaimah, officially joined the alliance in 1972 (Smith, 2004). Educational services were available in the UAE prior to

IHS Legacy – The Indian High Group of Schools

ihsdubai.org/ihs-legacy

Founded in 1961, IHS is the first and longest-standing Indian education institution in the Gulf. Established before the founding of the United Arab Emirates, our schools embody the cultures, values, and ethos of both India and the UAE in both learning and teaching. We soar high but stay rooted in our values and culture.



for the construction of a modern school building in Zabeel.

1957

MENU

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OTHER CITATIONS

سليمان الصقيعي on Twitter: "##صورة اجبان ##كرفت ايام ##الطيبين https://t.co/myhepVYIG4" / Twitter

twitter.com/soilman\_10/status/956133327739801600



Don't miss what's happening  
.People on Twitter are the first to know

مدرسة آل مكتوم الابتدائية 1983

albayan.ae/2011-02-21-1.1389372

21 فبراير 2011



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آخر تحديث الصفحة تم بتاريخ: 14 أكتوبر 2016 08:50

jam-cente

almajidcenter.org/ar/galler\_details.php



1962 ، دبي ، مدرسة دبي الثانوية.

1. الشيخ راشد بن سعيد آل مكتوم (1958-1990).
2. جيمس كرينج، المبعث السياسي البريطاني في دبي (1961-1964)
3. وليام لوس، المقيم السياسي البريطاني في دبي.
4. زهدي الخطيب، مدير مدرسة.

الشيخ راشد بن سعيد آل مكتوم في زيارة تفقدية لمدرسة دبي الثانوية عام 1962.



In his interview (FIG. 3), A.H. recalls the lunches distributed to the students in their classrooms, after their attendance gets counted. It was mainly simple modern school lunch consisting of cheese and jam sandwiches, juice, and fruits (FIG. 4) . He explained how the students’ meals in the boy’s school were provided at no cost to the students, along with the books and the school uniform. He adds that numerous Arabic schools at the time in the emirate, were funded by the Kuwaiti government, and the teachers were from various Arab nationalities.

The Kuwaiti education system was in use in the emirate in 1953 and was implemented for both boys and girls. The schools followed the Kuwaiti curriculum and provided students with Kuwaiti textbooks and all the stationary materials, while students completed their secondary school certificates by taking exams in Kuwait” prior to 1967. (Alrawi, 1996)

(FIG. 3)

School Interview 1  
Transcript  
Interviewer identified as A.H.

Excerpt from audio interview with A.H., resident of Dubai from 1968.

[Audio file 1 of 1]

00:01:

Serry: What year did you arrive in Dubai?  
A.H.: My family arrived in

Serry:What school did you go to and what year was it?

A.H.: It was 1969-1972 in Al-Muhallab School. It was a boys only school in Dubai. I was 8 years old and stayed there till I was 11 or 12. Then I moved to Zayed al-Thani secondary school in Abu Dhabi.

Serry: and what do you remember your school lunches were usually like?


A.H.: After the 3rd class, someone used to come in, a *farrash*, would take count of no. of present students before the break to know how many meals to get us for the break. The meal was always 1 samoon loaf, 2 pieces of cheese cheddar or triangles, 1 packet of jam, and 1 fruit, either apples or oranges, and a box of milk or juice. It was all run and administered by Kuwait and the UAE. It was before the UAE comes together as one country.

2. Two School Lunches



(FIG. 4)

Pasted screenshot from Kiran Bhatia's post on Dubai Old Days Facebook group, pasted on December 27, 2021.

**Kiran Bhatia**  
17 October 2020

Indian high school DXB first batch, one of my aunts in the picture & Hemkala Ben first teacher. Think its 1960 when water was still brought on donkeys  
Bharat Vidyalaya

The origin of Indian high school , Dubai, UAE:  
After the death of her son Bharat, Smt. Hemkalaben Vallabhds Bhatia, started Bharat vidyalaya in the early 1950s in Dubai.  
In big hall , students used to sit in 4 batches. 1st to 4th standard kids. The partition was painted black in between as a door to the kitchen.  
Hemkalaben made a little partition n created a small kitchen, and a girl named Vimala was eldest among lot of students and she used to help the teacher in cooking. Side by side, the teacher would give maths problems to 4 th std.  
Next lot would be history question and answers for 3rd standard, on other side some work for 2 nd standard n she used to teach something simple to 1st std kids.  
Like this she used to teach to each batch of kids and everybody would quietly do their work.  
Nobody disturbed anybody and surprisingly, no one was distracted or disturbed by the teacher teaching another standard or batch of students 😊  
And yes, in lunch break if any one wanted to get their ears pierced, Hemkalaben ( teacher) had one special needle , she would rub it on a matka, make it sharp n pierce ears n put Neem ki dandi , in ears 😊😂😂😂  
School Text Books:  
In those days , text books were not available in Dubai. Our teacher used to visit Mumbai in the summer vacation, and buy books of 1st to 4th standard, and a few extra also.  
School Exams:  
School exams were held in the mandir. Teacher used to tell us, bring your own answer sheet with you.  
So mum used to stitch few pages n give me. We were 5 students in my standard. So 5 students sit near 5 pillars ... and hand written question paper was given to us n we quietly wrote our answers.  
Teacher used to sit on a chair n keep an eye on us.  
Thathai Bhatia community shares this goodwill to all their members in the community

Selected text from a conversation with Kiran Bhatia on Facebook:

**Kiran Bhatia**  
**Salma Serry** i am not in this picture. was in IHS during 1980-1987. Back then canteens were prominent & one could have a savoury (samosa) & juice for AED 1

Like · Reply · 4 d

**Salma Serry**  
**Kiran Bhatia** wow both samosa AND juice for dhs 1! 😊 Do you remember what other items the canteen offered ? I'm trying to recreate a menu

Like · Reply · 4 d

**Salma Serry**  
**Kiran Bhatia** oh also Kiran do you mind if I use this photo for my research project? I'll credit it you and this Facebook group as the source in a booklet and small exhibition I'm working on...

Like · Reply · 5 h

**Kiran Bhatia**  
**Salma Serry** sure

Like · Reply · 5 h

**Kiran Bhatia**  
Areej juice was there Not very extensive menu Most students bought samosa.... [See more](#)

Like · Reply · 4 d


**Salma Serry**  
**Kiran Bhatia** this is great thank you Kiran.. what years did you attend the school?

Like · Reply · 2 h


**Kiran Bhatia**  
1978-1986

Like · Reply · 4 h


(FIG. 4)

**Jayant Gajria**  
this is first batch of Bharat Vidyalaya and i'm also in picture, there are some soni, sindhi and bhatia's are in picture and i recognize most of persons in picture


Like · Reply · 1 y

**Salma Serry**  
hi **Jayant Gajria** this is very interesting! i'm conducting a research on school lunches/food in Dubai (as part of a food history of the emirate), and curious to know what school lunches was like then? What kind of food/snacks were provided. Was food off... [See more](#)


Like · Reply · 6 d

**Jayant Gajria**  
**Salma Serry** it's nice question but when we studied here the school itself was one room and there were hardly 1, 2 or 3 students in each standard, all were studying together with one teacher for all, there was no canteen and our breakfast was mother co... [See more](#)


Like · Reply · 4 d

**Salma Serry**  
**Jayant Gajria** i see! That's so interesting how time changed .. and what would your typical mother cooked home food be like? What food did she usually send you with from home?


Like · Reply · 2 d

**Jayant Gajria**  
**Salma Serry** good morning and happy new year, we are pure vegetarians since birth and our first breakfast was hot cooked food with glass of pure cow milk and then some dry items in tiffin for eating during break time, there was always different snack f... [See more](#)


Like · Reply · 9 h

**Salma Serry**  
Thank you so much **Jayant Gajria** 🙏 happy new year to you too! This is really helpful. Can I bother you to tell me the names of some of the sweets and that special Indian bread? Roti or something else?


Like · Reply · 7 h

**Jayant Gajria**  
**Salma Serry** they have indian names only but I try to share few here like poori bhaji, fried potato and poori, koki (typical indian bread with salt and black paper), some times fresh uncut fruits and dal pakwan and so on. There are still more items whic... [See more](#)


Like · Reply · 5 h

**Salma Serry**  
This is super helpful thank you so much **Jayant Gajria** 🙏


Like · Reply · 5 h

**Salma Serry**  
**Jayant Gajria** sorry Jayant/ one more thing- which one are you in the photo?


Like · Reply · 4 h

**Jayant Gajria**  
**Salma Serry** i'm in white shirt and next to me is my younger sister:


Like · Reply · 4 h



Like · Reply · 4 h

**Jayant Gajria**  
**Salma Serry** i know most of people in picture by name and i saw you have communicated with my elder sister who is also in this picture

Like · Reply · 4 h

**Jayant Gajria**  
**Salma Serry** just to share Mrs verky was also teacher in Indian school and i had very good relations with her

Like · Reply · 4 h

Library Circles: Salma Serry



In a social media correspondence (FIG. 4), Kiran Bhatia recalls what his relatives and friends used to say about the early years of the Indian Primary School (later known as the Indian High School) in the ‘60s before he joined the school in ‘78. Hekmala Behn, a head teacher, and one of the school’s founders, opened the school with just one big hall in a house in Bur Dubai that was divided into partitions to seat a handful of students in different levels. One of the partitions was turned into a humble kitchenette and as Kiran wrote, “a girl named Vimala was the eldest among the lot of students.. she used to help the teacher in cooking.” (Bhatia 2021) Jayant Gajria, one of the students appearing in the photo of the first graduating batch of the school [Figure 7], remembers the days before the canteen. “Our breakfast was mother-cooked home food for consuming during recess,” he says, adding that it was typically vegetarian dry food like poori bhaji or koki, packed in a tiffin with some fresh fruit. Later from 1978-86, Kiran reminisced about the school canteen’s samosa. “Most students bought samosa. It was a stampede as they would finish quickly if one did not get to the canteen within 5-7 mins into the break.” (Bhatia 2021)

The Indian High School is considered the first expatriate school to open in Dubai, catering to the Indian community with Indian-modeled education, culture and religious considerations.







### 3. Two ethnic restaurants and the working

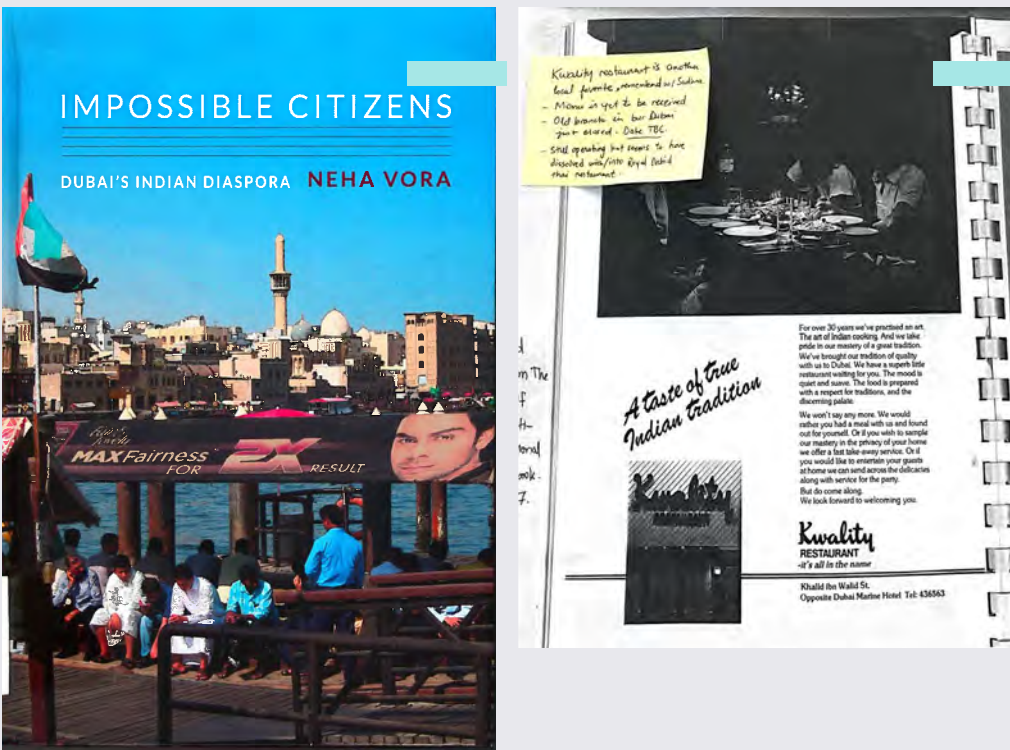
### 3.1. Sadhna Restaurant 1972-1980

This menu for Sadhna Restaurant was assembled from the recounts and memories of some of its visitors on a Facebook group. Closed in the '90s, Sadhna Restaurant was located in Al Nasr Square in Deira, Dubai. It is unclear when it was established but the earliest memory of it was in 1972. Together with Woodland Restaurant and Kwality, it is remembered as one of Dubai's best Indian restaurants.

The restaurant specialized in vegetarian Indian food and was particularly popular for its unlimited thali lunch that one user, Rab Brown, describes as “accompanied by as many chapatis as you can eat.” In ‘77, the thali was sold for just Dhs 7 and as another visitor, Rita Gupta, recalls, lasted for “lunch, a dinner, and even a small breakfast” for both herself and her husband. Lunch back in the ‘70s, until the late ‘90s, was considered the main meal, for which most offices and businesses would break for a couple of hours from around 1 or 2pm and then re-open for business by 3 or 4pm. “It was a very different pace back then,” says Ishani Devi, an Indian migrant who lived in Dubai from ‘74 to ‘98. She adds, “I used to work in an accounting firm and we use to always close a little after noon, go to pick up children from school and have lunch then run back to the office for another two hours.” Many small Indian restaurants at the time, offered monthly packages for lunch, and Sadhna was one of them. “Such monthly packages, made quick lunch possible for all the employees who had no time to cook daily lunches. It was perfect and very affordable.” (FIG. 5)

### 3. Two Ethnic Restaurants And The Working

## Library Circles: Salma Serry



(FIG. 5)



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```

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3. Two ethnic restaurants and the working

3.2. Bentoya  
1997

Established in 1997, Bentoya is one of the first popular Japanese casual dining restaurants in the city outside of the hotel experience. Its menu has witnessed only a few changes over the past three decades. The menu is signed by Masaki Kanda, the Japanese celebrity actor, when he visited the restaurant during a stay in Dubai.

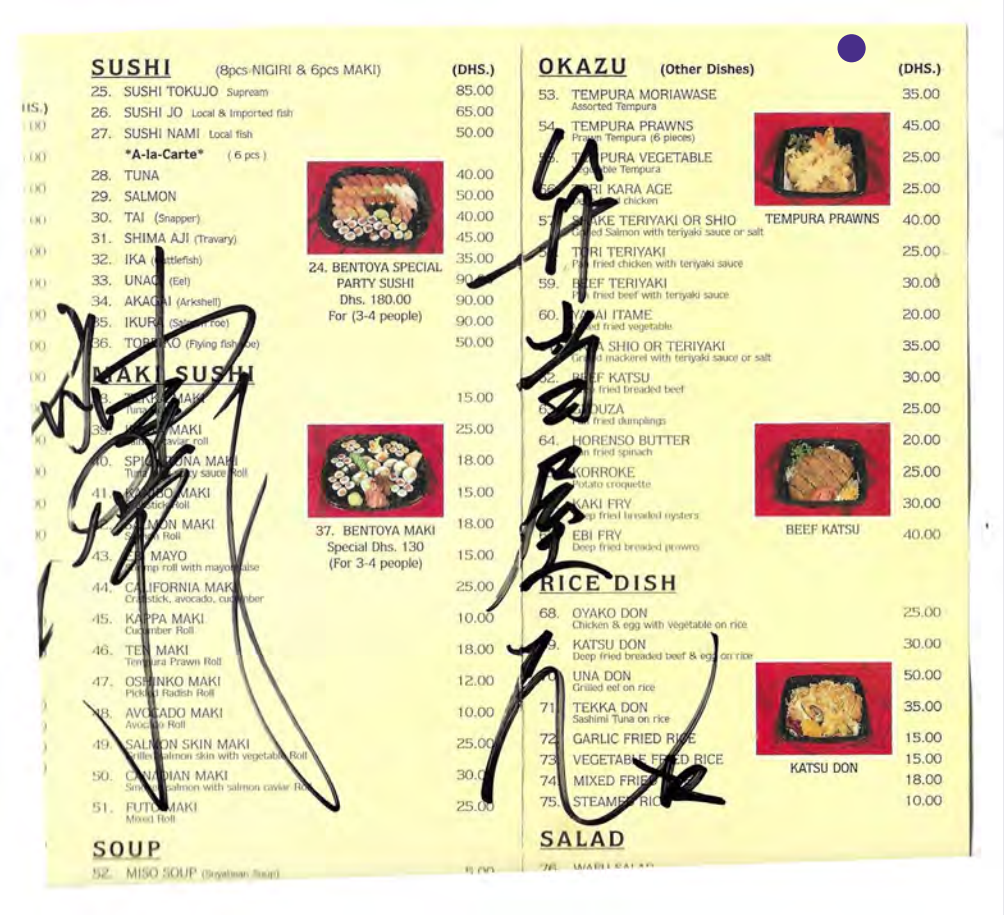
Scanned copy of the original menu courtesy of Mrs Taniuchi, wife of founding Chef Shinji Taniuchi, as shared by Mitch Aquino, Bentoya’s Operations Manager.

3. Two Ethnic Restaurants And The Working

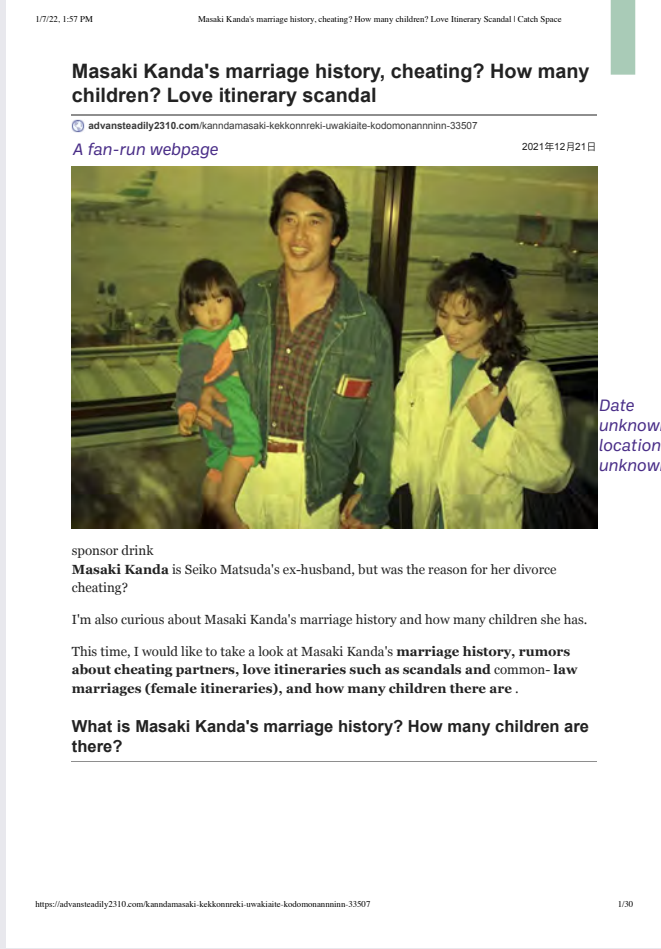
Library Circles: Salma Serry



Scan of 1997 menu signed by Masaki Kanda courtesy of Mr. Shinji Taniuchi, via Mitch



Fan Article on Kanda



Kanda as one 'tourist' passing through Dubai leaving an impression on a culinary material culture, a menu.

Date unknown? location unknown

Do you know of Kanda now? Is it thanks to a drew links (super micro ones though) of his movement in a past unknown history. We know at the least that he was one here.

But is this important? Is it worth preserving? Only because of his celebrity status? What about the others? Us?

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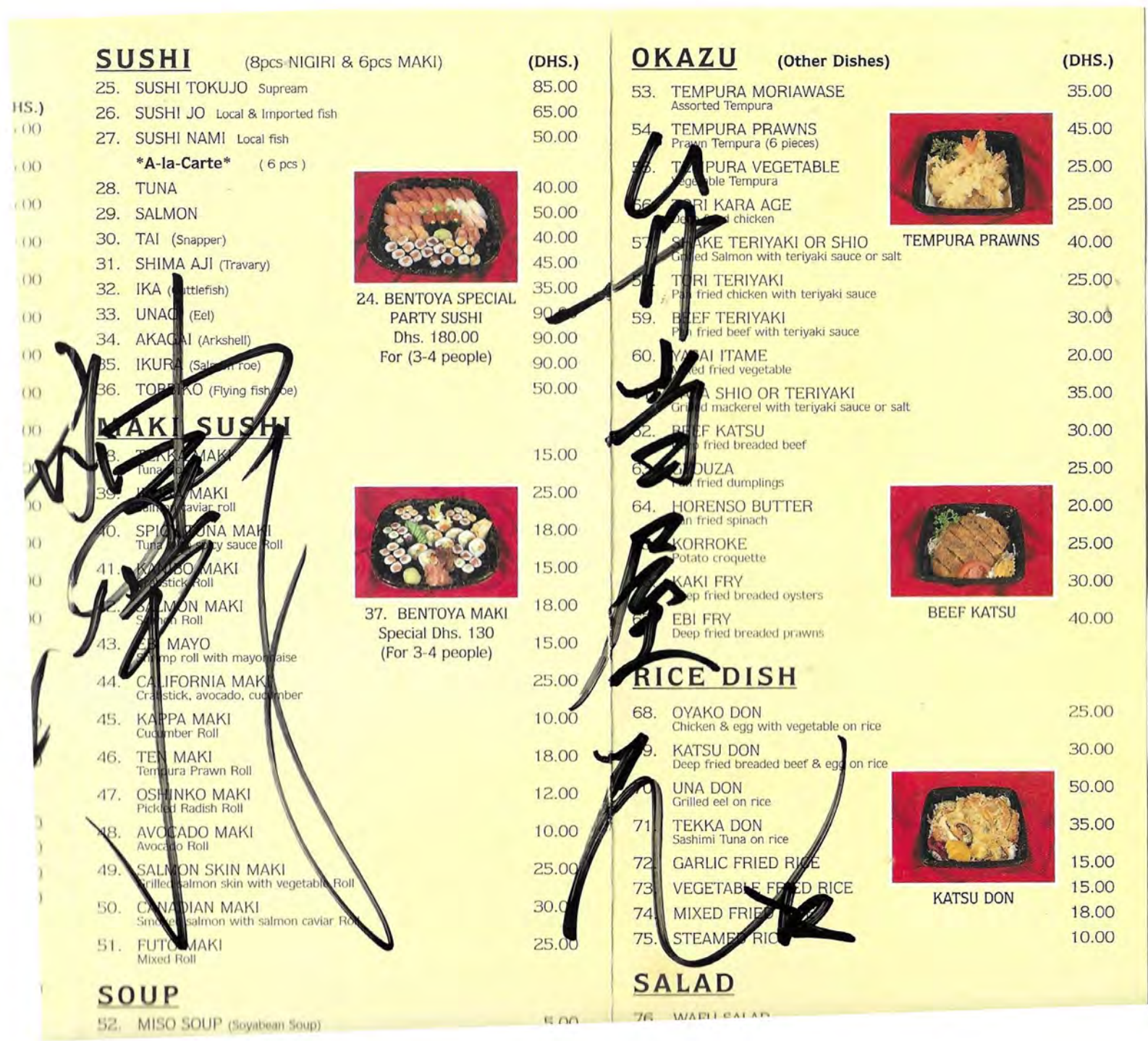
Sadhna Restaurant Thali

Dhs7

- Rice
- Curd
- Paruppu Dal
- Masala vada
- Rasam
- Pavakkai Pitlai
- Brinjal Kholumbo
- Achar and Onions
- Payasam



Scan of 1997 menu signed by Masaki Kanda courtesy of Mr. Shinji Taniuchi, via Mitch





Kanda as one ‘tourist’ passing through Dubai leaving an impression on a culinary material culture, a menu.

Fan Article on Kanda

1/7/22, 1:57 PM

Masaki Kanda's marriage history, cheating? How many children? Love Itinerary Scandal | Catch Space

Masaki Kanda's marriage history, cheating? How many children? Love itinerary scandal

advansteadily2310.com/kanndamasaki-kekonnreki-uwakiaite-kodomonanninn-33507

2021年12月21日

A fan-run webpage



sponsor drink

Masaki Kanda is Seiko Matsuda's ex-husband, but was the reason for her divorce cheating?

I'm also curious about Masaki Kanda's marriage history and how many children she has.

This time, I would like to take a look at Masaki Kanda's marriage history, rumors about cheating partners, love itineraries such as scandals and common-law marriages (female itineraries), and how many children there are.

What is Masaki Kanda's marriage history? How many children are there?

https://advansteadily2310.com/kanndamasaki-kekonnreki-uwakiaite-kodomonanninn-33507

1/30

Do you know of Kanda now? Is it thanks to a drew links (super micro ones though) of his movement in a past unknown history. We know at the least that he was one here.

But is this important? Is it worth preserving? Only because of his celebrity status? What about the others? Us?

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3. Two Ethnic Restaurants And The Working

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Unofficial Citizens: Indian Entrepreneurs and the State-Effect in Dubai, United Arab Emirates

Author(s): Neha Vora

Source: *International Labor and Working-Class History*, Spring 2011, No. 79, Labor Migration to the Middle East (Spring 2011), pp. 122-139

Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of International Labor and Working-Class, Inc.


Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41306912>

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George Washington University  
Institute for Ethnographic Research

Producing Diasporas and Globalization: Indian Middle-Class Migrants in Dubai

Author(s): Neha Vora

Source: *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (Spring, 2008), pp. 377-406

Published by: The George Washington University Institute for Ethnographic Research

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The Precarious Existence of Dubai's Indian Middle Class

Author(s): Neha Vora

Source: *Middle East Report*, Fall, 2009, No. 252, Getting by in the Global Downturn (Fall, 2009), pp. 18-21

Published by: Middle East Research and Information Project, Inc. (MERIP)

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4. Two Expat Club Cookbooks

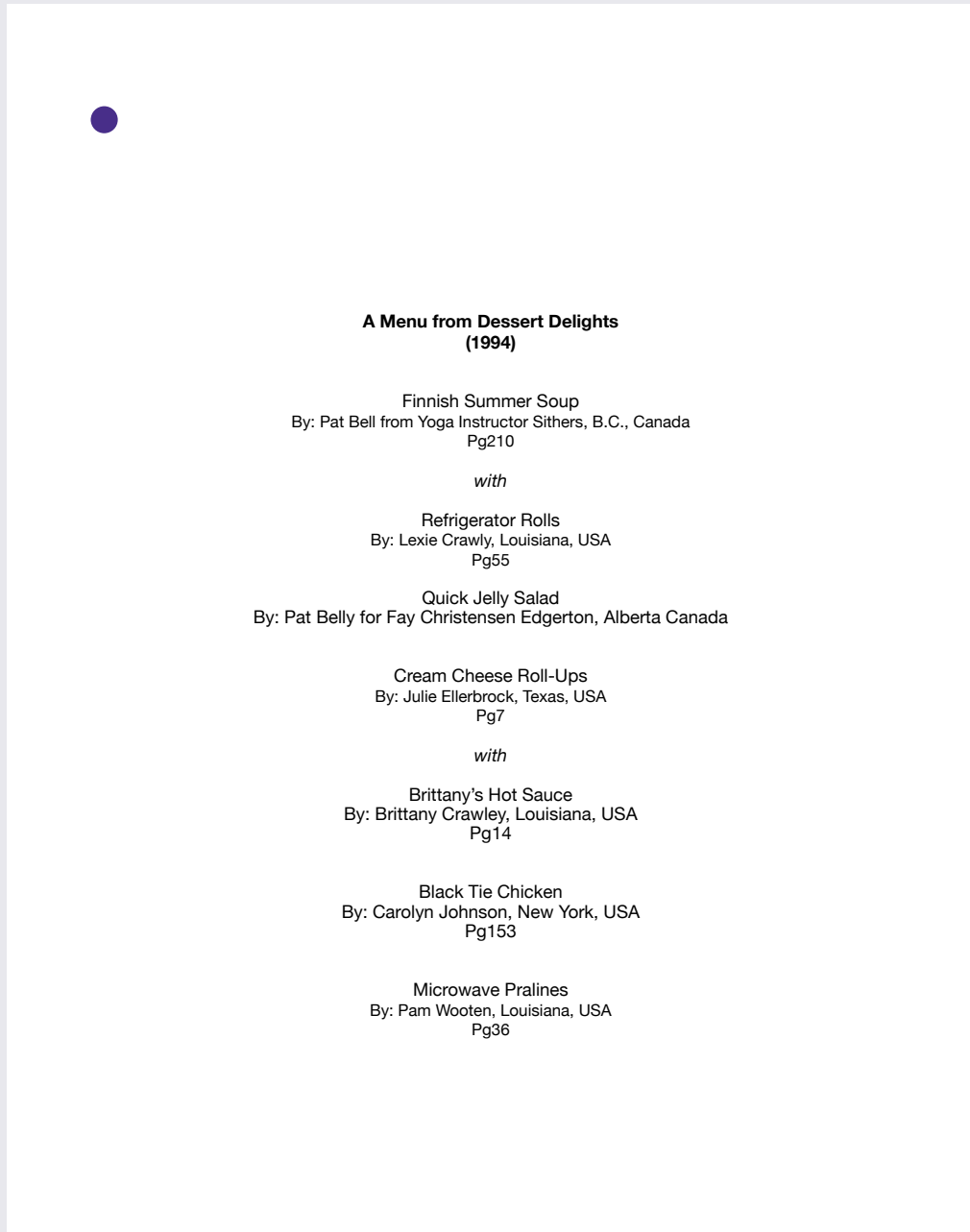
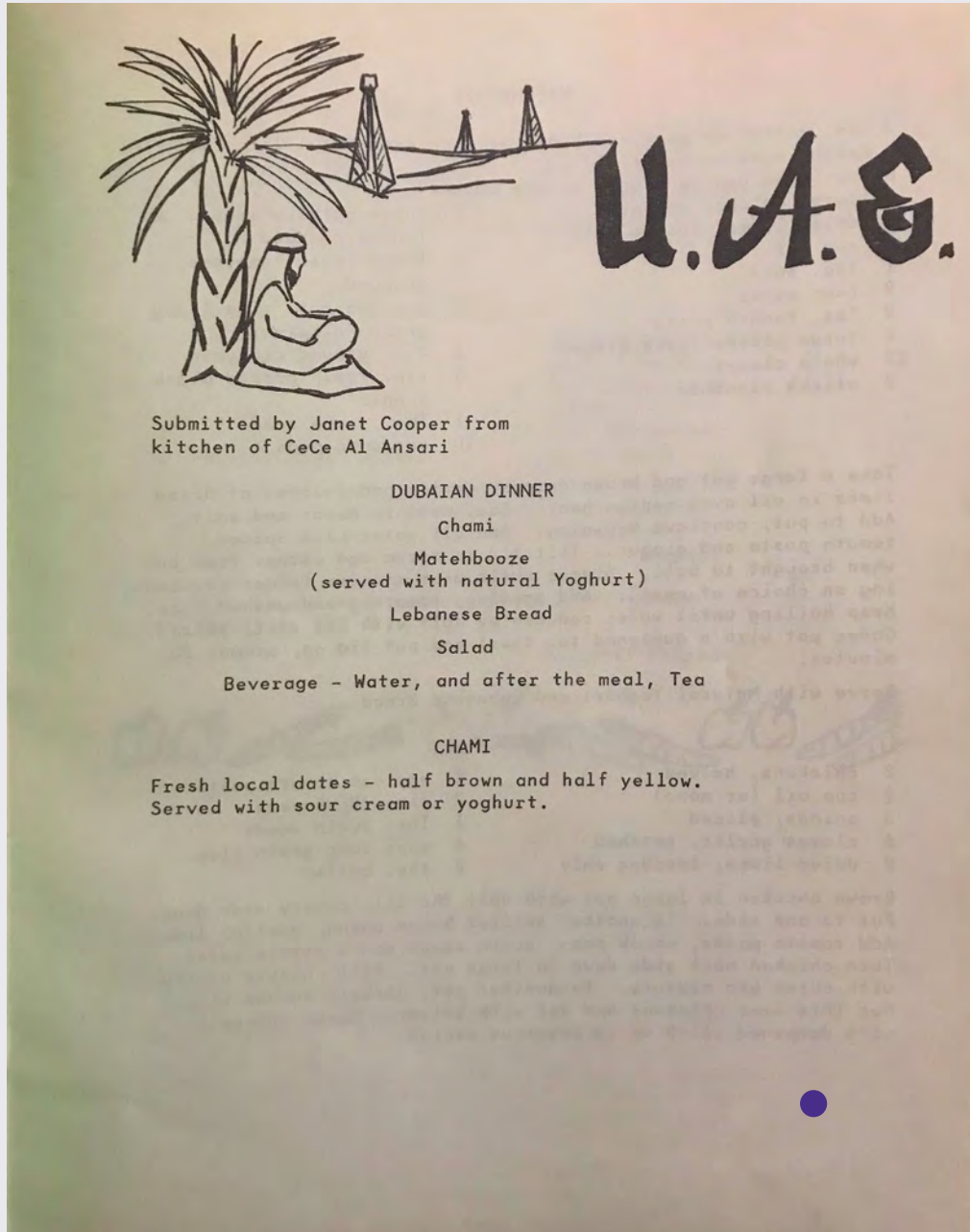
Both items are products of American housewives communities over two decades. While they reveal some emblematic elements of the local culture and food, whether from the design and illustrations or from a single few recipes, they largely seem to be divorced from an on-ground engagement with the local food. And while this could be attributed to the global nature of diasporic communities to hold on to its local traditions, like in the case of the Indian and Japanese restaurants, it invites curiosities surrounding the cultural superiority of whiteness. This racial reading of thesevv texts may find some merit in the post-colonial pretexts of the city and the history of imperialism it carries with the British expatriate body, and thus lends itself to exploring the issues of race from the angle of food (FIG. 6).

4.1. Menus and Recipes from Around The World With Dubai PWC

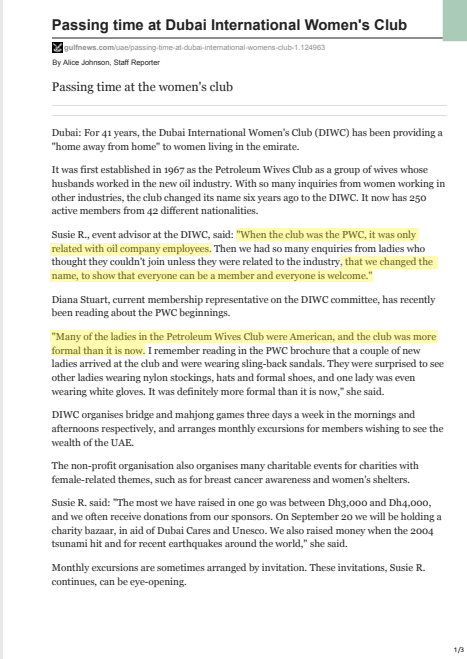
4.2 Desert Delights

4. Two Expat Club Cookbooks

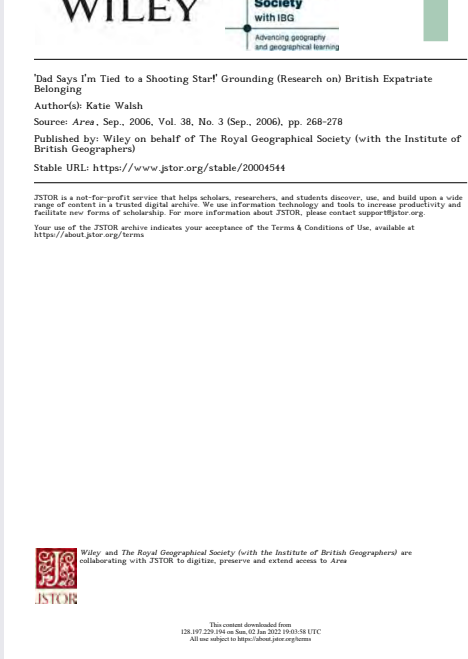
Library Circles: Salma Serry



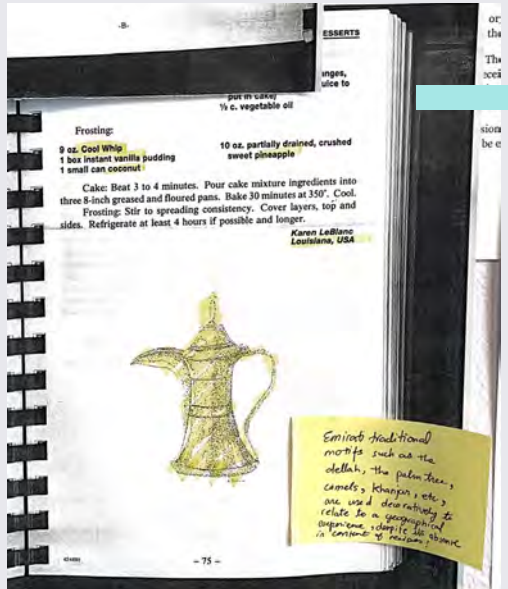
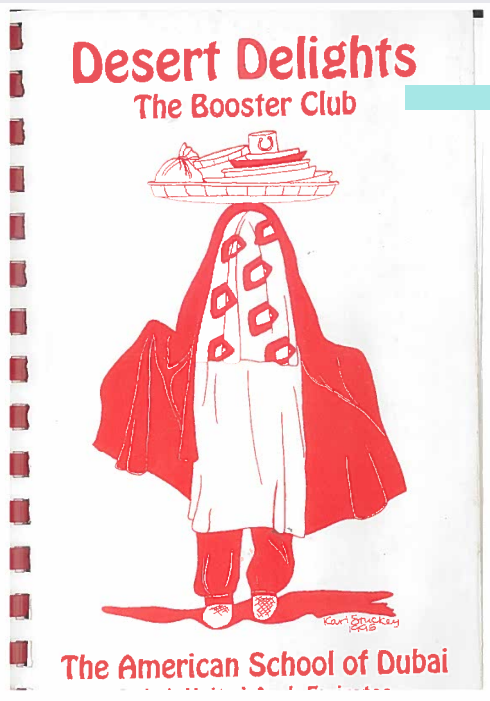
(FIG. 6)



(FIG. 6)



(FIG. 6)



Emirati traditional motifs such as the Delilah, the palm tree, camels, Khanjar, etc. are all used decoratively to relate to a geographical experience, despite its absence in content of recipes!

MENU

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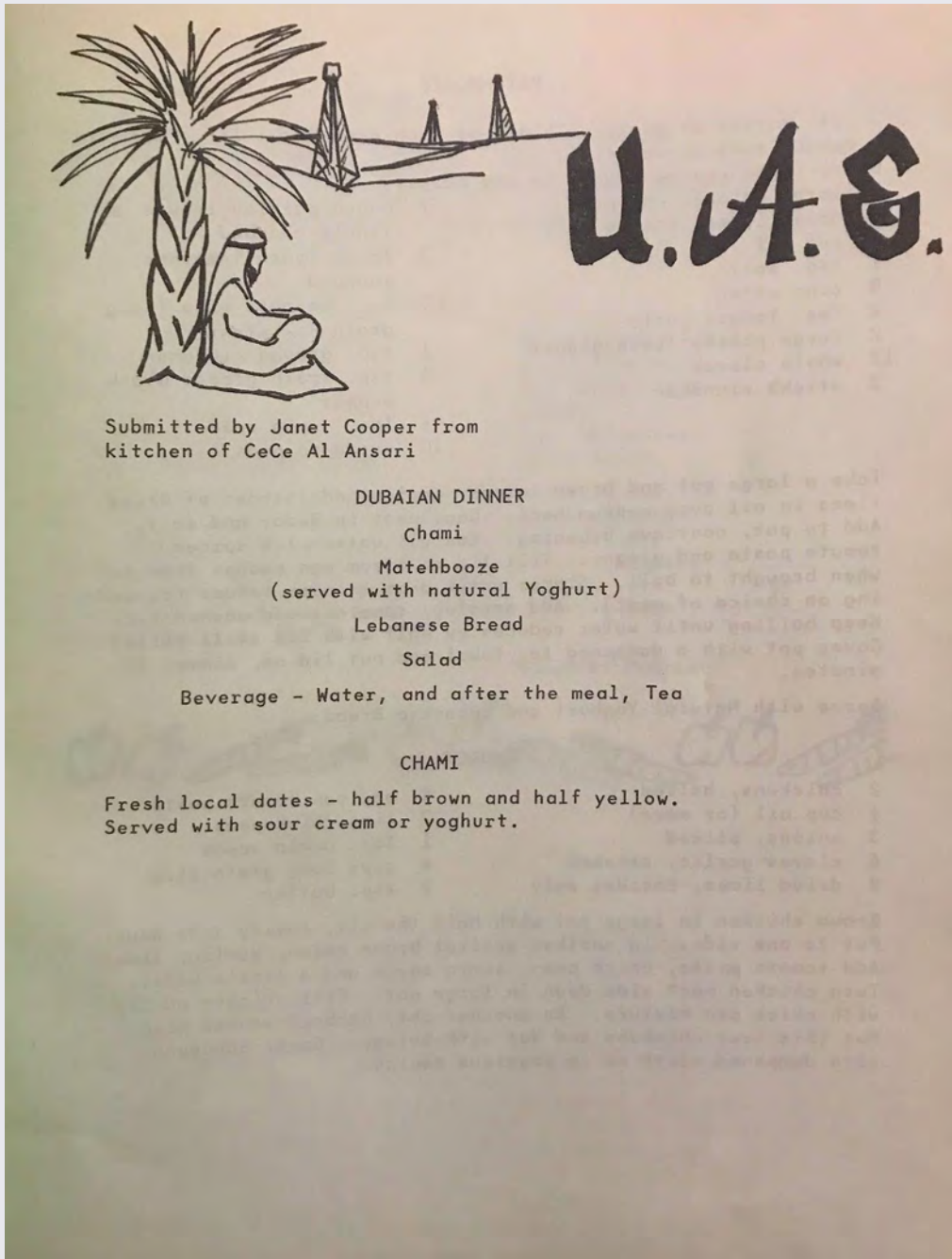
## 4. Two Expat Club Cookbooks

### 4.1. Menus and Recipes from Around The World With Dubai PWC 1981

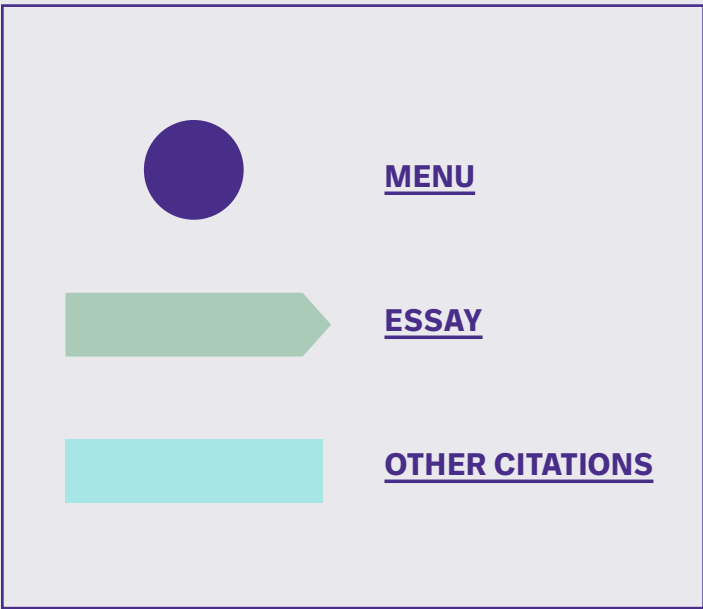
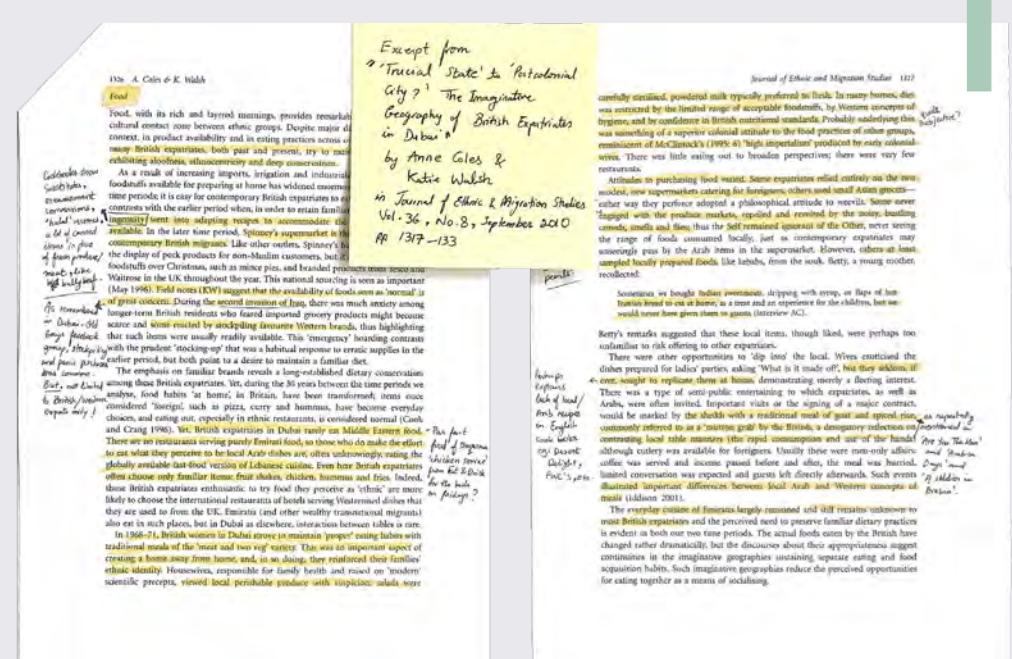
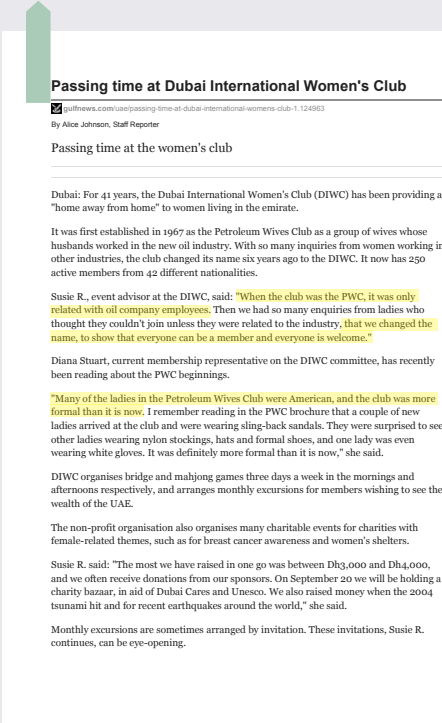
This menu is from the book with the same title, that was put together, edited and published by The Cookbook Committee of the Petroleum Wives Club (PWC). Most of the recipes collected in this book are contributed by women with English names, without specifying where they live or where they are from. It features recipes grouped in sections titled, “Middle East”, “Europe”, “Far East”, “The Americas”, and “West Africa”. The menu displayed is submitted by Janet Cooper from the kitchen of Cece Al Ansari.

The book consists of 276 pages, with illustrations that vary from American cookies, to cartoon-like depictions of the staff and team of Dubai Petroleum employees and their wives, a cross symbol, in addition to some orientalist drawings of camels, elephants and palm trees. It opens with photos of Sheikh Zayed Al Nayhan and Sheikh Rashid Al Maktoum. In the acknowledgements section, the committee chairman indicates that the book was a product of a meeting in which PWC members brought recipes with them that were then workshopped for eight weeks to result in this book. A year later, the school moved to Jumeirah and by 1971, just five years after it opened, the student population reached 103 and dramatically expanded to 500 by 1976. The same section on the school's history mentions the “Iran Crisis” in 1979-1980 and the Gulf War in 1991, and how the school's enrollment was influenced by them.

It starts with 'chamī', a local type of cheese akin to cottage cheese that is usually served with dates, fresh or dried. However, for this menu, the author/contributor defines it as 'fresh local dates... served with sour cream or yogurt.' It is unclear whether the choice of using sour cream (very unlikely to be available in UAE at the time) and yogurt was intended as a replacement for the chamī cheese, or a mistake from the author/contributor in defining what traditional chamī is. It may have also been intended for readers outside the UAE, (perhaps in the U.S.?), and hence its presentation as the alternative for the chamī. In either case, it poses questions of what local and traditional food reimagining is like from the perspective of the 'other'. The accompanying recipes for the mathbooze, from the same menu, however, calls for bezar pizza mix, and highlight that it can be bought from the market. This would most likely not be available aboard outside the gulf region at the time.



### Library Circles: Salma Serry





4. Two Expat Club Cookbooks

4.2 Desert Delights  
1994

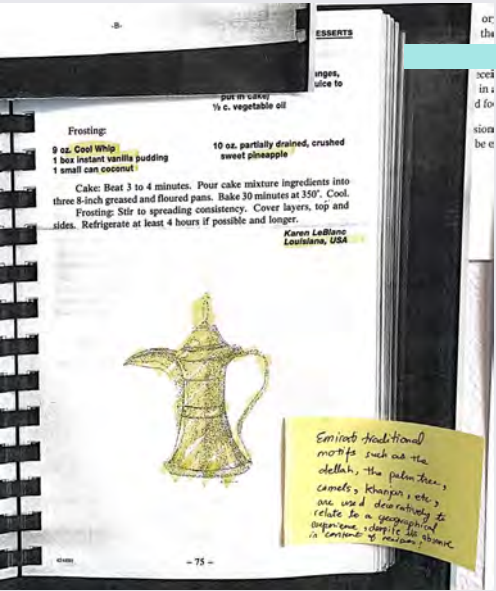
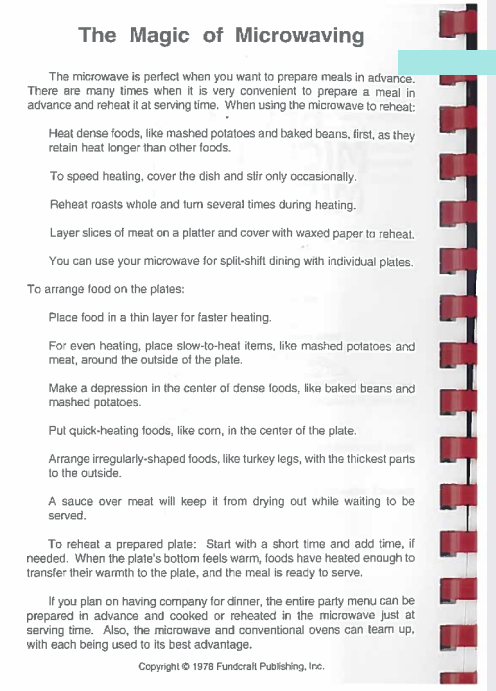
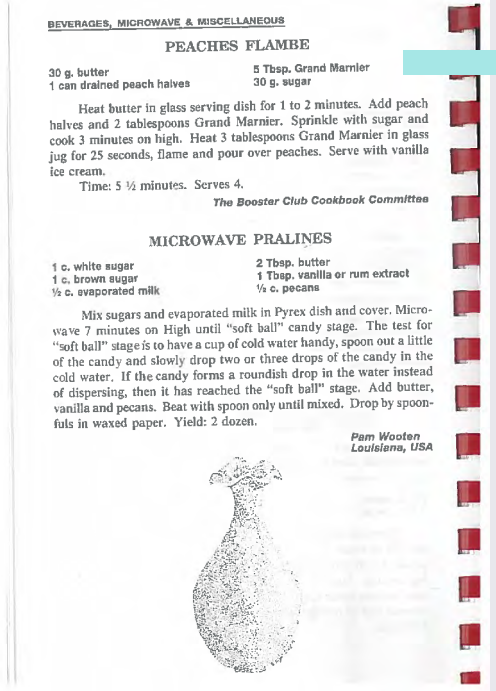
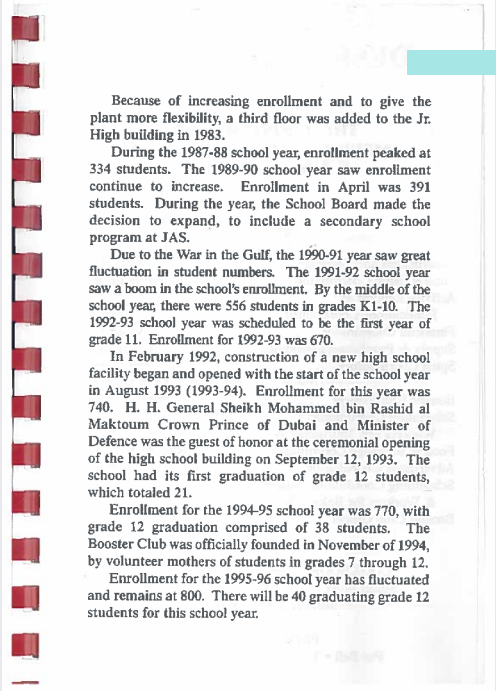
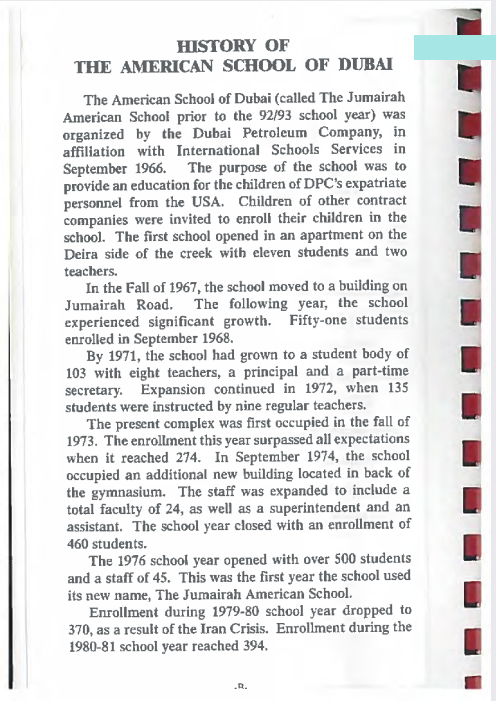
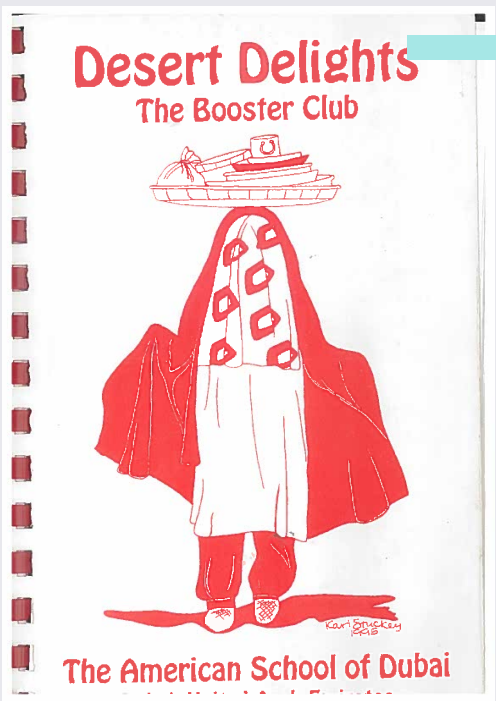
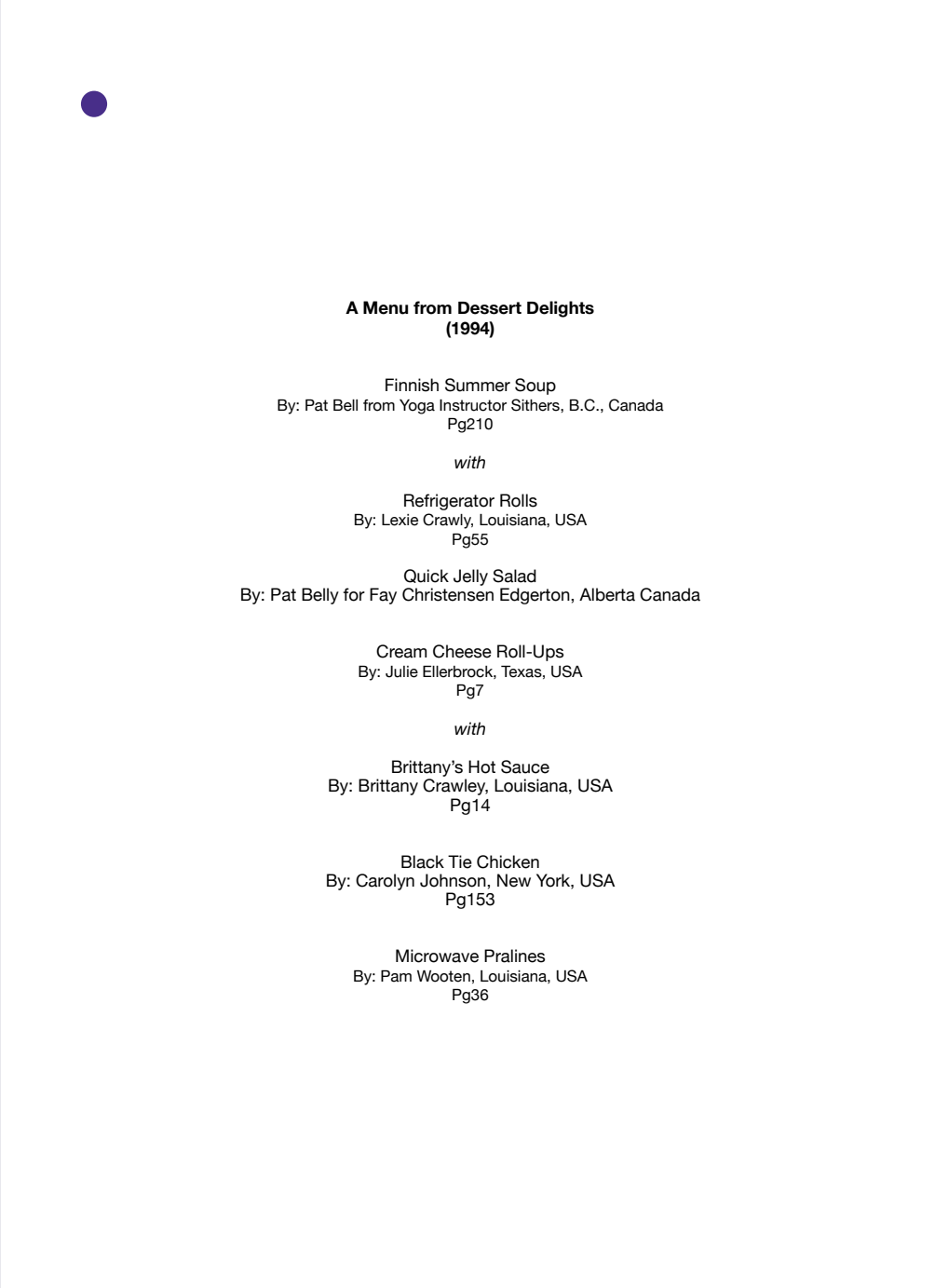
This menu is constructed from the first community cookbook organized by the booster club of The American School of Dubai, previously known as The Jumeirah American School. An item was selected from each section of the book to create the menu.

It is not clear whether the recipes were contributed by faculty members, parents or students, but the majority of the recipes are mostly from the U.S., Canada, and South America. Even though the overwhelming majority of the recipes are American, the book’s cover and illustrations that fill its pages are that of unrelated but iconically emblematic Emirati heritage, like the coffee dallah, camels, and daggers. Interestingly, the book is published and printed by a house in Tennessee, the U.S., and an order note is added at the end of the book for requesting additional copies from the American School of Dubai at Dhs. 50. This could indicate that the book might have been intended for distribution/sale in the U.S., justifying the American taste in the dishes selection. However, the intention could have been to remain within the American community in Dubai.

A few years before oil was first discovered in the emirate, the American oil company, CONOCO, was granted an agreement to begin searching for oil. Upon discovering it in the offshore Al Fateh area in 1966, The American School of Dubai (named then The Jumeirah American School) was established to provide education to the children of the American employees at the company. “The first school opened in an apartment on the Deira side of the creek with eleven students,” as stated in the cookbook’s prefatory section on the history of the school.

4. Two Expat Club Cookbooks

Library Circles: Salma Serry

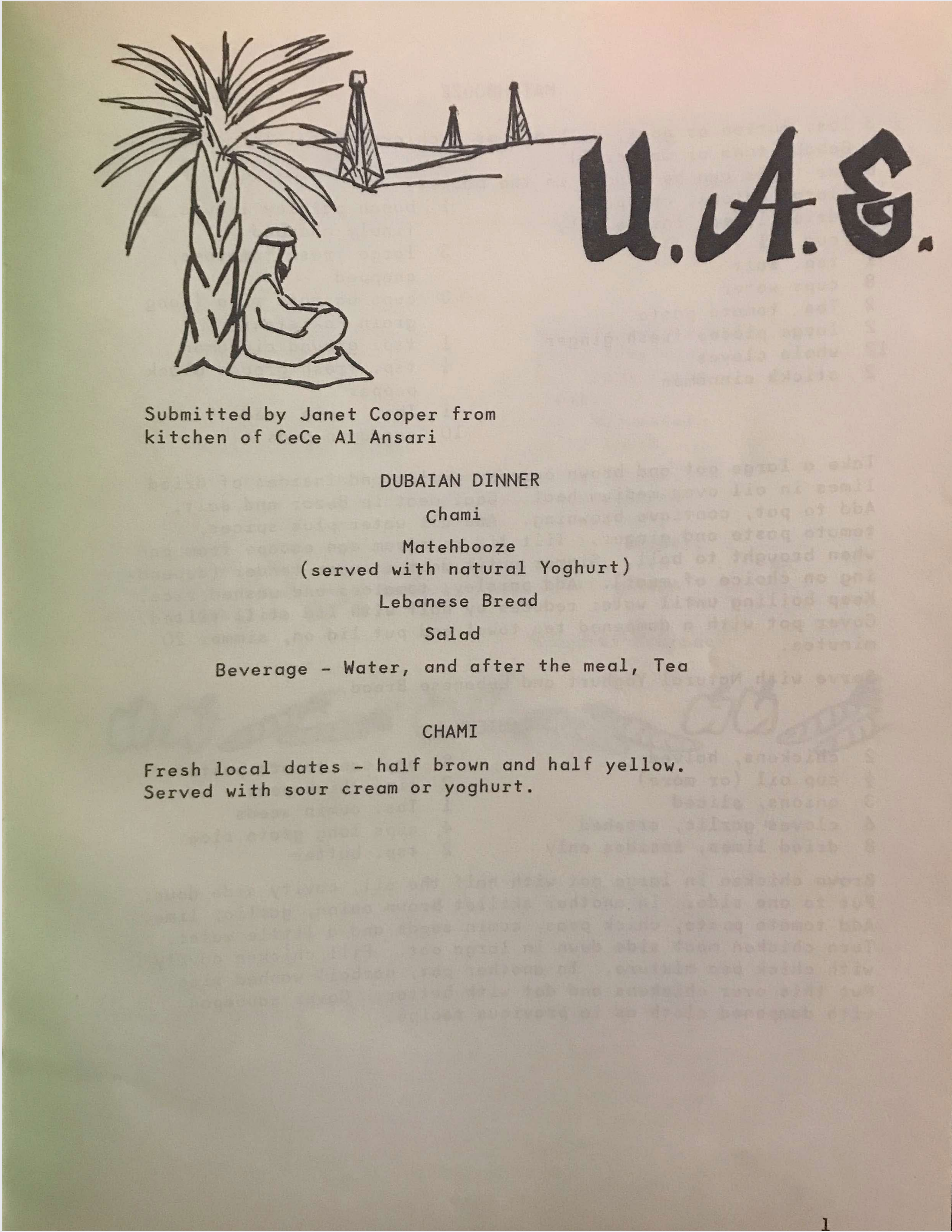


MENU

ESSAY

OTHER CITATIONS





**A Menu from Dessert Delights  
(1994)**

Finnish Summer Soup  
By: Pat Bell from Yoga Instructor Sithers, B.C., Canada  
Pg210

*with*

Refrigerator Rolls  
By: Lexie Crawly, Louisiana, USA  
Pg55

Quick Jelly Salad  
By: Pat Belly for Fay Christensen Edgerton, Alberta Canada

Cream Cheese Roll-Ups  
By: Julie Ellerbrock, Texas, USA  
Pg7

*with*

Brittany's Hot Sauce  
By: Brittany Crawley, Louisiana, USA  
Pg14

Black Tie Chicken  
By: Carolyn Johnson, New York, USA  
Pg153

Microwave Pralines  
By: Pam Wooten, Louisiana, USA  
Pg36

MENU

ESSAY

OTHER CITATIONS



Passing time at Dubai International Women's Club

gulfnews.com/uae/passing-time-at-dubai-international-womens-club-1.124963  
By Alice Johnson, Staff Reporter

Passing time at the women's club

Dubai: For 41 years, the Dubai International Women's Club (DIWC) has been providing a "home away from home" to women living in the emirate.

It was first established in 1967 as the Petroleum Wives Club as a group of wives whose husbands worked in the new oil industry. With so many inquiries from women working in other industries, the club changed its name six years ago to the DIWC. It now has 250 active members from 42 different nationalities.

Susie R., event advisor at the DIWC, said: "When the club was the PWC, it was only related with oil company employees. Then we had so many enquiries from ladies who thought they couldn't join unless they were related to the industry, that we changed the name, to show that everyone can be a member and everyone is welcome."

Diana Stuart, current membership representative on the DIWC committee, has recently been reading about the PWC beginnings.

"Many of the ladies in the Petroleum Wives Club were American, and the club was more formal than it is now. I remember reading in the PWC brochure that a couple of new ladies arrived at the club and were wearing sling-back sandals. They were surprised to see other ladies wearing nylon stockings, hats and formal shoes, and one lady was even wearing white gloves. It was definitely more formal than it is now," she said.

DIWC organises bridge and mahjong games three days a week in the mornings and afternoons respectively, and arranges monthly excursions for members wishing to see the wealth of the UAE.

The non-profit organisation also organises many charitable events for charities with female-related themes, such as for breast cancer awareness and women's shelters.

Susie R. said: "The most we have raised in one go was between Dh3,000 and Dh4,000, and we often receive donations from our sponsors. On September 20 we will be holding a charity bazaar, in aid of Dubai Cares and Unesco. We also raised money when the 2004 tsunami hit and for recent earthquakes around the world," she said.

Monthly excursions are sometimes arranged by invitation. These invitations, Susie R. continues, can be eye-opening.

Area (2006) 38.3, 268–278

‘Dad says I’m tied to a shooting star!’ Grounding (research on) British expatriate belonging

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Email: katie.walshonline@hotmail.com  
Revised manuscript received 6 February 2006

This paper analyses one British woman's everyday practices of belonging as she negotiates expatriate life in Dubai, United Arab Emirates. In doing so, it responds to widespread calls to ground research on processes of transnationalism and diaspora by drawing on 18 months of ethnographic research and adopting a three-stranded analytical framework to reflect on the significance of domesticity, intimacy and foreignness in expatriate belonging. The author focuses on a single research subject to draw attention to a particular British expatriate experience otherwise neglected in migration research and the paper resonates with theoretical literatures aiming to challenge the binary divisions of geographies of belonging, including attachment/detachment.

Key words: Dubai, British expatriates, ethnography, transnationalism, diaspora, migration

Introduction

Jane: I got bored. I got itchy feet. A job came up and seeing as I had no commitments or anything, I've got to get it out of my system. Dad says I'm tied to a shooting star! I'd got to the point where it was either buy a house, make a decision about Gary [her boyfriend at the time] and settle down. Or, I do this and see if it's what I want to do. There's nothing holding me back. I always say that I don't think I'll settle in the UK. At the moment I'm just, like, I'll take it as it comes and see what happens. Travelling has made me a lot more independent. I have a lot more confidence. Now it wouldn't bother me going anywhere on my own. Yeah, I love travelling. It opens your eyes to different cultures and that.

On an April afternoon in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, the temperature has reached 30°C. I find Jane sunbathing by the communal swimming pool, wearing a bright pink bikini, sun glasses and a sarong wrapped around her hair, sipping an iced vodka-tonic (the alcohol purchased from an illegal store at the edges of the Emirate), with cigarettes, mobile phone, flip flops and an old OK! magazine

scattered by the side of her lounge. Jane is from Chester in the North of England. She's 31 years old, single, and came to Dubai to work as a stylist for an international company of hairdressing salons. The quote above comes from our interview that afternoon. When I asked Jane about her move to Dubai, she adopted her Dad's metaphor of a shooting star to describe her relationship to global space. It is evocative, but it is also misleading. The image emphasizes the processes of movement involved in international migration, obscuring the ways in which everyday practices of expatriate belonging are also grounded. It is this groundedness that I set out to explore through extensive ethnographic research on British expatriates in Dubai. To illustrate some of the ways in which expatriate belonging is constituted through everyday practices that are about both detachment and attachment, in this paper I focus specifically on Jane, highlighting three recurrent and significant themes across my research more generally: domesticity, intimacy and foreignness. These are not mutually exclusive ways of understanding belonging, rather they should be understood as inter-related and

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'Dad Says I'm Tied to a Shooting Star!' Grounding (Research on) British Expatriate Belonging

Author(s): Katie Walsh

Source: Area, Sep., 2006, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Sep., 2006), pp. 268-278

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calls instructions: 'good, keep going...ok, now trot...slow the trot down, slow it down...keep your heels down...good, now halt, slowly...bring your reins in...'. Afterwards we're elated with our progress, the endorphins are flowing, and we stagger happy and tired towards the car, reliving the dramas of the lesson (field notes).

While VCOs are highlighted already in the literatures on migration as a way of meeting people and making friends with similar interests, these field notes suggest that there is also something additional to be understood about these kinds of playful leisure activities and their role in making the expatriate feel at home. The concentration involved in making a 'good pass' to a team mate during a rugby match, mixing the exact shade of blue desired for an acrylic painting in an art class, or controlling your body to communicate with a horse, is distracting. There may be little conversation, or it may centre on the activity, focusing the mind away from the outside environment, particularly towards the actions of the body or the perceptions of the senses. These activity clubs are also about meeting oneself: in concentrated relations, in practices of creativity, in skilful but extra-cognitive actions of 'play' (Nielson 1999).

Coffee Mornings or Adventures for 'Expat Mums'

Among British couples, it is usually the male partner who would be understood as the 'lead' migrant in that his employment generates the relocation. As such, men usually find themselves participating immediately after arrival in Dubai in professional collegial networks that are initiated in, but extend beyond, the workplace. Indeed, the significance of 'after-work drinks' for expatriate socialising has frequently been identified (e.g. Beaverstock 2005; Knowles & Harper 2009; Scott 2006). In contrast, British women who accompany their husbands in relocating to Dubai must instead forge their own networks. This is seen to be vital to the success of expatriation; as an orientation specialist in Dubai commented: 'the men are always straight into work but it worries them if the wives don't have anything to do...they get it in the neck at night!' (interview). Women with younger children often made friends through school networks, but this may not be sufficient contact to develop a friendship and was often described to me as intimidating by new residents. As a result, several social groups in Dubai catered only for women, organising events during the daytime: The Dubai Adventure Mums; breast-feeding and post-natal support group Mother-to-Mother; The Dubai and Sharjah Women's Guild; and Dubai International Women's Club (begun in 1967 as the Petroleum Wives Club). In spite of my status in Dubai as a single woman without children, these were the institutional groups that were more accessible to me as a result of my gender. I carried out ethnographic research in both the Dubai and Sharjah Women's Guild, as previously mentioned, and the Dubai Adventure Mums, which I discuss further here.

1326 A. Coles & K. Walsh

Food

Food, with its rich and layered meanings, provides remarkable cultural contact zone between ethnic groups. Despite major differences, in product availability and in eating practices across so many British expatriates, both past and present, try to maintain exhibiting aloofness, ethnocentricity and deep conservatism.

As a result of increasing imports, irrigation and industrial foodstuffs available for preparing at home has widened enormous time periods; it is easy for contemporary British expatriates to contrast with the earlier period when, in order to retain familiar identity, went into adapting recipes to accommodate the available. In the later time period, Spinnery's supermarket is the contemporary British migrants. Like other outlets, Spinnery's has the display of pork products for non-Muslim customers, but it

foodstuffs over Christmas, such as mince pies, and branded products from Tesco and Waitrose in the UK throughout the year. This national sourcing is seen as 'normal' (May 1996). Field notes (KW) suggest that the availability of foods seen as 'normal' is of great concern. During the second invasion of Iraq, there was much anxiety among longer-term British residents who feared imported grocery products might become scarce and some reacted by stockpiling favourite Western brands, thus highlighting that such items were usually readily available. This 'emergency' hoarding contrasts with the prudent 'stocking-up' that was a habitual response to erratic supplies in the earlier period, but both point to a desire to maintain a familiar diet.

The emphasis on familiar brands reveals a long-established dietary conservatism among these British expatriates. Yet, during the 30 years between the time periods we considered 'foreign', such as pizza, curry and hummus, have become everyday choices, and eating out, especially in ethnic restaurants, is considered normal (Cook and Crang 1996). Yet, British expatriates in Dubai rarely eat Middle Eastern food. There are no restaurants serving purely Emirati food, so those who do make the effort to eat what they perceive to be local Arab dishes are, often unknowingly, eating the globally available fast-food version of Lebanese cuisine. Even here British expatriates often choose only familiar items: fruit shakes, chicken, hummus and rice. Indeed, those British expatriates enthusiastic to try food they perceive as 'ethnic' are more likely to choose the international restaurants of hotels serving Westernised dishes that they are used to from the UK. Emiratis (and other wealthy transnational migrants) also eat in such places, but in Dubai as elsewhere, interaction between tables is rare. In 1968–71, British women in Dubai strove to maintain 'proper' eating habits with traditional meals of the 'meat and two veg' variety. This was an important aspect of creating a home away from home, and, in so doing, they reinforced 'their' families' ethnic identity. Housewives, responsible for family health and raised on 'modern' scientific precepts, viewed local perishable produce with suspicion: salads were

Excerpt from  
'Trivial State' to 'Postcolonial City' ?  
The Imaginative  
Geography of British Expatriates  
in Dubai  
by Anne Coles &  
Katie Walsh  
in Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies  
Vol. 36, No. 8, September 2010  
pp. 1317–1333

Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 1327

carefully sterilised, powdered milk typically preferred to fresh. In many homes, diet was restricted by the limited range of acceptable foodstuffs, by Western concepts of hygiene, and by confidence in British nutritional standards. Probably underlying this was something of a superior colonial attitude to the food practices of other groups, reminiscent of McClintock's (1995: 6) 'high imperialism' produced by early colonial wives. There was little eating out to broaden perspectives; there were very few restaurants.

Attitudes to purchasing food varied. Some expatriates relied entirely on the two modest, new supermarkets catering for foreigners; others used small Asian grocers – either way they performed adopted a philosophical attitude to weevils. Some never engaged with the produce markets, repelled and revolted by the noisy, bustling crowds, smells and flies; thus the Self remained ignorant of the Other, never seeing the range of foods consumed locally, just as contemporary expatriates may unseeing pass by the Arab items in the supermarket. However, others at least sampled locally prepared foods, like kebabs, from the souk. Betty, a young mother, recollected:

Sometimes we bought Indian sweetmeats, dripping with syrup, or flaps of hot Iranian bread to eat at home, as a treat and an experience for the children, but we would never have given them to guests (interview AC).

Betty's remarks suggested that these local items, though liked, were perhaps too unfamiliar to risk offering to other expatriates. There were other opportunities to 'dip into' the local. Wives exoticised the dishes prepared for ladies' parties, asking 'What is it made of?', but they seldom, if ever, sought to replicate them at home, demonstrating merely a fleeting interest. There was a type of semi-public entertaining to which expatriates, as well as Arabs, were often invited. Important visits or the signing of a major contract, would be marked by the sheikhs with a traditional meal of goat and spiced rice, commonly referred to as a 'mutton grab' by the British; a derogatory reflection on 'muttonised' contrasting local table manners (the rapid consumption and 'use of the hands' although cutlery was available for foreigners. Usually these were men-only affairs: coffee was served and incense passed before and after, the meal was hurried, limited conversation was expected and guests left directly afterwards. Such events illustrated important differences between local Arab and Western concepts of meals (Iddisoon 2001).

The everyday cuisine of Emiratis largely remained and still remains unknown to most British expatriates and the perceived need to preserve familiar dietary practices is evident in both our two time periods. The actual foods eaten by the British have changed rather dramatically, but the discourses about their appropriateness suggest continuities in the imaginative geographies sustaining separate eating and food acquisition habits. Such imaginative geographies reduce the perceived opportunities for eating together as a means of socialising.

substitution?

perhaps

Perhaps expresses both of local/ Arab recipes in English cook books or, doesn't delight, PWC's, etc.

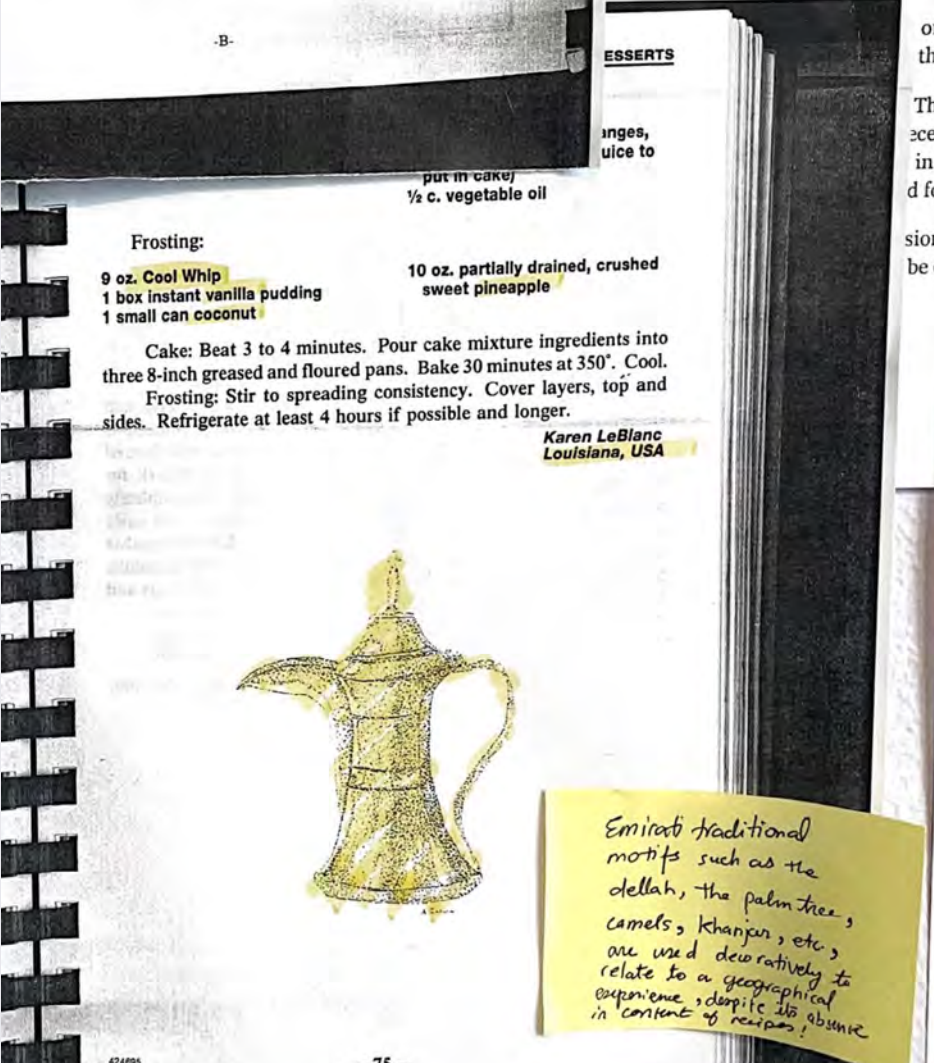
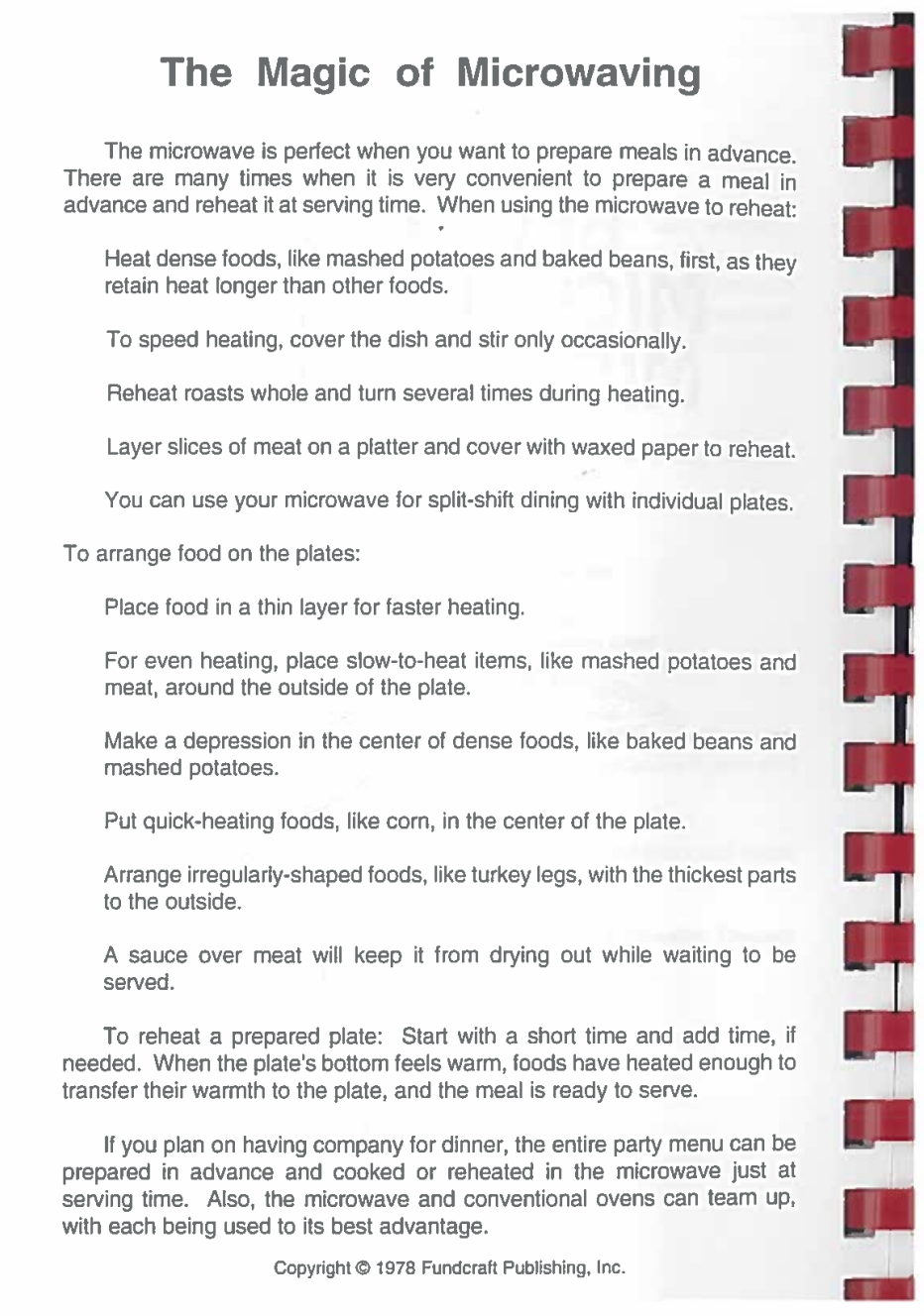
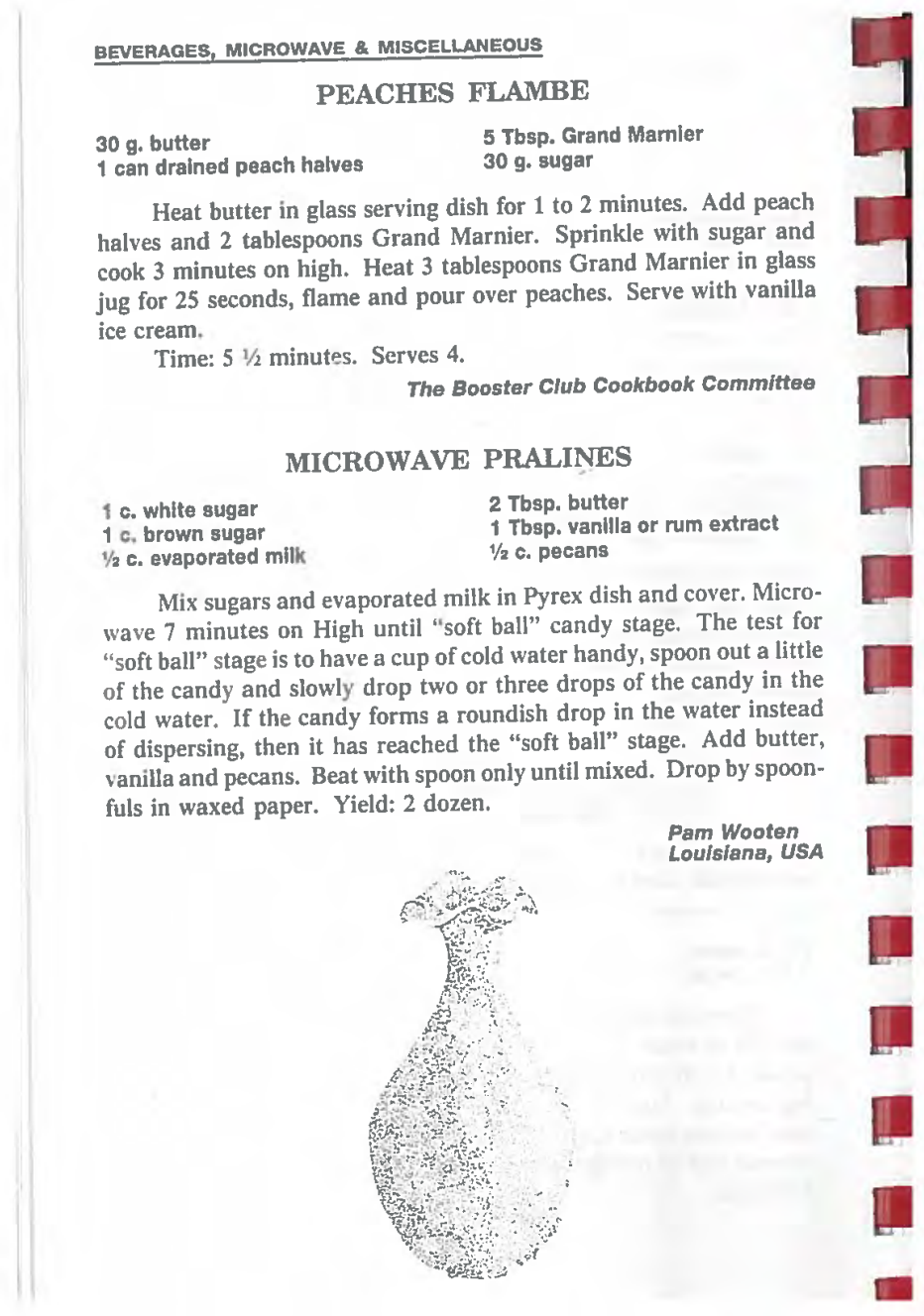
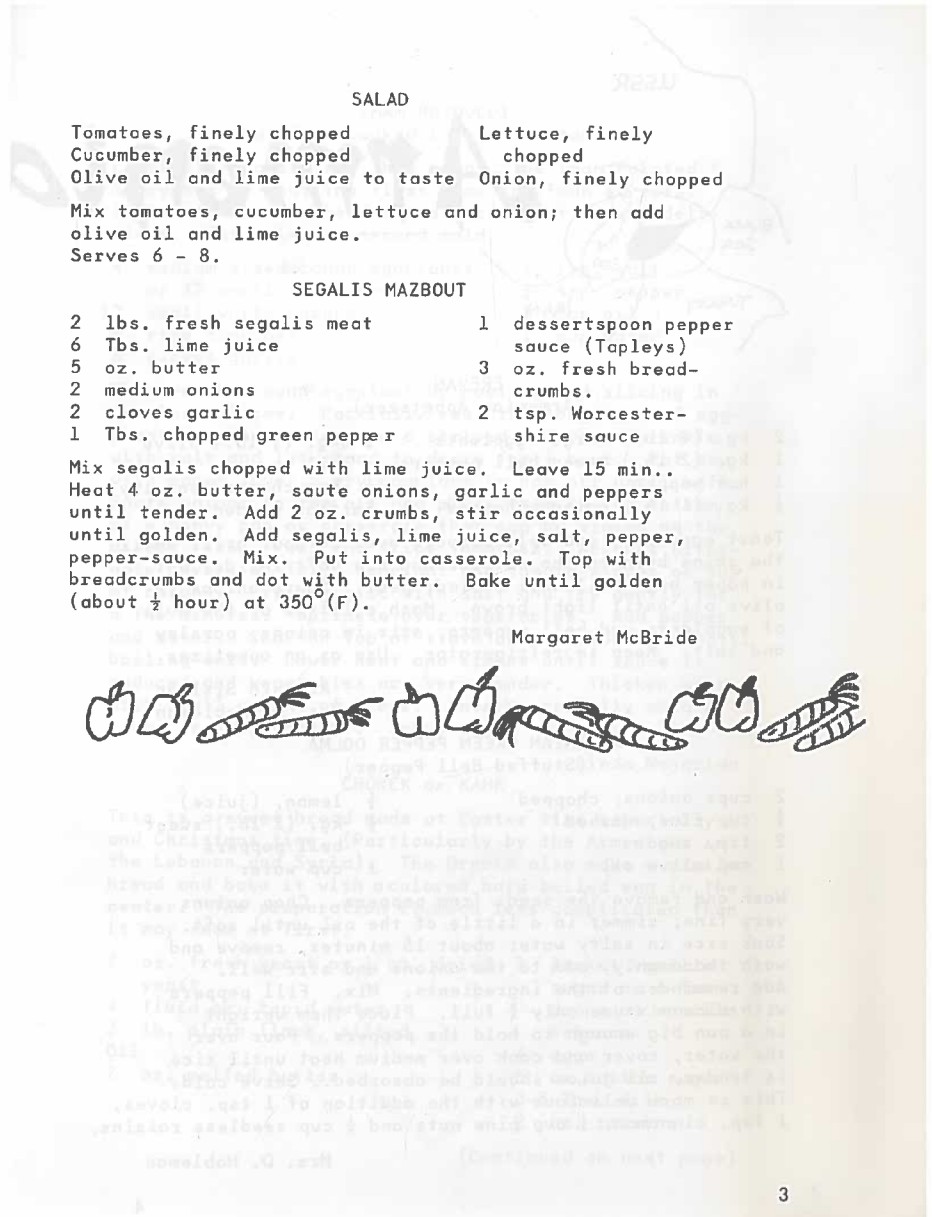
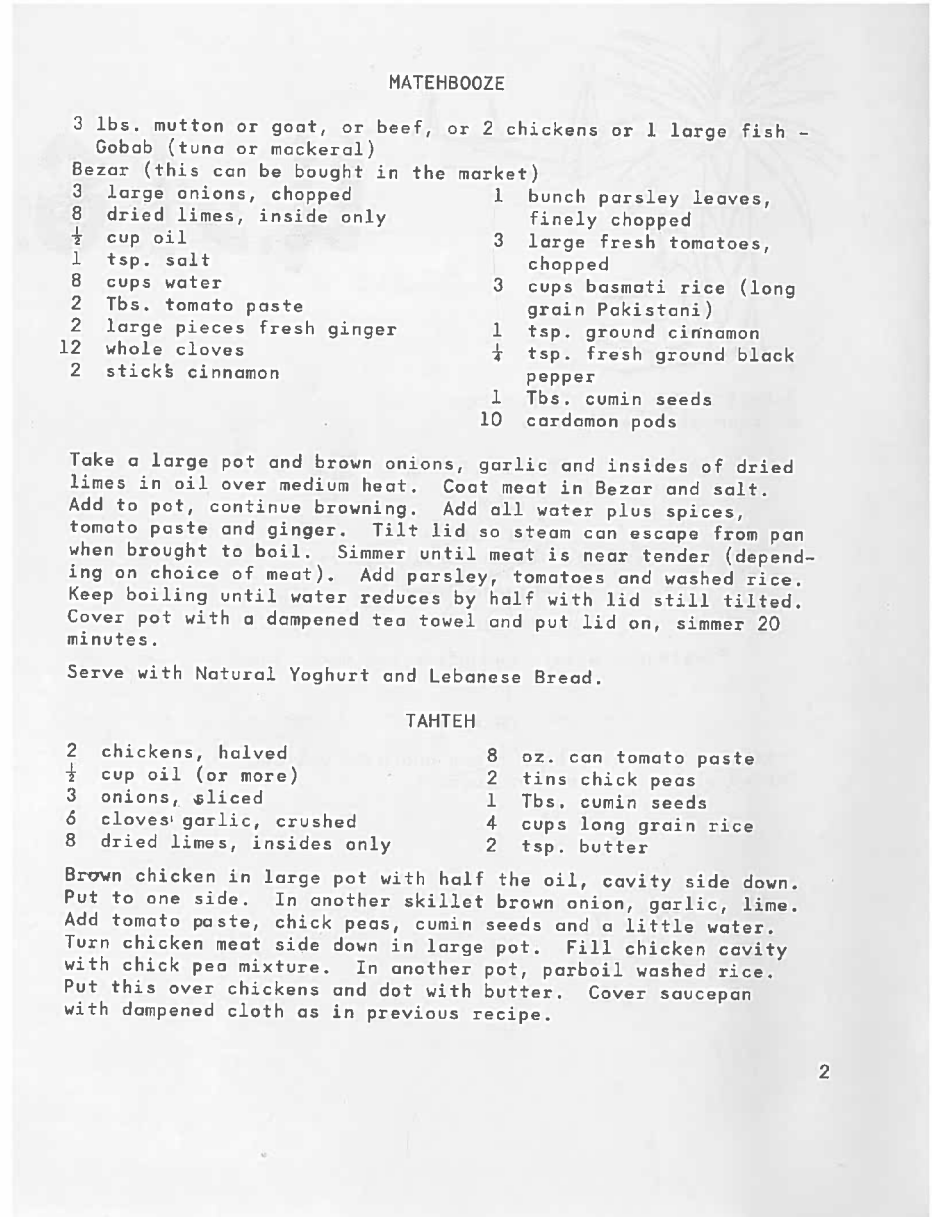
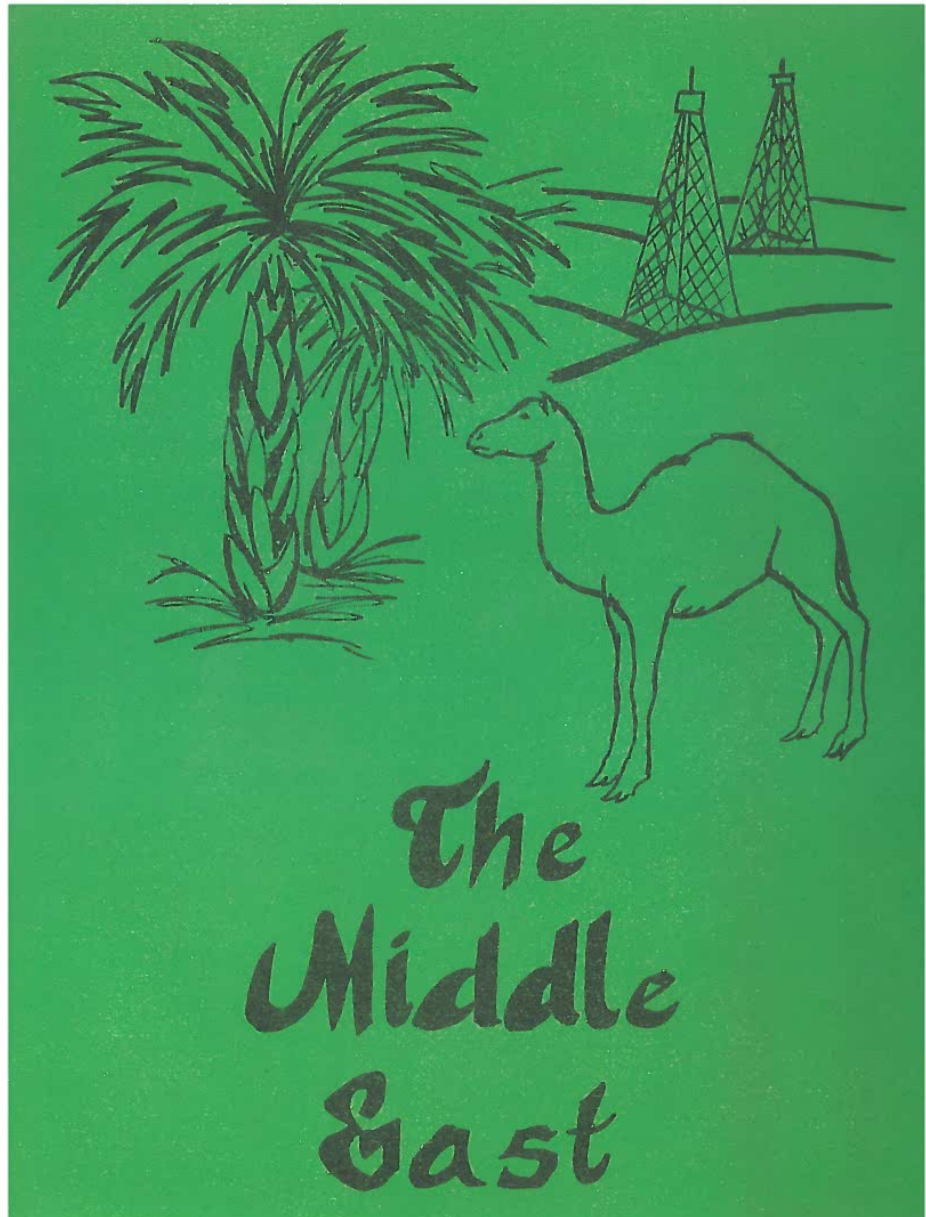
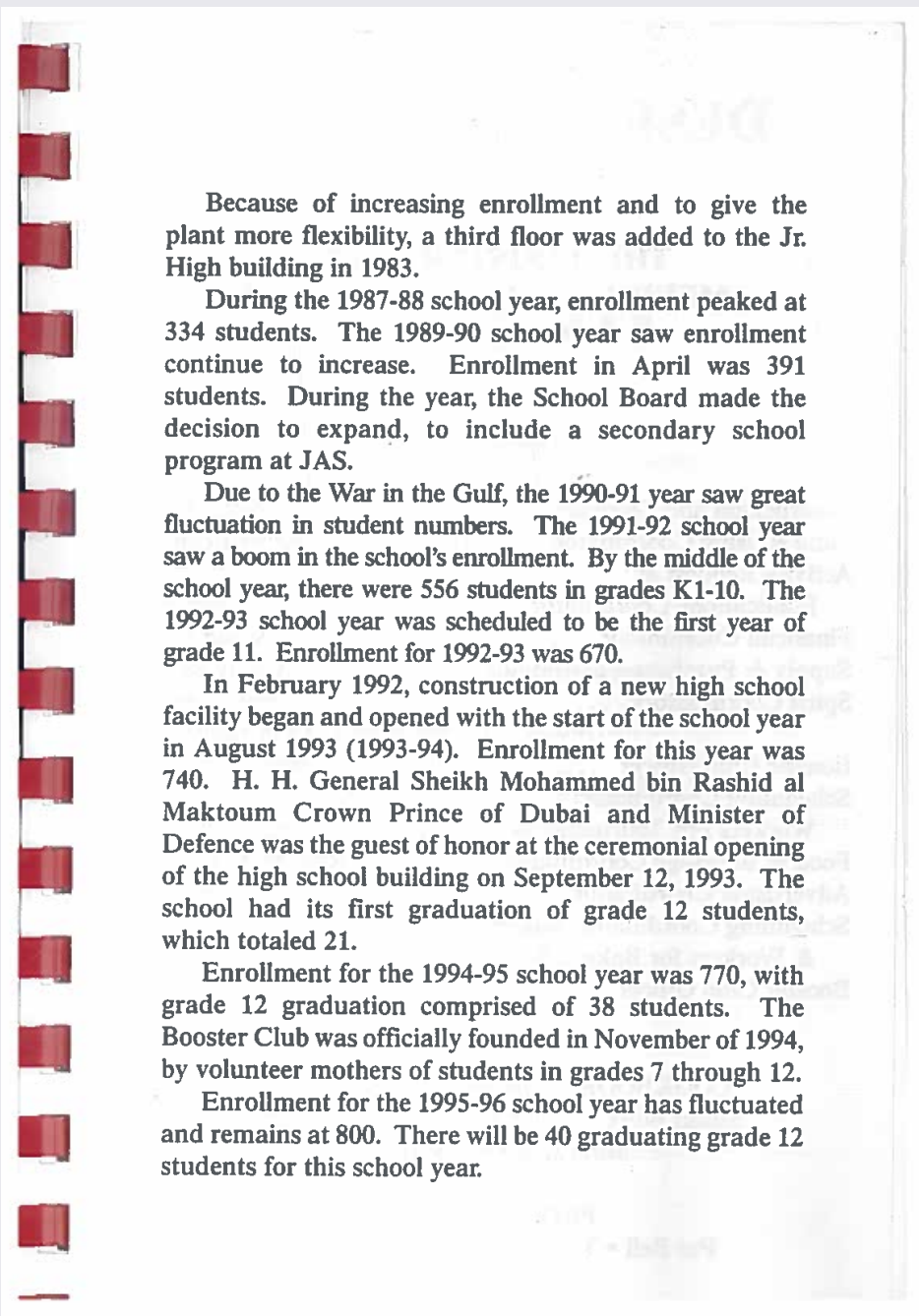
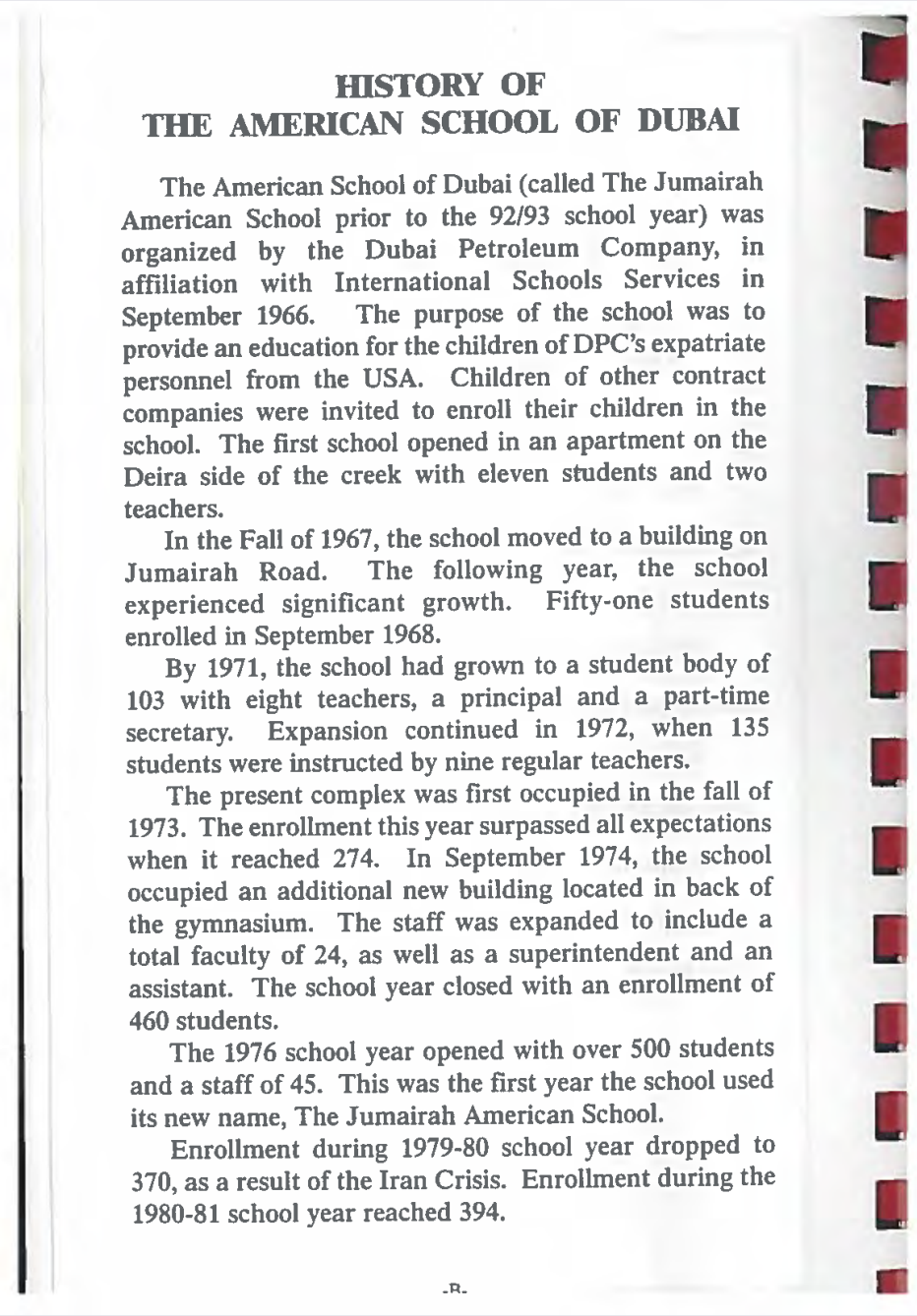
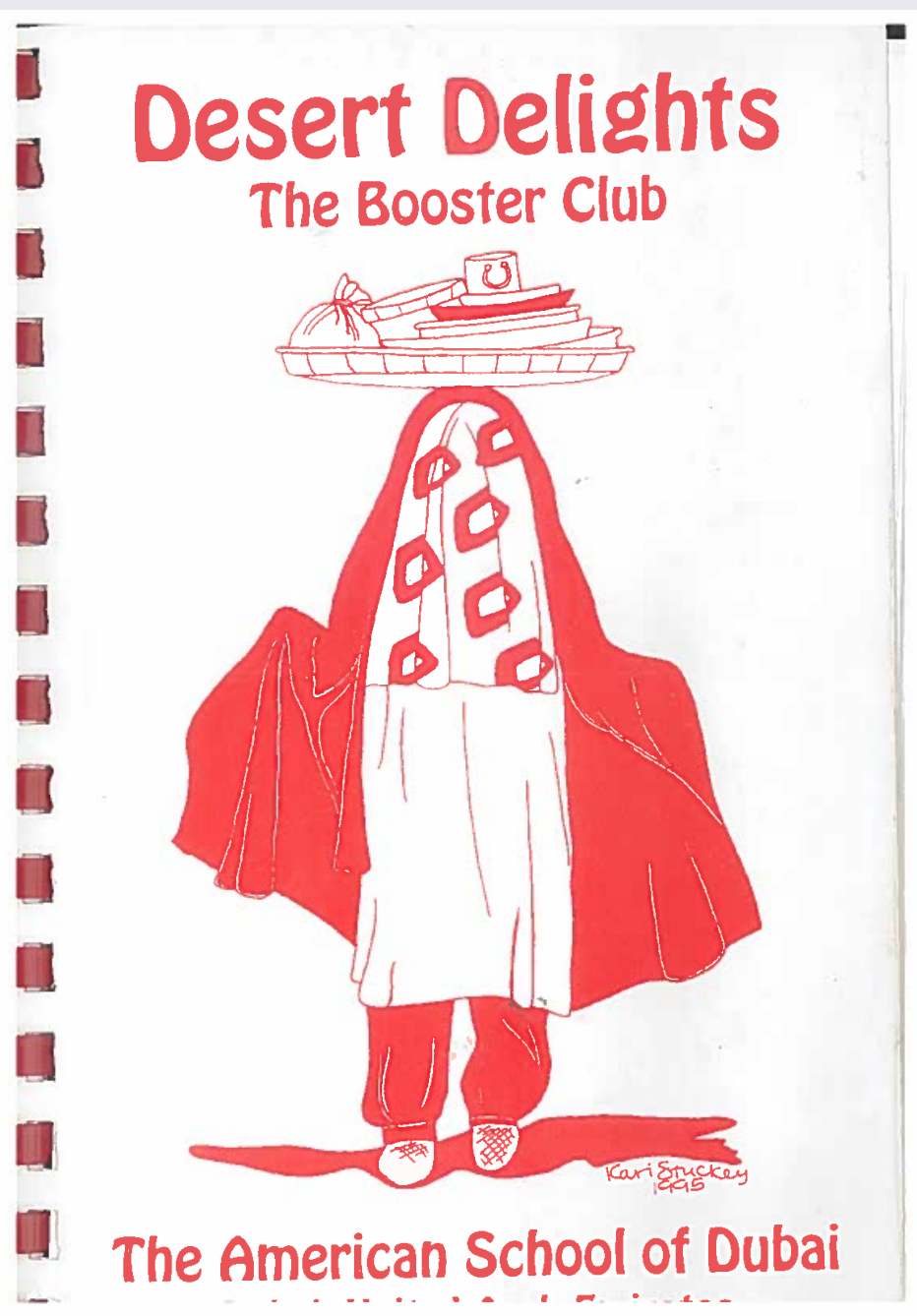
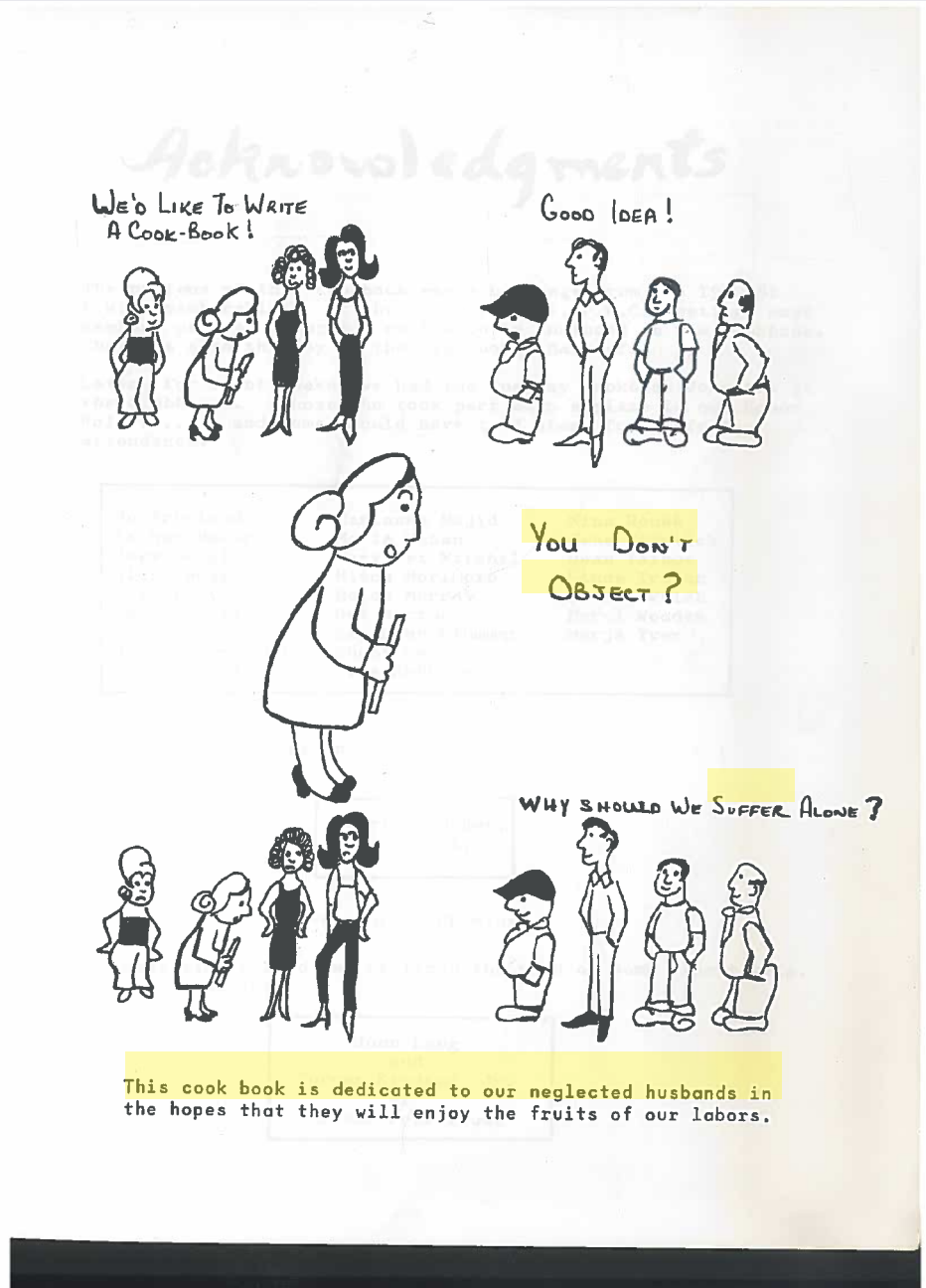
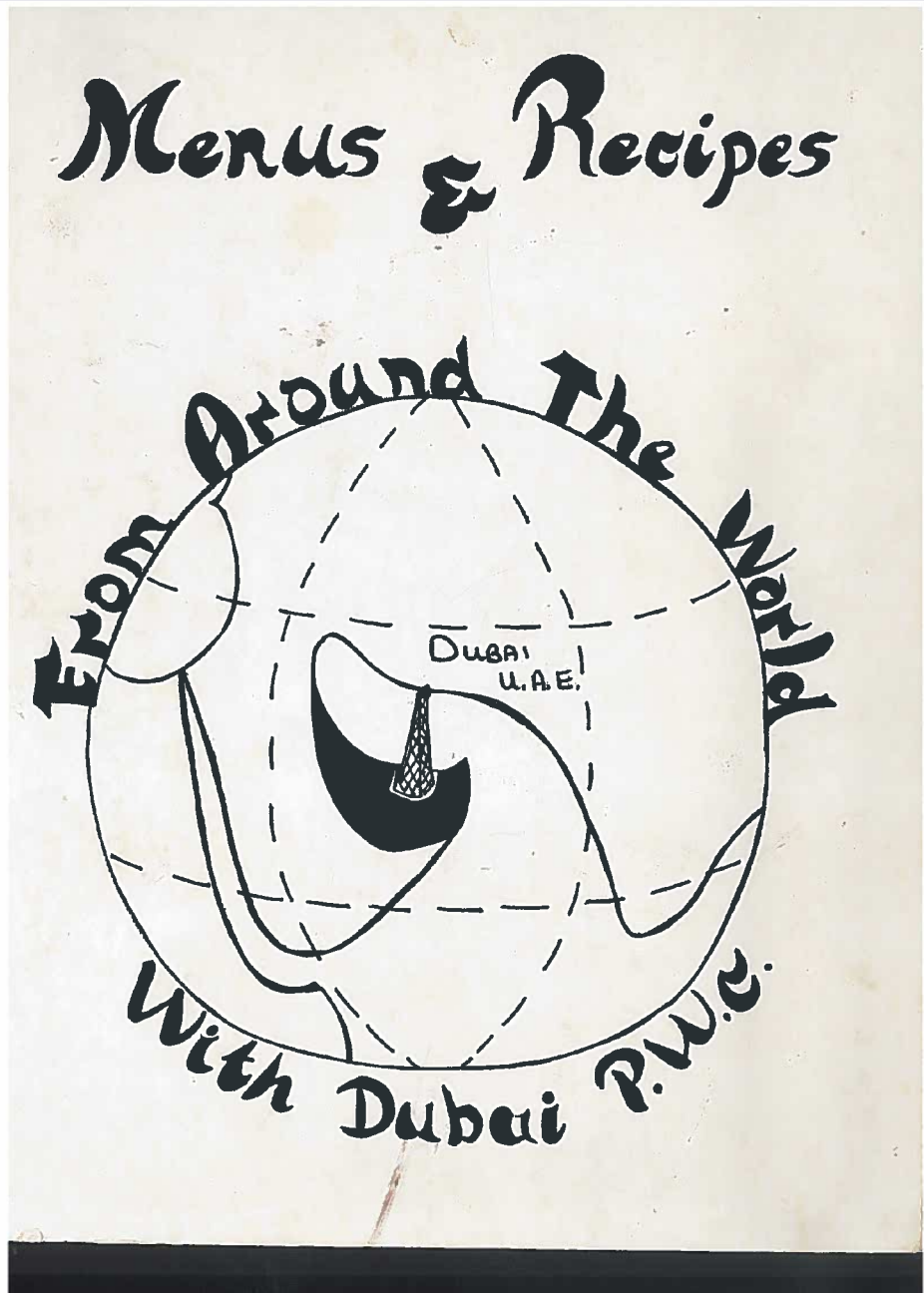
Are you the man? and 'Arabian Nights' and 'If I didn't live in Arabia'.

MENU

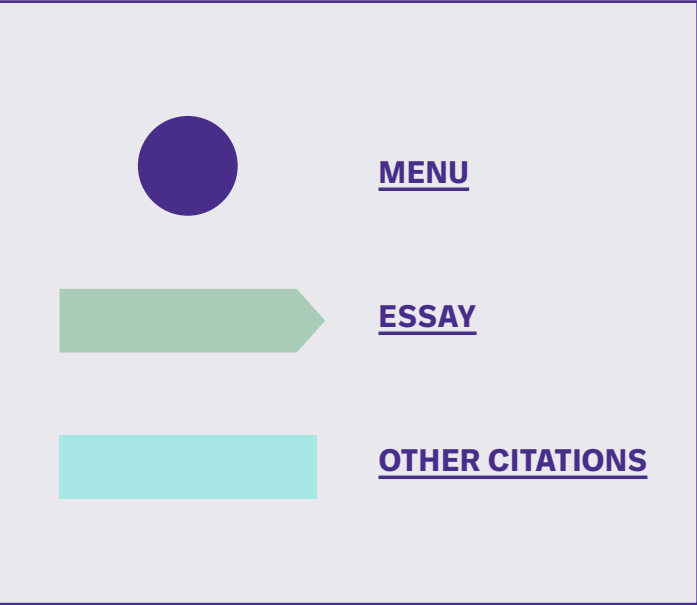
ESSAY

OTHER CITATIONS



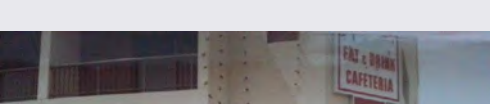


Emirati traditional motifs such as the dellah, the palm tree, camels, khanjar, etc. are all used decoratively to relate to a geographical experience, despite its absence in content of recipes!





## 5.2. Eat & Drink





5.The Five-Starred And The Corner Cafeteria

5.1. Hyatt Regency’s Caravan 1983

A menu of one of Hyatt Regency’s first restaurants and cafes, three years after the five-starred luxury hotel’s opening. Ann Cleave who lived in Dubai in the ‘80s recalls attending the opening ceremony with 3000 attendees. “It was quite an affair to remember.” The cafe, located at the hotel’s lobby boasts a wide selection of European, an “oriental and asian corner”, and a list of Levantine mezzes titled “Gulf Specials.” It was later changed to be a cafe rather than a restaurant with a different type of menu. Other restaurants and cafes from the same time in the hotel are the famous “Al Dawar”, “Miyako,” both still exist but not the Italian restaurant “Focaccia.”

The hotel uniquely offered “the Progressive Dinner”, a five course meal in different restaurants on different floors, offered at a Dhs 100. Roger Cooper, a user on a facebook post comments “[you would] start with a cocktail of your choice in Carpenter’s Bar, then starter in either the Chinese restaurant (forgot the name) or Miyako Japanese restaurant, usually tempura. Main course was in the French restaurant (again forget the name), then desert, up to the Al Dawaar Revolving restaurant watching the planes either take off towards you or pass the window coming in to land. Finally, down to the basement nightclub (another name that escapes me) where the first drink was free. Those were the days!” (FIG. 7)

Hyatt Regency had residences, and offices like the UAE’s first Schlumberger office, besides the hotel. Most of those who stayed or worked there were British and American residents, according to comments on Facebook that were used in the content analysis of this section of the project.

Caravan’s menu seem to cater to that Anglo-American palette with dishes such as fish and chips, Louisiana chicken sandwich, monte cristo sandwich, and Surf and Turf, in addition to continental classics. The majority of the other dishes are what some may label ‘international,’ featuring some specials in “The Oriental and Asian Corner,” and the “Gulf Specials Mezzeh’s” that has an “Arabic mixed grill served with oriental rice and Arabic bread.” Being among the first luxury hotels in the emirate, Hyatt Regency paved the way for setting a foundation of what to expect in an international hospitality dining establishment in the country and the larger gulf region. It focused on a larger continental offering alongside a selected few classic levantine dishes, that are later to become synonymous with the Dubai dining, as experienced by visitors and ‘expats’. (FIG. 8)

5.The Five-Starred And The Corner Cafeteria

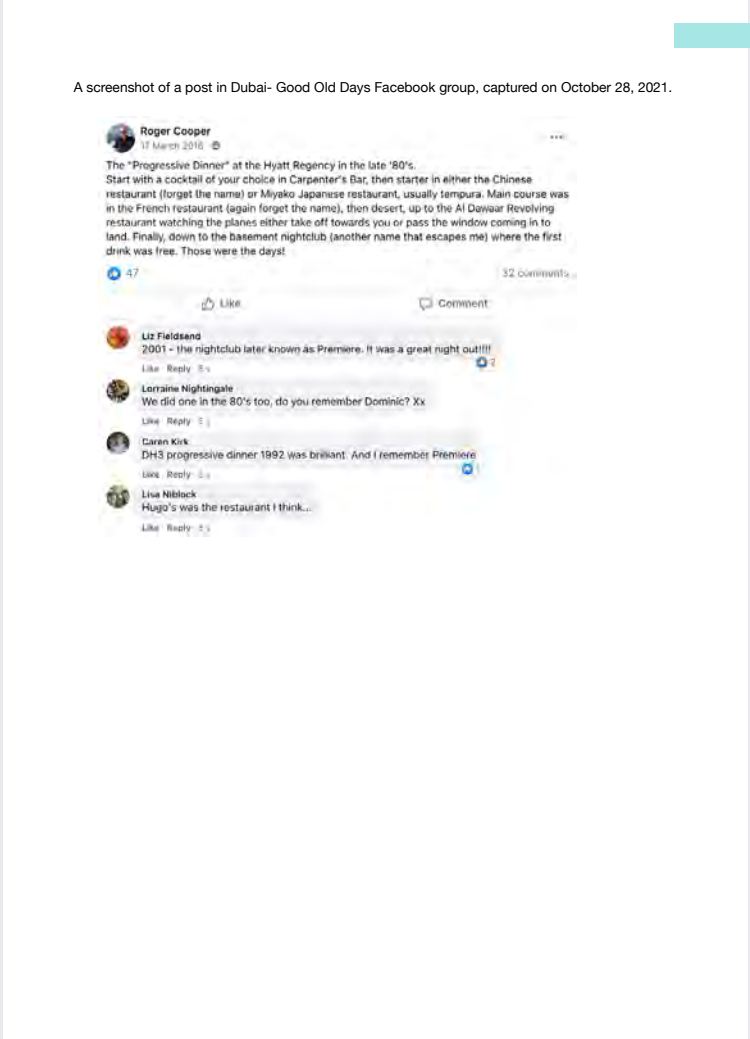
Library Circles: Salma Serriy



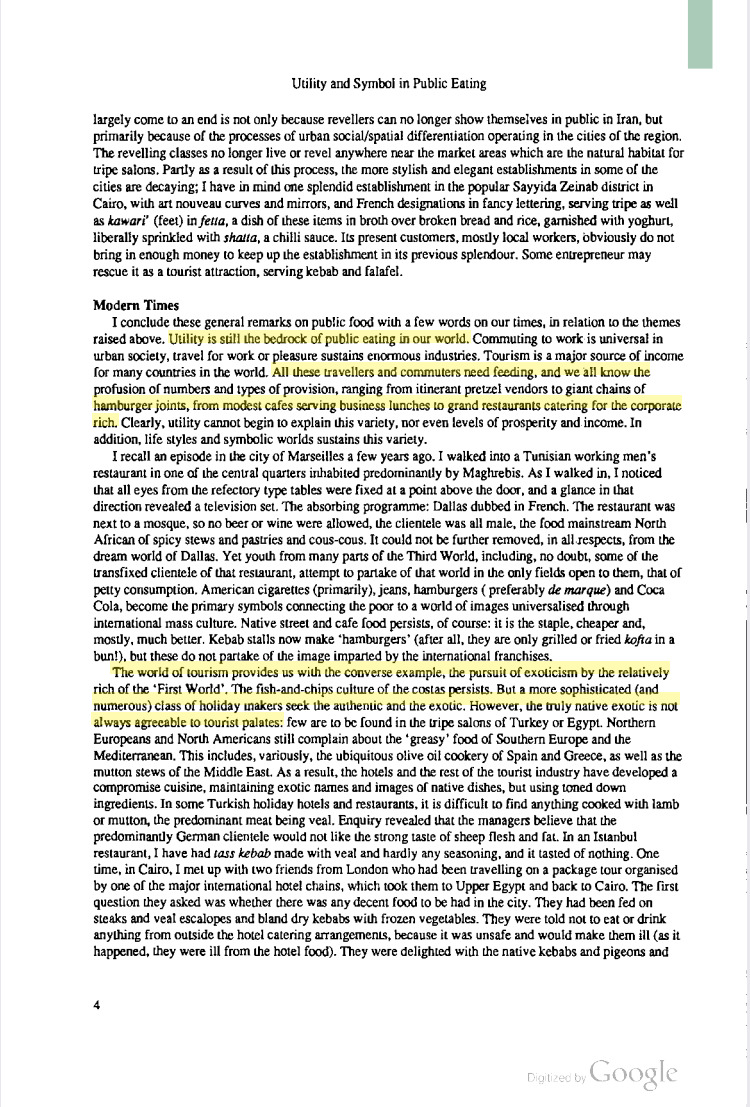
Shared by Samer Shahin on facebook oct 23, 2020, Courtesy of Samer Shahin




Galleria Galadani & Hyatt Regency Dubai

(FIG. 7)



(FIG. 8)



	<a href="#">MENU</a>
	<a href="#">ESSAY</a>
	<a href="#">OTHER CITATIONS</a>

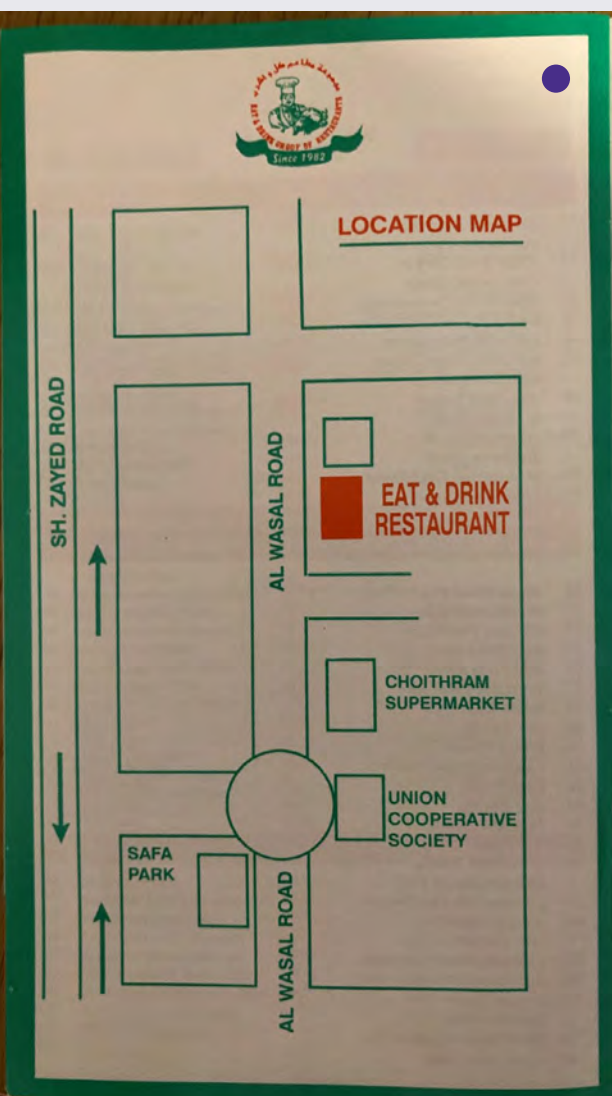
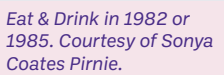


## 5.2. Eat & Drink

### 1990s




Image courtesy of Sonya Coates Prinie.

## Library Circles: Salma Serry

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	<a href="#">ESSAY</a>
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## LEBANESE MENU

### قائمة اللبنانية

#### انواع المشاوي

1 Tikka	12.00	١٢.٠٠	١ تكه
2 Kabab	12.00	١٢.٠٠	٢ كباب
3 Lamb Chops	13.00	١٣.٠٠	٣ ريش
4 Arize	12.00	١٢.٠٠	٤ اريش
5 Kasha Kasha Kabab	13.00	١٣.٠٠	٥ كباب خشخاش
6 Tikka with Yoghurt	13.00	١٣.٠٠	٦ تكه بالزباد
7 Kabab with Egg Plants	13.00	١٣.٠٠	٧ كباب بالزنجار
8 Assorted	13.00	١٣.٠٠	٨ مشكل غداي
9 Kabab + Tikka	20.00	٢٠.٠٠	٩ مشكل الغضي
10 Mutton + Chicken Chops	12.00	١٢.٠٠	١٠ صحن شاورما

#### انواع الدجاج

11 Chicken with Bones	13.00	١٣.٠٠	١١ جناح على الفحم مع الصلصة
12 Sheesh Tawook	13.00	١٣.٠٠	١٢ شيش طاووق
13 Chicken Tikka	13.00	١٣.٠٠	١٣ جناح تكه
14 Wings Chicken	12.00	١٢.٠٠	١٤ جواجن
15 Escalop Chicken	18.00	١٨.٠٠	١٥ دجاج الكناي
16 Chicken Shawarma (Plate)	15.00	١٥.٠٠	١٦ صحن شاورما دجاج
17 Grilled Chicken with Service	17.00	١٧.٠٠	١٧ حمام مشوي على الفحم
18 Full Grilled Quails	15.00	١٥.٠٠	١٨ حمام مشوي على الفحم

#### الاسماك

19 Shrimps	30.00	٣٠.٠٠	١٩ روبيان مشوي
20 Shrimps Fry	25.00	٢٥.٠٠	٢٠ روبيان مقلي

#### الشورية

21 Chicken Soup	3.00	٣.٠٠	٢١ الشورية دجاج
22 Mutton Soup	3.00	٣.٠٠	٢٢ الشورية لحم

#### بيرياني

23 Chicken Biryani	12.00	١٢.٠٠	٢٣ بيرياني دجاج
24 Mutton Biryani	12.00	١٢.٠٠	٢٤ بيرياني لحم
25 Fish Biryani	12.00	١٢.٠٠	٢٥ بيرياني سمك

#### GRILL ITEMS

26 Kidney Bean	5.00	٥.٠٠	٢٦ صحن فول
27 Falafil	5.00	٥.٠٠	٢٧ فلافل
28 Hamous	5.00	٥.٠٠	٢٨ صحن حمص
29 Egg Plant Mix	13.00	١٣.٠٠	٢٩ صحن مقل
30 Beef	13.00	١٣.٠٠	٣٠ صحن لحم ناشف
31 Dry Liver	13.00	١٣.٠٠	٣١ صحن كبد ناشف
32 Dry Kidney	13.00	١٣.٠٠	٣٢ صحن كلي ناشف
33 Omelette	4.00	٤.٠٠	٣٣ صحن بيض مسلوق
34 Egg With Tomato	5.00	٥.٠٠	٣٤ بيض مع طماطم
35 Fried Egg	4.00	٤.٠٠	٣٥ صحن بيض مقلي
36 Vine Leaves	13.00	١٣.٠٠	٣٦ صحن ورق عنب
37 Potato	5.00	٥.٠٠	٣٧ صحن بطاط
38 Taboule	5.00	٥.٠٠	٣٨ صحن طبلية
39 Yoghurt Salad	5.00	٥.٠٠	٣٩ صحن صلصة لبن
40 Arabic Salad	5.00	٥.٠٠	٤٠ صحن صلصة عربية

#### CHICKEN ITEMS

41 Chips	5.00	٥.٠٠	٤١ بطاطا
42 Hot dock	14.00	١٤.٠٠	٤٢ حنوق
43 Cod	13.00	١٣.٠٠	٤٣ قند
44 Hamour	12.00	١٢.٠٠	٤٤ سمور
45 Red Snapper	12.00	١٢.٠٠	٤٥ حمصة
46 Prawns	18.00	١٨.٠٠	٤٦ روبيان
47 Steak & Kidney Pie	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٤٧ فطيرة دجاج كلاري
48 Chicken & Mushroom	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٤٨ فطيرة دجاج بالفطر
49 Mince Onion Pie	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٤٩ فطيرة لحم والبصل
50 Corniche Pastie	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٥٠ فطائر كورنيش
51 Mush Peas	4.00	٤.٠٠	٥١ بازلاء مطحونه
52 Coleslaw	4.00	٤.٠٠	٥٢ سلطة مايونيز
53 Pickled Eggs	1.00	١.٠٠	٥٣ مخلل بالبيض
54 Pickled Onion	0.50	٠.٥٠	٥٤ مخلل البصل



## LEBANESE MENU

### قائمة اللبنانية

#### الفتور

55 Special Cocktail	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٥٥ كوكتيل فواكه خاص
56 Cocktail	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٥٦ كوكتيل
57 Mango	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٥٧ مانجو
58 Apple	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٥٨ تفاح
59 Carrot	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٥٩ جزر
60 Pineapple	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٠ اناناس
61 Guava	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦١ جوافه
62 Sweet Melon	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٢ شمام (البطخ)
63 Sapotiya	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٣ سايوليا
64 Papaya	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٤ بابايا
65 Pomegranate	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٥ رمان
66 Faloda	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٦ فالوده
67 Fruit Salad	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٧ سلطة فواكه
68 Black Grape	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٨ عنب الاسود
69 Orange	3.5 6	٣.٥ ٦	٦٩ برتقال
70 Water Melon	3.5 6	٣.٥ ٦	٧٠ بطيخ احمر
71 Grape Fruit	3.5 6	٣.٥ ٦	٧١ عنب الاحمر
72 Lemon	3.5 6	٣.٥ ٦	٧٢ ليمون
73 Banana	2.3 5	٢.٣ ٥	٧٣ موز
74 Kiwi	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٧٤ كيوي
75 Abadi	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٧٥ ابادي
76 Rolex	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٧٦ رولكس
77 Sitara	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٧٧ سيتارا
78 Lexus	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٧٨ لكسس
79 Mumtaz	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٧٩ مممتل
80 Tahyathi	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٨٠ تحياتي
81 Dream	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٨١ دريم
82 Fruit Salad	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٨٢ صلصة فواكه
83 Faloodha	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٨٣ فالودها
84 Ice cream	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٨٤ ايس كريم

#### سمك و بطاطا

41 Chips	5.00	٥.٠٠	٤١ بطاطا
42 Hot dock	14.00	١٤.٠٠	٤٢ حنوق
43 Cod	13.00	١٣.٠٠	٤٣ قند
44 Hamour	12.00	١٢.٠٠	٤٤ سمور
45 Red Snapper	12.00	١٢.٠٠	٤٥ حمصة
46 Prawns	18.00	١٨.٠٠	٤٦ روبيان
47 Steak & Kidney Pie	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٤٧ فطيرة دجاج كلاري
48 Chicken & Mushroom	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٤٨ فطيرة دجاج بالفطر
49 Mince Onion Pie	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٤٩ فطيرة لحم والبصل
50 Corniche Pastie	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٥٠ فطائر كورنيش
51 Mush Peas	4.00	٤.٠٠	٥١ بازلاء مطحونه
52 Coleslaw	4.00	٤.٠٠	٥٢ سلطة مايونيز
53 Pickled Eggs	1.00	١.٠٠	٥٣ مخلل بالبيض
54 Pickled Onion	0.50	٠.٥٠	٥٤ مخلل البصل

#### FISH & CHIPS

41 Chips	5.00	٥.٠٠	٤١ بطاطا
42 Hot dock	14.00	١٤.٠٠	٤٢ حنوق
43 Cod	13.00	١٣.٠٠	٤٣ قند
44 Hamour	12.00	١٢.٠٠	٤٤ سمور
45 Red Snapper	12.00	١٢.٠٠	٤٥ حمصة
46 Prawns	18.00	١٨.٠٠	٤٦ روبيان
47 Steak & Kidney Pie	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٤٧ فطيرة دجاج كلاري
48 Chicken & Mushroom	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٤٨ فطيرة دجاج بالفطر
49 Mince Onion Pie	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٤٩ فطيرة لحم والبصل
50 Corniche Pastie	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٥٠ فطائر كورنيش
51 Mush Peas	4.00	٤.٠٠	٥١ بازلاء مطحونه
52 Coleslaw	4.00	٤.٠٠	٥٢ سلطة مايونيز
53 Pickled Eggs	1.00	١.٠٠	٥٣ مخلل بالبيض
54 Pickled Onion	0.50	٠.٥٠	٥٤ مخلل البصل



## انواع العصائر

### JUICE VARIETIES

55 Special Cocktail	10.00	١٠.٠٠	٥٥ كوكتيل فواكه خاص
56 Cocktail	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٥٦ كوكتيل
57 Mango	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٥٧ مانجو
58 Apple	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٥٨ تفاح
59 Carrot	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٥٩ جزر
60 Pineapple	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٠ اناناس
61 Guava	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦١ جوافه
62 Sweet Melon	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٢ شمام (البطخ)
63 Sapotiya	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٣ سايوليا
64 Papaya	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٤ بابايا
65 Pomegranate	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٥ رمان
66 Faloda	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٦ فالوده
67 Fruit Salad	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٧ سلطة فواكه
68 Black Grape	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٦٨ عنب الاسود
69 Orange	3.5 6	٣.٥ ٦	٦٩ برتقال
70 Water Melon	3.5 6	٣.٥ ٦	٧٠ بطيخ احمر
71 Grape Fruit	3.5 6	٣.٥ ٦	٧١ عنب الاحمر
72 Lemon	3.5 6	٣.٥ ٦	٧٢ ليمون
73 Banana	2.3 5	٢.٣ ٥	٧٣ موز
74 Kiwi	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٧٤ كيوي
75 Abadi	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٧٥ ابادي
76 Rolex	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٧٦ رولكس
77 Sitara	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٧٧ سيتارا
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80 Tahyathi	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٨٠ تحياتي
81 Dream	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٨١ دريم
82 Fruit Salad	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٨٢ صلصة فواكه
83 Faloodha	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٨٣ فالودها
84 Ice cream	5.8 10	٥.٨ ١٠	٨٤ ايس كريم

#### مشروبات خفيفة

85 Pepsi / Cola / Mirinda	٨٥	بيبسي / كولا / ميريندا
86 Mineral Water	٨٦	مياه معدنية

### BEERS

Amstel	11.00
Heineken	11.00
Löwenbrau	11.00
Carlsberg Deluxe	11.00
Draught Beer 1 pint	13.00

### OUR HOUSE WINE

by glass	12.50
1/2 carafe'	32.00
carafe'	60.00

### APPETIZERS, SNACKS, SALADS

Selection of freshly squeezed Fruit Juices	10.00
Cocktail Mona Lisa	18.00
tropical fruit array with cottage cheese	24.00
Shrimp Cocktail Calypso	24.00
with half avocado	28.00
Smoked Scottish Salmon	28.00
with juniper berry cream	28.00
Chef's Salad	28.00
crisp seasonal lettuce with batons of turkey	28.00
swiss cheese, beef salami, roast beef and carment	28.00
dressing	28.00
Mermaid Salad	28.00
flaky white tuna with seasonal greens in tarragon dressing	28.00

### SALAD BAR

make your selection of seasonal greens, salads, relishes and our special house dressing	20.00
as a main course	12.00
with entree and sandwiches	12.00

### FROM THE SOUP KETTLE

French Onion Soup	14.00
Cream of Tomato Soup	12.00
garnished with fresh mushrooms	12.00
Lentil Soup	12.00
Soup of the Day	12.00
Soup and Salad	28.00
choice of the above soups and salad bar	28.00

### GULF SPECIALS

#### Mezzeh's

Hummus	12.00
Babaghannough	12.00
Tabouleh	12.00
Labneh	12.00
Fried Kebbeh	18.00
traditional arabic appetizers, served by the bowl with arabic bread	39.00
Shish Kebab, Shish Taouk, Kofta	39.00
arabic, mixed grill served with oriental rice and arabic bread	45.00
Shrimps Oriental	45.00
seasoned grill shrimps with garlic and coriander	45.00

### GREAT SANDWICHES

all sandwiches are served with fruit garnishes	28.00
Traditional Club	28.00
triple decker, layered with turkey, egg, ripe tomato, lettuce, beef bacon and olives	28.00
Roast Beef	22.00
served on lay bread with peppery seeds, garnished with tomato, onion, cucumber, radishes and lettuce, tartar dip	22.00
The Vegetarian	18.00
an array of lettuce, avocados, hearts of palm, tomato, cucumber and radishes on lebanese bread, yoghurt dip	18.00
Louisiana Chicken Sandwich	21.00
chicken with pineapple and sweetener on brioche	21.00
Monte Cristo	21.00
french toast baked with turkey ham and cheddar cheese, cranberry dip	21.00

### BURGERS AND SNACKS

Beef Burger	26.00
above with cheese	28.00
Chicken Basket	28.00
Fish and Chips	34.00
Zucchini Omelette with Cheese and Bacon bits	20.00
Dutch Eggs	20.00
baked potato filled with farmers hatch, topped with poached eggs and glazed with hollandaise	20.00
Two Eggs Any Style	14.00

### BEVERAGES

Hot or Cold Pasteurized Milk	6.00
Freshly Brewed Coffee or Tea	6.00
Herbal Tea	6.00
1 kind	6.00
Hot Chocolate	6.00
Decaffeinated Coffee	6.00
Milkshakes	12.00

### CARAVAN'S FAVOURITES

Grilled Hammour	35.00
served with hazelnut butter	35.00
Scallops Provencale	35.00
sauteed with fine herbs	35.00
Scampi Queen	45.00
deep fried gulf shrimps served with french fries, sugar glazed grapes and tartar sauce	45.00
Lamb Chops Mephisto	40.00
grilled and baked with munge chutney and cashewnuts	40.00
Wiener Schnitzel	40.00
dutch veal escalope breaded and fried in butter	40.00
Lasagne Casalinga	30.00
homemade spinach noodles and tasty bolognese	30.00
Chicken Piccata Napolitaine	32.00
on a bed of spaghetti	32.00
Surf and Turf	48.00
half a spiny lobster and tenderloin grilled to your liking	48.00
Tenderloin of Beef	48.00
or	48.00
New York Sirloin Steak	45.00
grilled to your liking and served with baked potato	45.00
choice of bearnaise or madagascar sauce	45.00

### THE ORIENTAL AND ASIAN CORNER

Singapore Chicken Rice	32.00
steamed chicken with rice and clear broth aside	32.00
Char Kway Teow	26.00
spicy malaysian fried noodles	26.00
Sweet and Sour Prawns	45.00
garnished with red and green peppers, pineapple and onions	45.00
Wan Tan Mee Soup	20.00
minced chicken and prawn dumplings in clear chicken broth	20.00
Chinese Spring Rolls	24.00
served with sweet plum sauce	24.00
Chicken Makhawalla	28.00
bonito piece of chicken marinated in yoghurt and cooked in spicy tomato-curry sauce	28.00
Squid Sandwich	3.00
3.00	3.00
Vegetable Curry	18.00
cooked the indian way, served with rice, pickles and papadam	18.00
Oven Fresh Tandoori Chicken	39.00
served with raita and raita salad	39.00
Seekh Kebab	32.00
minced lamb broiled on a skewer in the tandoor, served with nan and raita salad	32.00
Thai Beef Salad	45.00
grilled US sirloin with spicy thai chilly sauce and rice	45.00

PRICES ARE SUBJECT TO 3% MUNICIPALITY TAX AND 5% SERVICE CHARGE



## سندويشات

### SANDWICHES

87 Special Burger C&M	5.00	٥.٠٠	٨٧ برجر خصوصي
88 Burger C & M	3.00	٣.٠٠	٨٨ برجر
89 Mutton SW	2.00	٢.٠٠	٨٩ لحم
90 Liver	2.00	٢.٠٠	٩٠ كبده
91 Kidney	2.00	٢.٠٠	٩١ كلوي
92 Prawn	3.00	٣.٠٠	٩٢ روبيان
93 Jumbo SW	3.00	٣.٠٠	٩٣ روبيان جمبو
94 Chicken Fillet SW	3.00	٣.٠٠	٩٤ بجاج فيليت
95 Brain	2.00	٢.٠٠	٩٥ مخ
96 Sausage	2.00	٢.٠٠	٩٦ نقانق
97 Vegetable SW	2.00	٢.٠٠	٩٧ خضار
98 Cheese	2.00	٢.٠٠	٩٨ جبنة
99 Falafil	2.00	٢.٠٠	٩٩ فلافل
100 Chicken Shawarma	2.50	٢.٥٠	١٠٠ شورما دجاج
101 Mutton Shawarma	2.00	٢.٠٠	١٠١ شورما لحم
102 Sheesh Tawook	5.00	٥.٠٠	١٠٢ شيش طاووق
103 Mutton Tikka	3.00	٣.٠٠	١٠٣ لحم تكه
104 Kabab	3.00	٣.٠٠	



Utility and Symbol in Public Eating

largely come to an end is not only because revellers can no longer show themselves in public in Iran, but primarily because of the processes of urban social/spatial differentiation operating in the cities of the region. The revelling classes no longer live or revel anywhere near the market areas which are the natural habitat for tripe salons. Partly as a result of this process, the more stylish and elegant establishments in some of the cities are decaying; I have in mind one splendid establishment in the popular Sayyida Zeinab district in Cairo, with art nouveau curves and mirrors, and French designations in fancy lettering, serving tripe as well as *kawari*’ (feet) in *fetta*, a dish of these items in broth over broken bread and rice, garnished with yoghurt, liberally sprinkled with *shatta*, a chilli sauce. Its present customers, mostly local workers, obviously do not bring in enough money to keep up the establishment in its previous splendour. Some entrepreneur may rescue it as a tourist attraction, serving kebab and falafel.

Modern Times

I conclude these general remarks on public food with a few words on our times, in relation to the themes raised above. **Utility is still the bedrock of public eating in our world.** Commuting to work is universal in urban society, travel for work or pleasure sustains enormous industries. Tourism is a major source of income for many countries in the world. **All these travellers and commuters need feeding, and we all know the profusion of numbers and types of provision, ranging from itinerant pretzel vendors to giant chains of hamburger joints, from modest cafes serving business lunches to grand restaurants catering for the corporate rich.** Clearly, utility cannot begin to explain this variety, nor even levels of prosperity and income. In addition, life styles and symbolic worlds sustains this variety.

I recall an episode in the city of Marseilles a few years ago. I walked into a Tunisian working men’s restaurant in one of the central quarters inhabited predominantly by Maghrebis. As I walked in, I noticed that all eyes from the refectory type tables were fixed at a point above the door, and a glance in that direction revealed a television set. The absorbing programme: Dallas dubbed in French. The restaurant was next to a mosque, so no beer or wine were allowed, the clientele was all male, the food mainstream North African of spicy stews and pastries and cous-cous. It could not be further removed, in all respects, from the dream world of Dallas. Yet youth from many parts of the Third World, including, no doubt, some of the transfixed clientele of that restaurant, attempt to partake of that world in the only fields open to them, that of petty consumption. American cigarettes (primarily), jeans, hamburgers ( preferably *de marque*) and Coca Cola, become the primary symbols connecting the poor to a world of images universalised through international mass culture. Native street and cafe food persists, of course: it is the staple, cheaper and, mostly, much better. Kebab stalls now make ‘hamburgers’ (after all, they are only grilled or fried *kofta* in a bun!), but these do not partake of the image imparted by the international franchises.

**The world of tourism provides us with the converse example, the pursuit of exoticism by the relatively rich of the ‘First World’.** The fish-and-chips culture of the costas persists. But a more sophisticated (and numerous) class of holiday makers seek the authentic and the exotic. However, **the truly native exotic is not always agreeable to tourist palates:** few are to be found in the tripe salons of Turkey or Egypt. Northern Europeans and North Americans still complain about the ‘greasy’ food of Southern Europe and the Mediterranean. This includes, variously, the ubiquitous olive oil cookery of Spain and Greece, as well as the mutton stews of the Middle East. As a result, the hotels and the rest of the tourist industry have developed a compromise cuisine, maintaining exotic names and images of native dishes, but using toned down ingredients. In some Turkish holiday hotels and restaurants, it is difficult to find anything cooked with lamb or mutton, the predominant meat being veal. Enquiry revealed that the managers believe that the predominantly German clientele would not like the strong taste of sheep flesh and fat. In an Istanbul restaurant, I have had *tass kebab* made with veal and hardly any seasoning, and it tasted of nothing. One time, in Cairo, I met up with two friends from London who had been travelling on a package tour organised by one of the major international hotel chains, which took them to Upper Egypt and back to Cairo. The first question they asked was whether there was any decent food to be had in the city. They had been fed on steaks and veal escalopes and bland dry kebabs with frozen vegetables. They were told not to eat or drink anything from outside the hotel catering arrangements, because it was unsafe and would make them ill (as it happened, they were ill from the hotel food). They were delighted with the native kebabs and pigeons and

An excerpt from “Utility and Symbol in Public Eating,” by Sami Zubaida in Oxford Symposium on Food Proceedings, Public Eating, 1999.

MENU

ESSAY

OTHER CITATIONS






Shared by Samer Shahin  
on facebook oct 23, 2020.  
Courtesy of Samer Shahin

Galleria Galadani & Hyatt  
Regancy Dubai

A screenshot of a post in Dubai- Good Old Days Facebook group, captured on October 28, 2021.

**Roger Cooper**  
17 March 2016 · 🌐


The "Progressive Dinner" at the Hyatt Regency in the late '80's.  
Start with a cocktail of your choice in Carpenter's Bar, then starter in either the Chinese restaurant (forget the name) or Miyako Japanese restaurant, usually tempura. Main course was in the French restaurant (again forget the name), then desert, up to the Al Dawaar Revolving restaurant watching the planes either take off towards you or pass the window coming in to land. Finally, down to the basement nightclub (another name that escapes me) where the first drink was free. Those were the days!


👍 47


💬 32 comments


👍 Like

💬 Comment

**Liz Fieldsend**  
2001 - the nightclub later known as Premiere. It was a great night out!!!!  
Like · Reply · 5 y · 🗨️ 2

**Lorraine Nightingale**  
We did one in the 80's too, do you remember Dominic? Xx  
Like · Reply · 5 y

**Caren Kirk**  
DH3 progressive dinner 1992 was brilliant. And I remember Premiere  
Like · Reply · 5 y · 🗨️ 1

**Lisa Niblock**  
Hugo's was the restaurant I think...  
Like · Reply · 5 y

●

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Eat & Drink in 1982 or  
1985. Courtesy of Sonya  
Coates Pirnie.

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[GO TO INDEX](#)



6. The Fuala Tray  
1971

This **audio recording of an interview** with Hassanat Serry includes her memories of living in Dubai as an Egyptian ‘expat’, relying on frozen items, imported foods, gifting and her changing impressions and experience of Emirati foods. Among her memories is a description of the items on the traditional fuala tray during her visit to an Emirati household. The fuala tray is a culinary ritual of welcoming visitors in Emirati homes. Serry passed away in 2019.

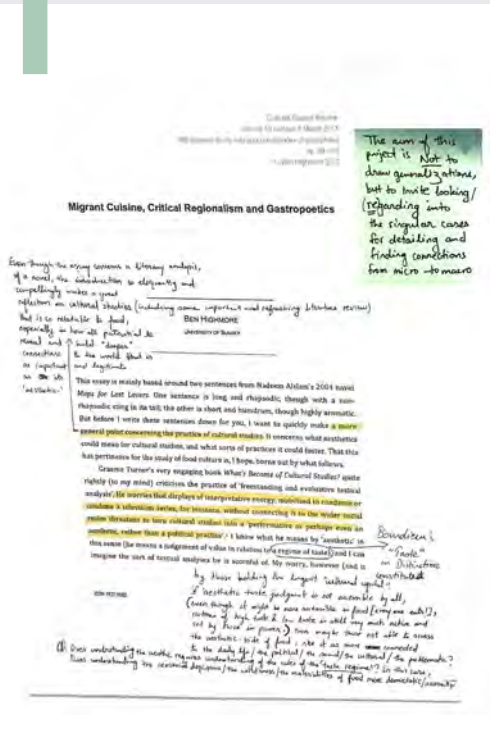
Photographs from Salma Serry’s private collection.

The fuala tray is an assortment tray of various elements that is typically offered to guests as a sign of hospitality and humble sharing of whatever is available of foods in Emirati households. In the interview, H.S., recounts a memory of when she first encountered a fuala tray and expresses her observant impression of it. The diversity the items hold on the tray seems to be the main element of surprise to her, which signifies a contrasting meaning associated with sets of taste that are commonly understood by one group to either go together or clash. Social perceptions of what constitutes “good taste” are revealed and challenged. The interview, also, shows how food plays a central role in migrant experiences like culture shocks (FIG. 10).

H.S. first came to Dubai in the early 1970s and lived in the country with her 3 young sons, working as an Arabic school teacher, before her husband followed her later once he obtained employment in the emirate. She held onto cooking Egyptian dishes despite being open to various other cuisines.“It is always important to be very efficient in the kitchen, so I just cooked whatever food I already knew how to make. Egyptian food was for everyday. The other new dishes, things I would taste at our friends’, were for my adventures and curiosity,” she says. “Our Emirati friends loved my spicy mahshi kuromb (stuffed cabbage) and I used to always make some Egyptian specialty dishes for my school’s global day. The students loved the koshari. But we couldn’t just cook anything we want all the time because of the scarcity of the ingredients here.” She points out to how the small Egyptian community at the time used to wait eagerly every week for a Tuesday plane that would arrive with shipments of fresh fruits and vegetables from Cairo that wouldn’t grow and be found in Dubai’s market.

6. The Fuala Tray

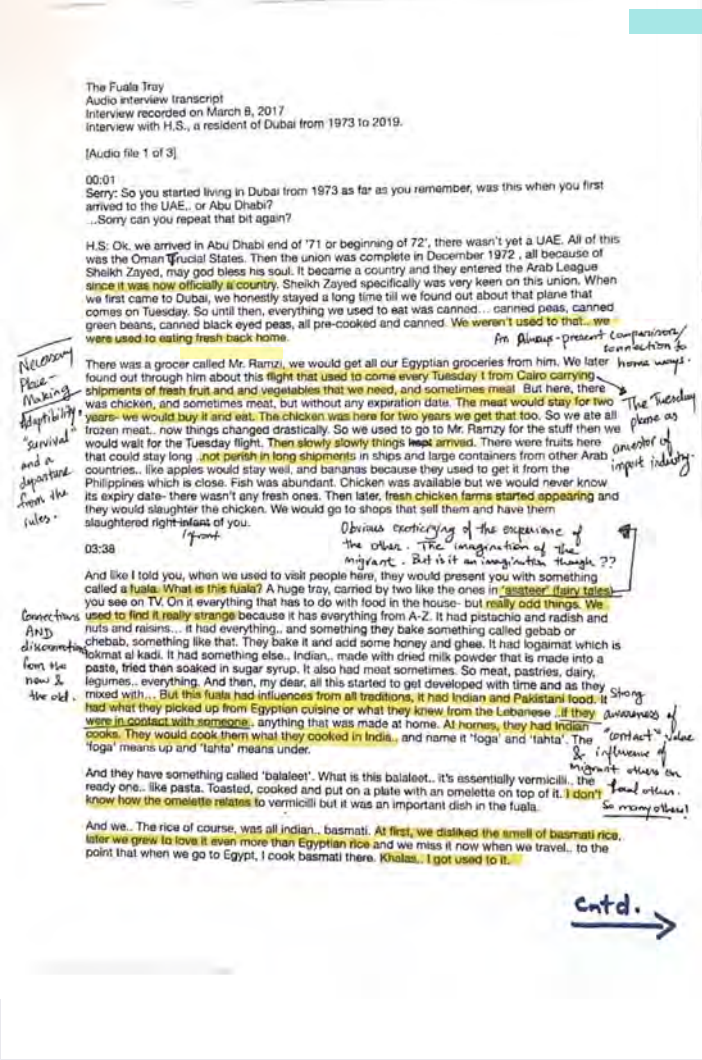
Library Circles: Salma Serry



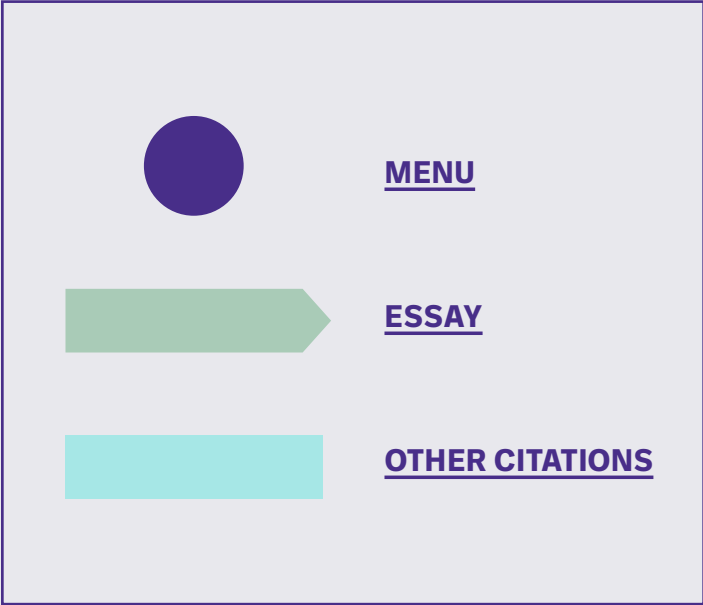
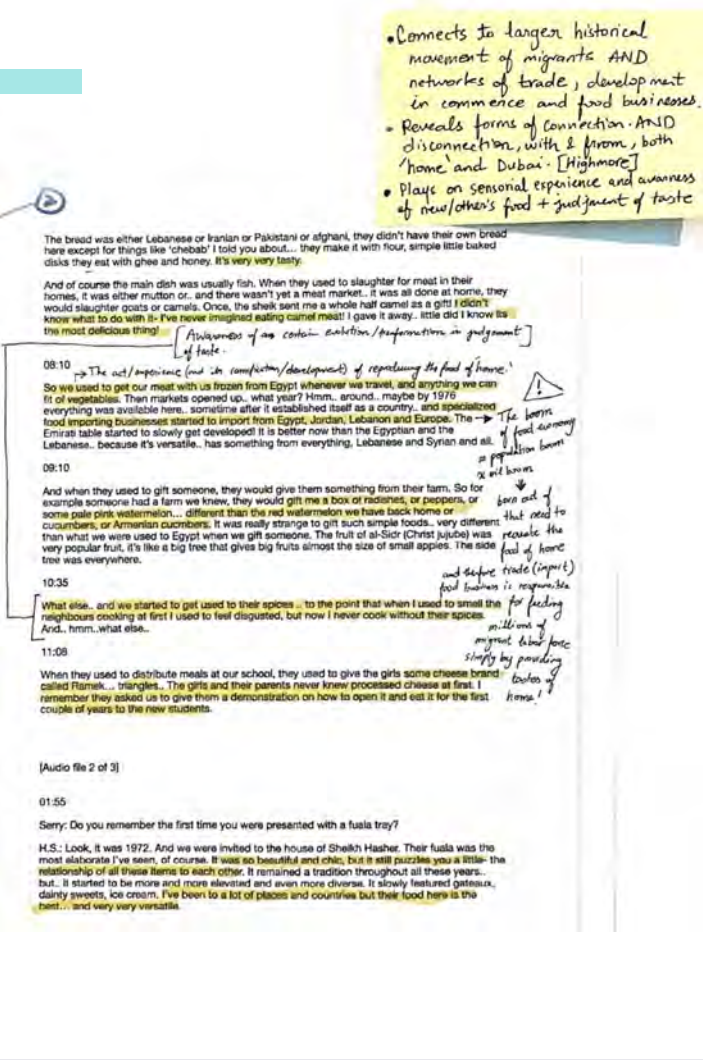
Similarly, studying of menus in our case has to be connected to larger and wider social realms, developments, otherwise it falls into the trap of aestheticizing culture based on Turner's work..



(FIG. 10).



(FIG. 10).



Imported products in ads promised to replicate the "taste of home", especially using the mother figure for claims of authenticity". Nostalgia played a big part in consumer culture.






The Fuala Tray  
(1971)

- Sliced radish
- Sliced cucumber
- Pistachios
- Raisins
- Yeget
- Grilled mutton
- Spiced rice
- Chebab
- Logaimat
- Baklawas

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pp. 99–116  
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### Migrant Cuisine, Critical Regionalism and Gastropoetics

The aim of this project is Not to draw generalizations, but to invite looking/ regarding into the singular cases for detailing and finding connections from micro to macro

Even though the essay concerns a literary analysis, of a novel, the introduction so eloquently and compellingly makes a great reflection on cultural studies (including some important and refreshing literature review) that is so relatable to food, especially in how its potential to reveal and <sup>hold "deeper"</sup> connections to the world that is as important as its 'aesthetic.'

This essay is mainly based around two sentences from Nadeem Aslam's 2004 novel *Maps for Lost Lovers*. One sentence is long and rhapsodic, though with a non-rhapsodic sting in its tail; the other is short and humdrum, though highly aromatic. But before I write these sentences down for you, I want to quickly make a more general point concerning the practice of cultural studies. It concerns what aesthetics could mean for cultural studies, and what sorts of practices it could foster. That this has pertinence for the study of food culture is, I hope, borne out by what follows.

Graeme Turner's very engaging book *What's Become of Cultural Studies?* quite rightly (to my mind) criticises the practice of 'freestanding and evaluative textual analysis'. He worries that displays of interpretative energy, mobilised to condemn or condone a television series, for instance, without connecting it to the wider social realm threatens to turn cultural studies into a 'performative or perhaps even an aesthetic, rather than a political practice'.<sup>1</sup> I know what he means by 'aesthetic' in this sense (he means a judgement of value in relation to a regime of taste) and I can imagine the sort of textual analyses he is scornful of. My worry, however (and it is by those holding the largest "cultural capital" that aesthetic taste judgment is not accessible by all, (even though it might be more accessible in food [every one eats!]), notions of high taste & low taste is still very much active and set by those in power.) then maybe those not able to access the aesthetic-side of food, see it as more ~~come~~ connected to the daily life/ the political/ the social/ the cultural/ the problematic? Does understanding the aesthetic requires understanding of the rules of the 'taste regime'? In this case, Does understanding the sensuous depictions/ the worldliness/ the materialities of food more democratic/ accessible?

ISSN 1837-8692

Similarly, studying of menus in our case has to be connected to larger and wider social realms, developments, otherwise it falls into the trap of aestheticizing culture based on Turner's work..



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Connects to larger historical movement of migrants AND networks of trade, development in commerce and food businesses. Reveals forms of connection AND disconnection, with a from, both home and Dubai. [Highmore]

Plays on sensorial experience and awareness of new/other's food + judgement of taste

The Fuala Tray  
Audio interview transcript  
Interview recorded on March 8, 2017  
Interview with H.S., a resident of Dubai from 1973 to 2019.

[Audio file 1 of 3]

00:01  
Serry: So you started living in Dubai from 1973 as far as you remember, was this when you first arrived to the UAE, or Abu Dhabi?  
...Sorry can you repeat that bit again?

H.S: Ok, we arrived in Abu Dhabi end of '71 or beginning of '72, there wasn't yet a UAE. All of this was the Oman Trucial States. Then the union was complete in December 1972, all because of Sheikh Zayed, may god bless his soul. It became a country and they entered the Arab League since it was now officially a country. Sheikh Zayed specifically was very keen on this union. When we first came to Dubai, we honestly stayed a long time till we found out about that plane that comes on Tuesday. So until then, everything we used to eat was canned... canned peas, canned green beans, canned black eyed peas, all pre-cooked and canned. We weren't used to that... we were used to eating fresh back home.

There was a grocer called Mr. Ramzy, we would get all our Egyptian groceries from him. We later found out through him about this flight that used to come every Tuesday from Cairo carrying shipments of fresh fruit and vegetables that we need, and sometimes meat. But here, there was chicken, and sometimes meat, but without any expiration date. The meat would stay for two years - we would buy it and eat. The chicken was new for two years we get that too. So we ate all frozen meat... now things changed drastically. So we used to go to Mr. Ramzy for the stuff then we would wait for the Tuesday flight. Then slowly slowly things kept arriving. There were fruits here that could stay long... and perish in long shipments in ships and large containers from other Arab countries... like apples would stay well, and bananas because they used to get it from the Philippines which is close. Fish was abundant. Chicken was available but we would never know its expiry date - there wasn't any fresh ones. Then later, fresh chicken farms started appearing and they would slaughter the chicken. We would go to shops that sell them and have them slaughtered right in front of you.

And like I told you, when we used to visit people here, they would present you with something called a fuala. What is this fuala? A huge tray, carried by two like the ones in "Scarface" Harry's restaurant you see on TV. On it everything that has to do with food in the house - but really odd things. We used to find it really strange because it has everything from A-Z. It had pistachio and raisins and nuts and raisins... it had everything... and something they bake something called gebab or ghbab, something like that. They bake it and add some honey and ghee. It had logamat which is "khatat al khat", it had something else... Indian... made with dried milk powder that is made into a paste, fried then soaked in sugar syrup. It also had meat sometimes. So meat, pastries, dairy, legumes... everything. And then, my dear, all this started to get developed with time and as they mixed with... But this fuala had influences from all traditions, it had Indian and Pakistani food. It had what they picked up from Egyptian cuisine or what they knew from the Lebanese. If they were in contact with someone - anything that was made at home. At home, they had Indian food. They would cook them what they cooked in India... and name it "loga" and "tanta". The "loga" means up and "tanta" means under.

And they have something called "balaleet". What is this balaleet... it's essentially vermicelli. It's ready one... like pasta. Toasted, cooked and put on a plate with an omelette on top of it. I don't know how the omelette relates to vermicelli but it was an important dish in the fuala.

And we... The rice of course, was all Indian... basmati. At first, we disliked the smell of basmati rice, later we grew to love it even more than Egyptian rice and we miss it now when we travel... to the point that when we go to Egypt, I cook basmati there. Khalid: I got used to it.

entd.

Necessary Place - Making Adaptability Survival and a departure from the rules.

Connects AND disconnection from the new & the old.

Obvious exoticizing of the experience of the other. The imagination of the migrant. But it is an imaginative thought??

The tendency plane as a marker of import industry.

and before trade (import) food business is responsible for feeding the world of food.

So influence of migrant others on food culture.

So many others!

The bread was either Lebanese or Iranian or Pakistani or Afghan, they didn't have their own bread here except for things like "chebab" I told you about... they make it with flour, simple little baked disks they eat with ghee and honey. It's very very tasty.

And of course the main dish was usually fish. When they used to slaughter for meat in their homes, it was either mutton or... and there wasn't yet a meat market... it was all done at home, they would slaughter goats or camels. Once, the sheik sent me a whole half camel as a gift I didn't know what to do with it - I've never imagined eating camel meat! I gave it away... little did I know it's the most delicious thing!

08:10  
So we used to get our meat with us frozen from Egypt whenever we travel, and anything we can't fit of vegetables. Then markets opened up... what year? Hmm... around... maybe by 1976 everything was available here... different than the red watermelon we have back home or food importing businesses started to import from Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Europe. The Emirati table started to slowly get developed. It is better now than the Egyptian and the Lebanese... because it's versatile... has something from everything, Lebanese and Syrian and all.

08:10  
And when they used to gift someone, they would give them something from their farm. So for example someone had a farm we knew, they would gift me a box of radishes, or peppers, or some pale pink watermelon... different than the red watermelon we have back home or cucumbers, or Armenian cucumbers. It was really strange to gift such simple foods... very different than what we were used to Egypt when we gift someone. The fruit of al-Sir (Chard) (jabab) was very popular fruit, it's like a big tree that gives big fruits almost the size of small apples. The side of heart tree was everywhere.

10:35  
What else... and we started to get used to their spices... to the point that when I used to smell the And... hmmm... what else.

11:08  
When they used to distribute meals at our school, they used to give the girls some cheese bread called Ramak... triangles. The girls and their parents never knew processed cheese at first. I remember they asked us to give them a demonstration on how to open it and eat it for the first couple of years to the new students.

[Audio file 2 of 3]

01:55  
Serry: Do you remember the first time you were presented with a fuala tray?

H.S: Look, it was 1972. And we were invited to the house of Sheikh Hasher. Their fuala was the most elaborate I've seen, of course. It was so beautiful and chic, but it still puzzled you a little: the relationship of all these items to each other. It remained a tradition throughout all these years... but, it started to be more and more elevated and even more diverse. It slowly featured gabsau, dairy products, ice cream. I've been to a lot of places and countries but their food here is the best... and very very versatile.

Connects to larger historical movement of migrants AND networks of trade, development in commerce and food businesses. Reveals forms of connection AND disconnection, with a from, both home and Dubai. [Highmore]

Plays on sensorial experience and awareness of new/other's food + judgement of taste



Imported products in ads promised to replicate the “taste of home”, especially using the mother figure for claims of authenticity”. Nostalgia played a big part in consumer culture.



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SHRI MAHILA GRIHA UDYOG LIJAT PAPAD (REGD.)  
(Recognised by Khadi & Village Industries Commission)

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7. From The Media:

7.1 Dubai Diners Multinational Cook Book and The Best of The Gulf Multi-National Cook Books 1983 and 1987

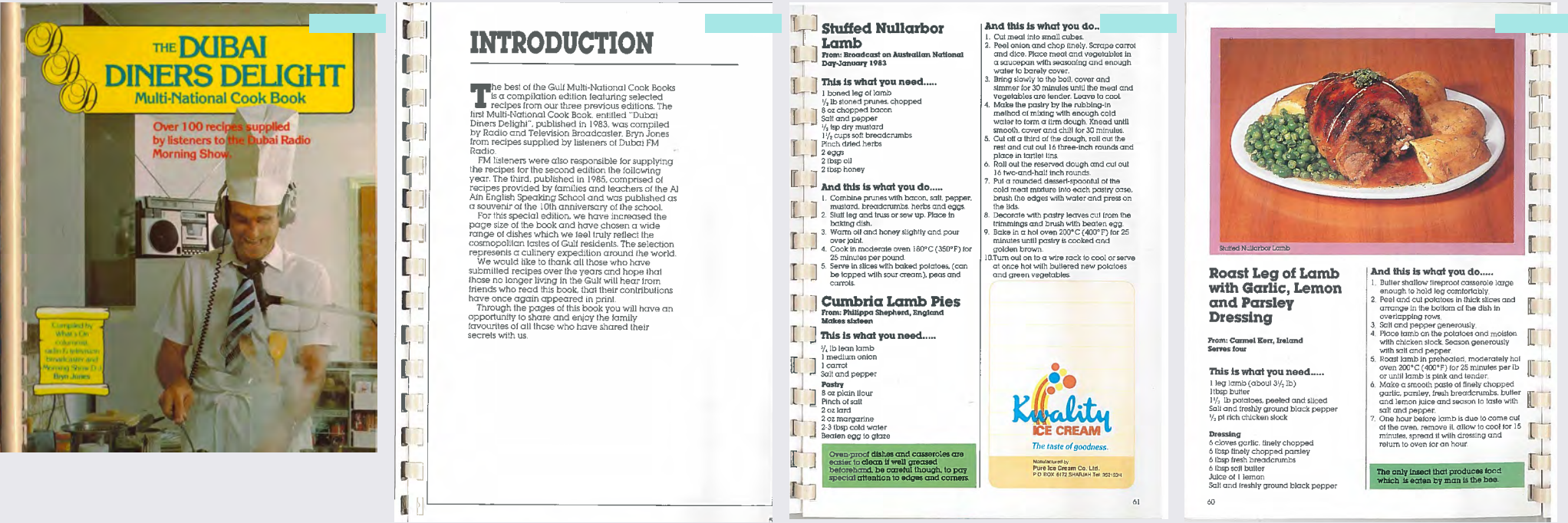
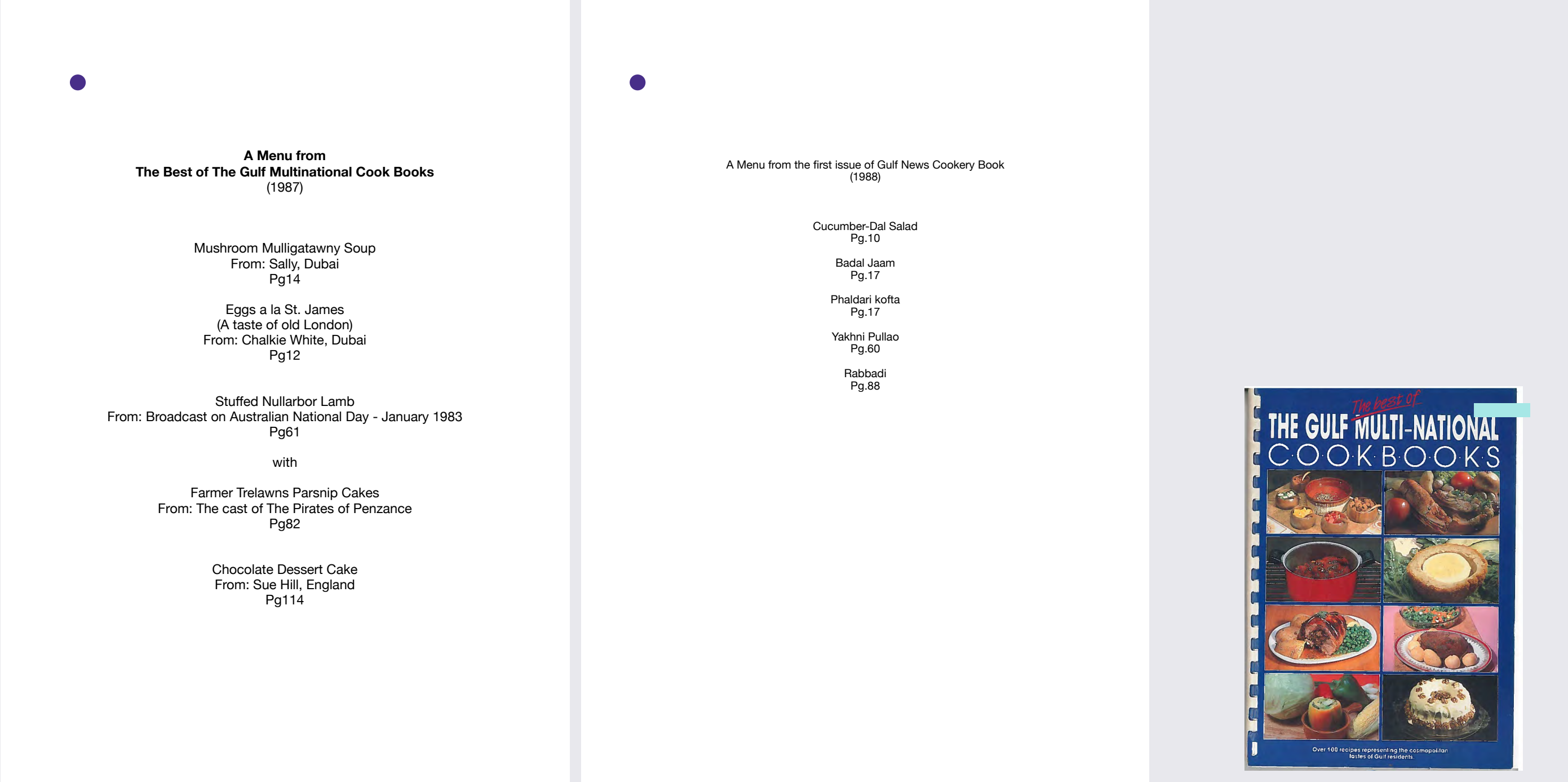
This is a constructed menu from the cookbook with the same name. The book is a compilation of past editions which were centered on recipes contributions from Dubai radio.

The Gulf Multinational Cook Book is a compilation edition featuring recipes from three previous editions. The first edition, “Dubai Diners Delight” was published in 1983 and was compiled by Radio host, Byrn Jones, as supplied by listeners of Dubai FM. FM listeners were also responsible for supplying the recipes for the second edition the following year. The third, published in 1985, consisted of recipes provided by families and teachers of the Al Ain English Speaking School and was published as a souvenir of the 10th anniversary of the school.

For the compilation edition, the introduction of the book states selected recipes were carefully chosen to “reflect the cosmopolitan taste of the Gulf residents. The selection reflects a culinary expedition around the world.” The book seems to stay true to the promise of diversity, as the selection of the dishes span from Levantine, to North African and Mediterranean, to Asian and Continental delicacies. Perhaps, it is the truest representation of a diverse palette, even though, it might not be truly reflective of the FM listeners backgrounds, but rather their aspirations or tastes.

7. From The Media: Dubai Diners Multinational Cook Book and The Best of The Gulf Multi-National Cook Books

Library Circles: Salma Serry



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## 7.2 Menus off The Press

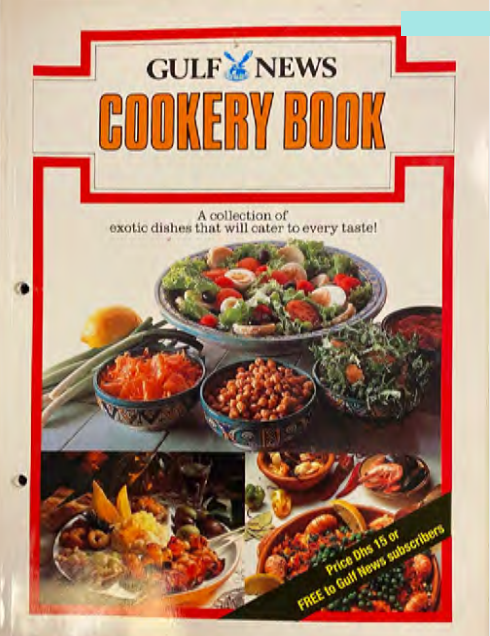
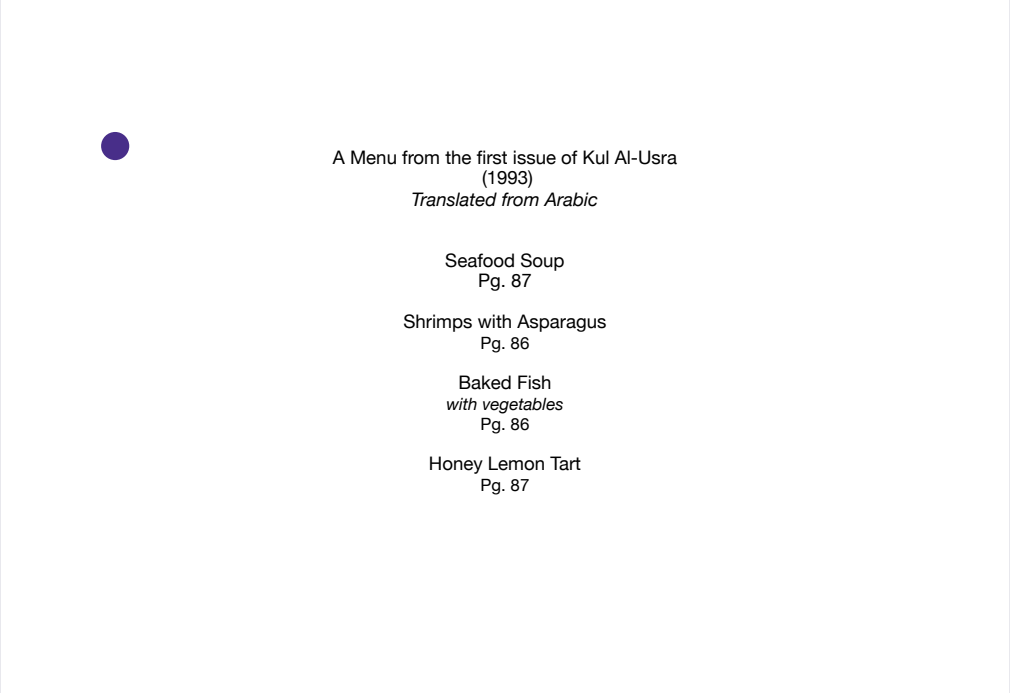
### 1987 and 1993

Photocopies granted from the archives of Gulf News and Kul Al-Usra.

The role of the press in placing food within the frames of popular culture is immense, especially when recipes are disseminated in mass media. Dishes that were once new and different become appealing to try out especially when paired with meanings of high taste and “culture.” In such specialized magazines such as *The Cookery Book* and *Kul Al-Usra*, the recipes are almost always written off as “new” and “must-try” ones, although the *Cookery Book* may contain more traditional recipes, namely Indian and South Asian ones. *Kul Al-Usra* on the other hand, seem to have promoted a more continental menu, which was at the time, tied with images of “health”, “modernity,” and “sophistication” among Arab readers in the early ‘90s. However, just like all cookbooks, these recipes might not be mere reflections of reality but rather, an echo of what readers hoped to make, cook, and taste.



## Library Circles: Salma Serry



Home appliances, as solutions prepared by consumer culture to aid in time-saving was heavily associated with UAE migrant culture, especially in context of remittances to home countries. Not Salaries only but technology back home.



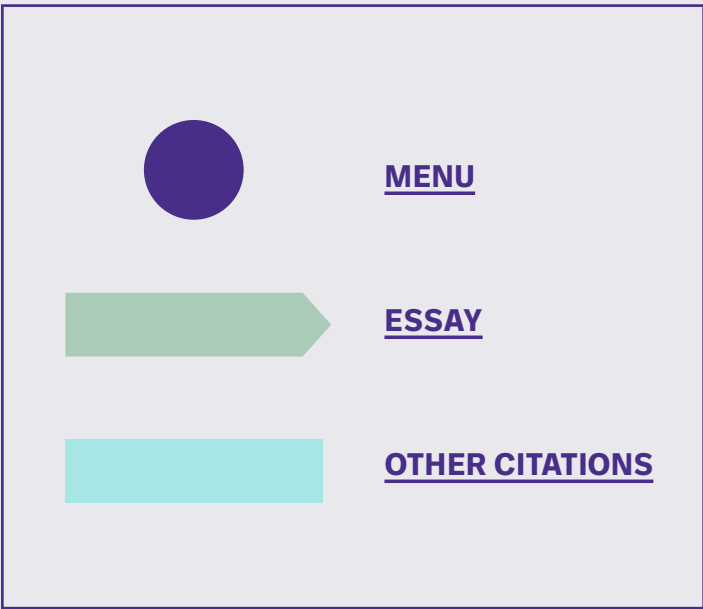
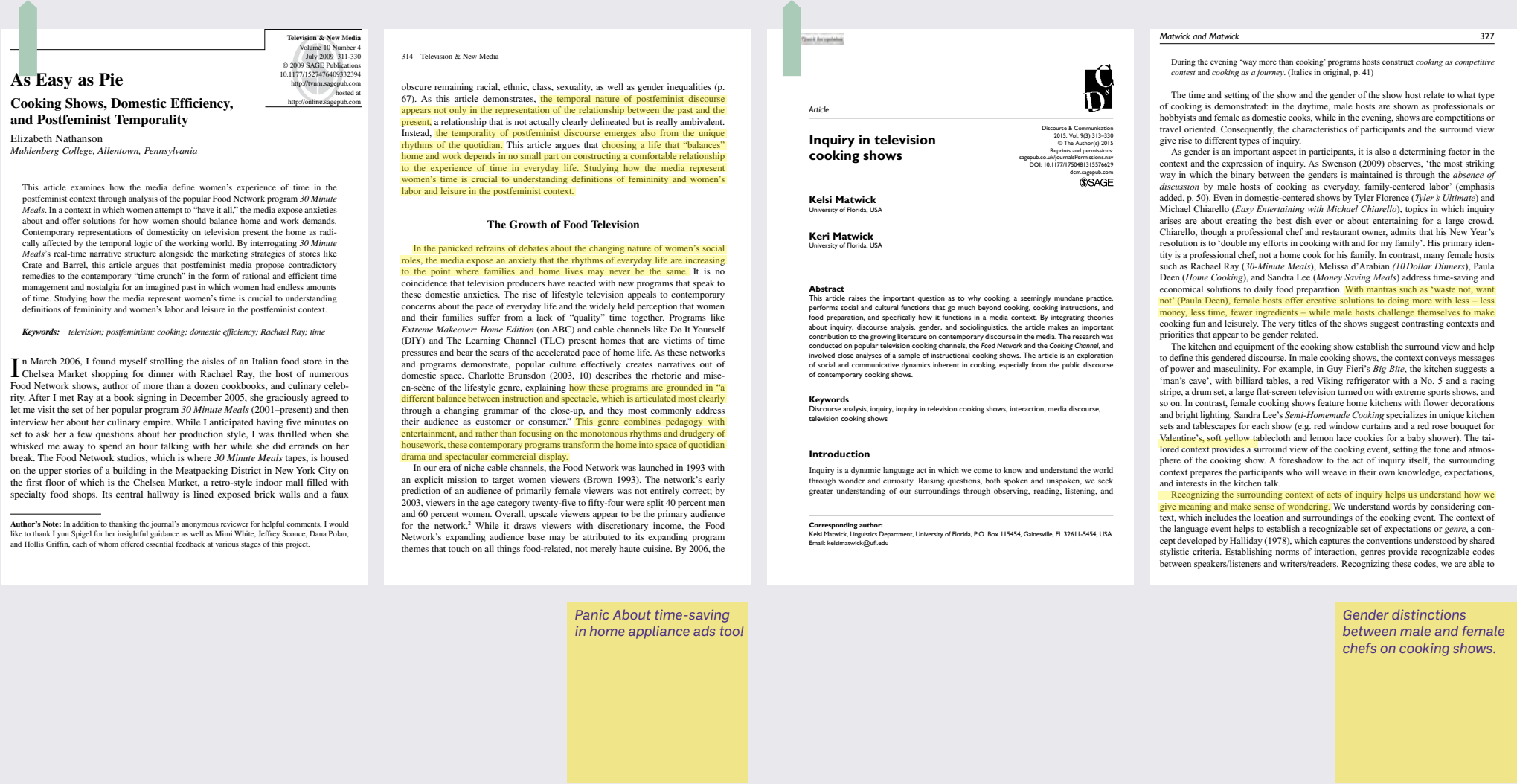
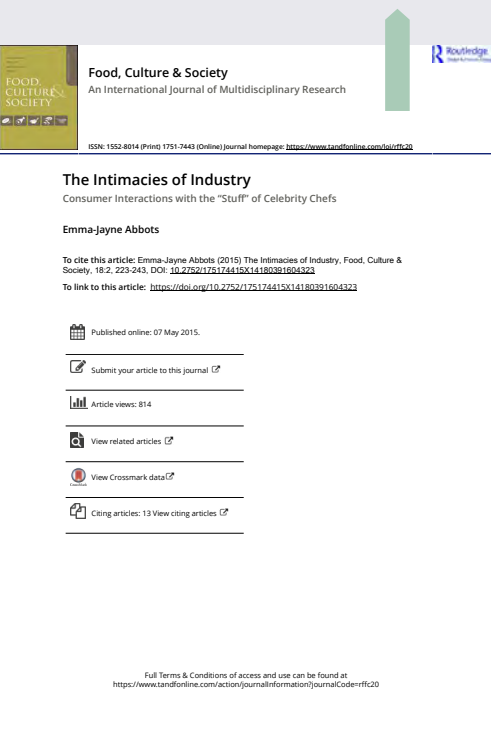
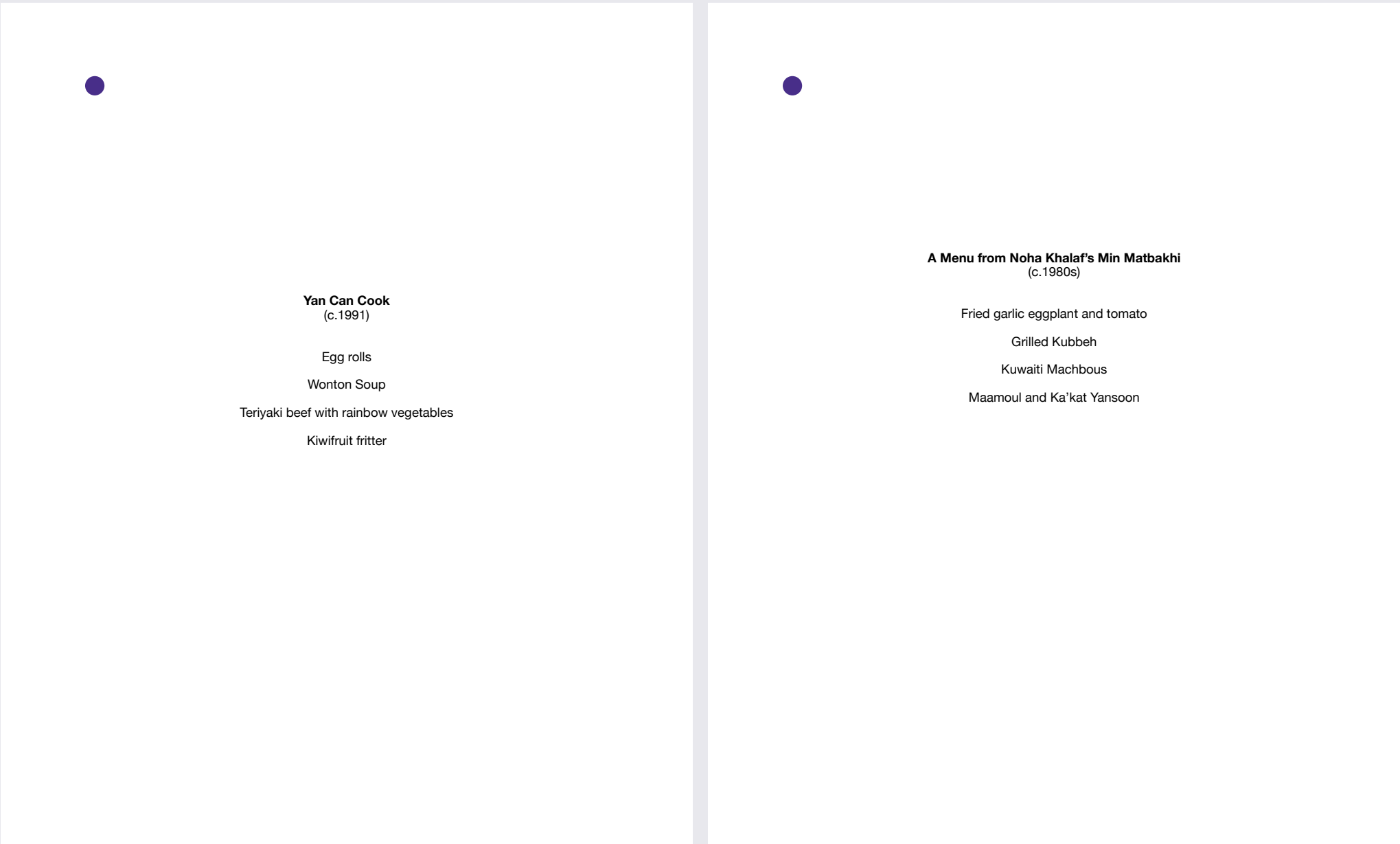


### 7.3 From the Television C.1980s and C.1990s

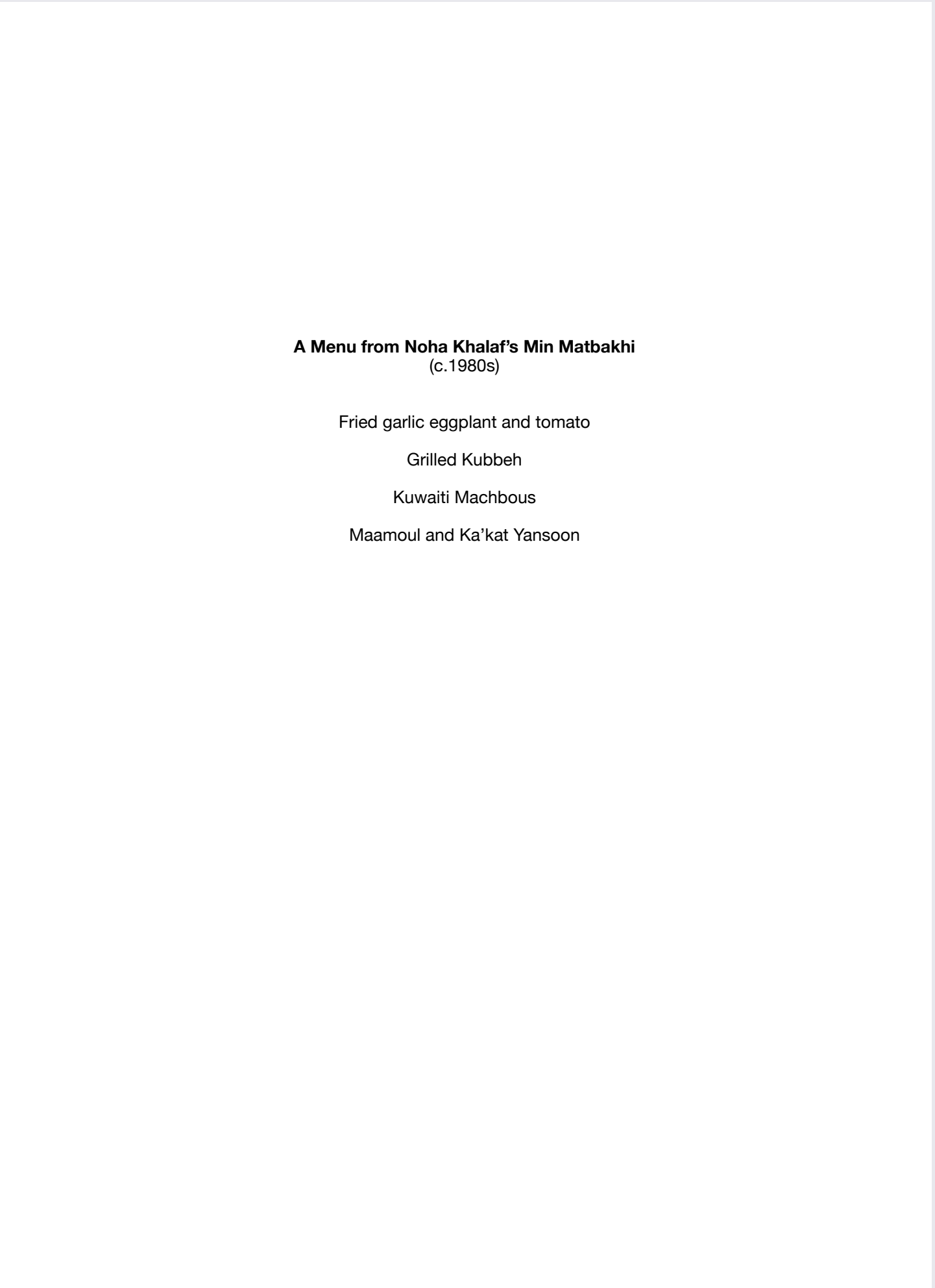
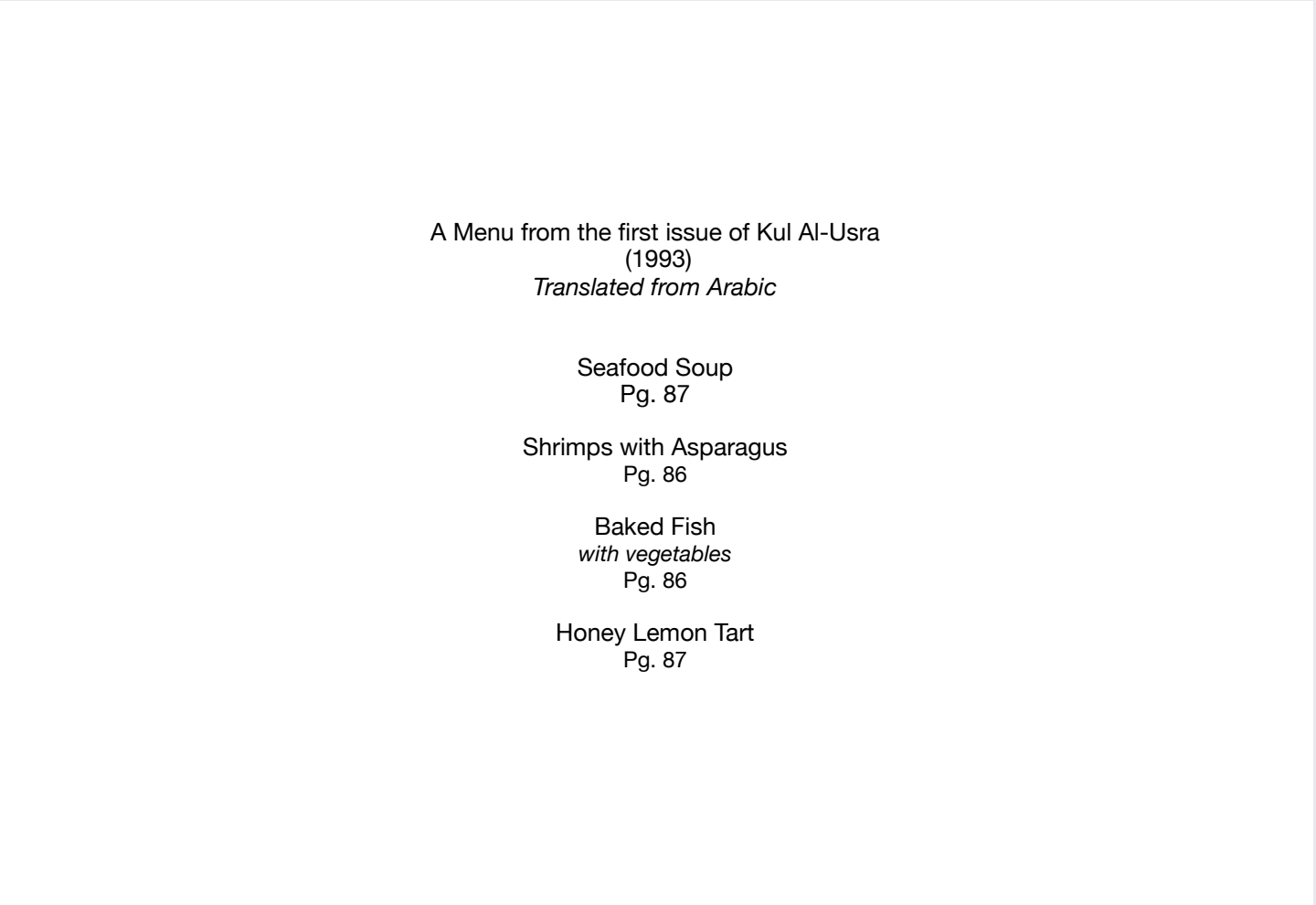
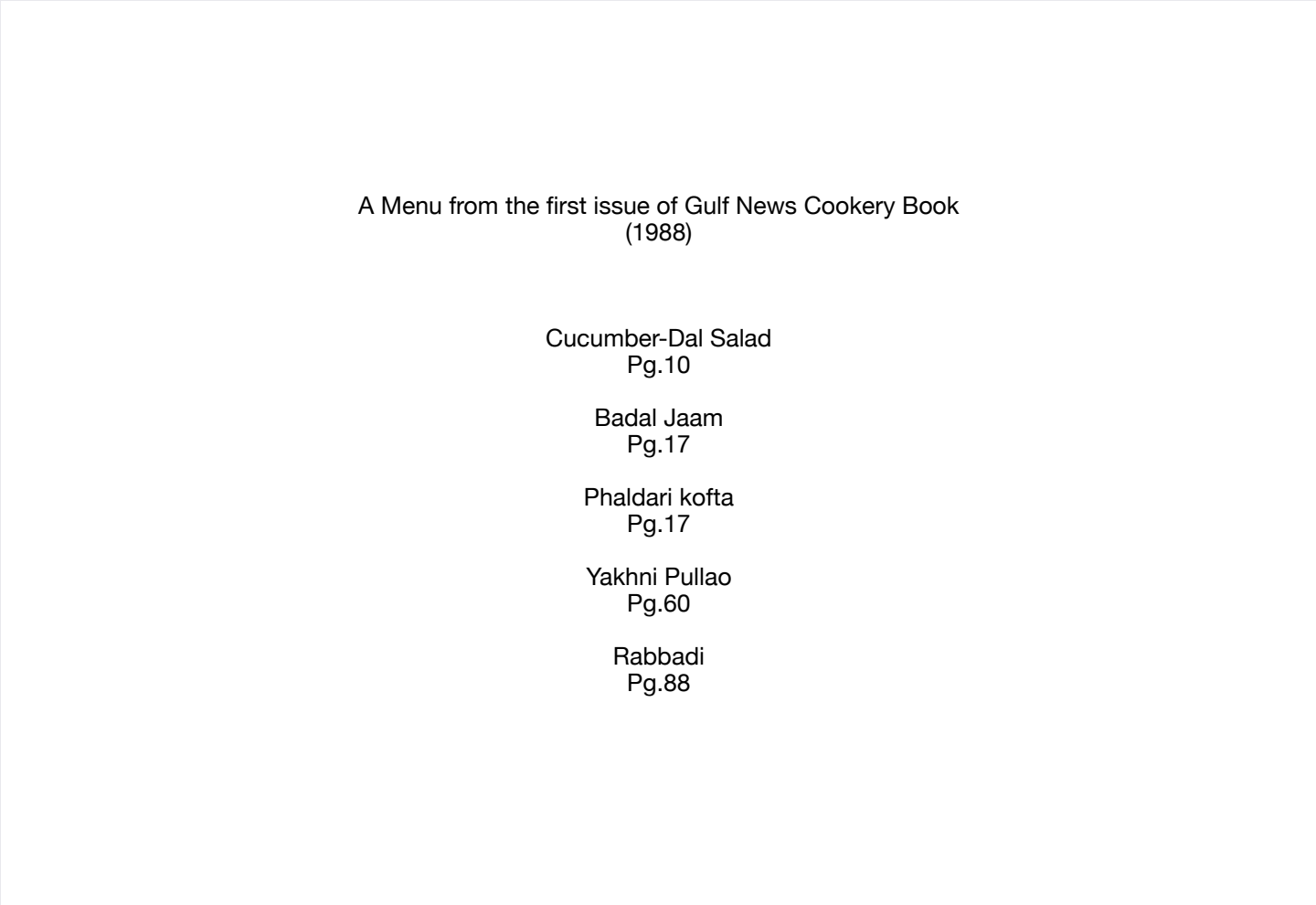
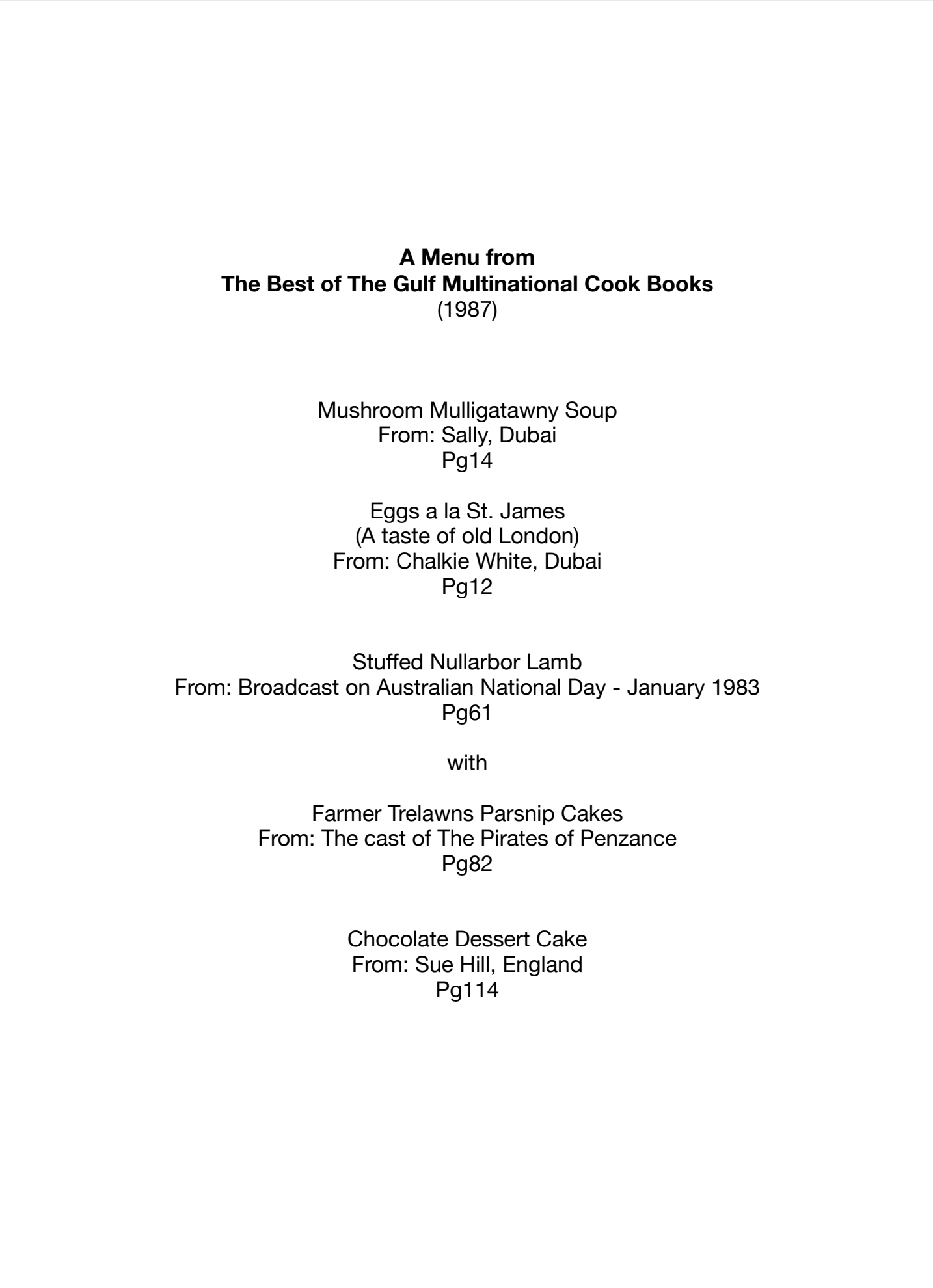
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Awaan (Dubai TV)  
KQED


Min Matbakhi was an Arabic cooking show hosted by Noha Khalaf, a Palestinian cook, who specialized in traditional regional food. Her skills in simplifying recipes that might otherwise seem daunting was something that gained her a lot of popularity. Her show was first produced by Ajman studios and later by Kuwaiti television but her following remained large across the Gulf.


## Library Circles: Salma Serry

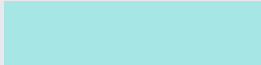






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Television & New Media  
Volume 10 Number 4  
July 2009 311-330  
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As Easy as Pie  
Cooking Shows, Domestic Efficiency, and Postfeminist Temporality  
Elizabeth Nathanson  
Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania

This article examines how the media define women’s experience of time in the postfeminist context through analysis of the popular Food Network program *30 Minute Meals*. In a context in which women attempt to “have it all,” the media expose anxieties about and offer solutions for how women should balance home and work demands. Contemporary representations of domesticity on television present the home as radically affected by the temporal logic of the working world. By interrogating *30 Minute Meals*’s real-time narrative structure alongside the marketing strategies of stores like Crate and Barrel, this article argues that postfeminist media propose contradictory remedies to the contemporary “time crunch” in the form of rational and efficient time management and nostalgia for an imagined past in which women had endless amounts of time. Studying how the media represent women’s time is crucial to understanding definitions of femininity and women’s labor and leisure in the postfeminist context.

**Keywords:** television; postfeminism; cooking; domestic efficiency; Rachael Ray; time

In March 2006, I found myself strolling the aisles of an Italian food store in the Chelsea Market shopping for dinner with Rachael Ray, the host of numerous Food Network shows, author of more than a dozen cookbooks, and culinary celebrity. After I met Ray at a book signing in December 2005, she graciously agreed to let me visit the set of her popular program *30 Minute Meals* (2001–present) and then interview her about her culinary empire. While I anticipated having five minutes on set to ask her a few questions about her production style, I was thrilled when she whisked me away to spend an hour talking with her while she did errands on her break. The Food Network studios, which is where *30 Minute Meals* tapes, is housed on the upper stories of a building in the Meatpacking District in New York City on the first floor of which is the Chelsea Market, a retro-style indoor mall filled with specialty food shops. Its central hallway is lined exposed brick walls and a faux

**Author’s Note:** In addition to thanking the journal’s anonymous reviewer for helpful comments, I would like to thank Lynn Spigel for her insightful guidance as well as Mimi White, Jeffrey Sconce, Dana Polan, and Hollis Griffin, each of whom offered essential feedback at various stages of this project.

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obscure remaining racial, ethnic, class, sexuality, as well as gender inequalities (p. 67). As this article demonstrates, the temporal nature of postfeminist discourse appears not only in the representation of the relationship between the past and the present, a relationship that is not actually clearly delineated but is really ambivalent. Instead, the temporality of postfeminist discourse emerges also from the unique rhythms of the quotidian. This article argues that choosing a life that “balances” home and work depends in no small part on constructing a comfortable relationship to the experience of time in everyday life. Studying how the media represent women’s time is crucial to understanding definitions of femininity and women’s labor and leisure in the postfeminist context.


**The Growth of Food Television**

In the panicked refrains of debates about the changing nature of women’s social roles, the media expose an anxiety that the rhythms of everyday life are increasing to the point where families and home lives may never be the same. It is no coincidence that television producers have reacted with new programs that speak to these domestic anxieties. The rise of lifestyle television appeals to contemporary concerns about the pace of everyday life and the widely held perception that women and their families suffer from a lack of “quality” time together. Programs like *Extreme Makeover: Home Edition* (on ABC) and cable channels like Do It Yourself (DIY) and The Learning Channel (TLC) present homes that are victims of time pressures and bear the scars of the accelerated pace of home life. As these networks and programs demonstrate, popular culture effectively creates narratives out of domestic space. Charlotte Brunsdon (2003, 10) describes the rhetoric and mise-en-scène of the lifestyle genre, explaining how these programs are grounded in “a different balance between instruction and spectacle, which is articulated most clearly through a changing grammar of the close-up, and they most commonly address their audience as customer or consumer.” This genre combines pedagogy with entertainment, and rather than focusing on the monotonous rhythms and drudgery of housework, these contemporary programs transform the home into space of quotidian drama and spectacular commercial display.

In our era of niche cable channels, the Food Network was launched in 1993 with an explicit mission to target women viewers (Brown 1993). The network’s early prediction of an audience of primarily female viewers was not entirely correct; by 2003, viewers in the age category twenty-five to fifty-four were split 40 percent men and 60 percent women. Overall, upscale viewers appear to be the primary audience for the network.<sup>2</sup> While it draws viewers with discretionary income, the Food Network’s expanding audience base may be attributed to its expanding program themes that touch on all things food-related, not merely haute cuisine. By 2006, the

Check for updates

Article



Discourse & Communication  
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**Kelsi Matwick**  
University of Florida, USA

**Keri Matwick**  
University of Florida, USA

**Abstract**  
This article raises the important question as to why cooking, a seemingly mundane practice, performs social and cultural functions that go much beyond cooking, cooking instructions, and food preparation, and specifically how it functions in a media context. By integrating theories about inquiry, discourse analysis, gender, and sociolinguistics, the article makes an important contribution to the growing literature on contemporary discourse in the media. The research was conducted on popular television cooking channels, the *Food Network* and the *Cooking Channel*, and involved close analyses of a sample of instructional cooking shows. The article is an exploration of social and communicative dynamics inherent in cooking, especially from the public discourse of contemporary cooking shows.

**Keywords**  
Discourse analysis, inquiry, inquiry in television cooking shows, interaction, media discourse, television cooking shows

**Introduction**  
Inquiry is a dynamic language act in which we come to know and understand the world through wonder and curiosity. Raising questions, both spoken and unspoken, we seek greater understanding of our surroundings through observing, reading, listening, and

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Matwick and Matwick327


During the evening ‘way more than cooking’ programs hosts construct *cooking as competitive contest* and *cooking as a journey*. (Italics in original, p. 41)

The time and setting of the show and the gender of the show host relate to what type of cooking is demonstrated: in the daytime, male hosts are shown as professionals or hobbyists and female as domestic cooks, while in the evening, shows are competitions or travel oriented. Consequently, the characteristics of participants and the surround view give rise to different types of inquiry.

As gender is an important aspect in participants, it is also a determining factor in the context and the expression of inquiry. As Swenson (2009) observes, ‘the most striking way in which the binary between the genders is maintained is through the *absence of discussion* by male hosts of cooking as everyday, family-centered labor’ (emphasis added, p. 50). Even in domestic-centered shows by Tyler Florence (*Tyler’s Ultimate*) and Michael Chiarello (*Easy Entertaining with Michael Chiarello*), topics in which inquiry arises are about creating the best dish ever or about entertaining for a large crowd. Chiarello, though a professional chef and restaurant owner, admits that his New Year’s resolution is to “double my efforts in cooking with and for my family”. His primary identity is a professional chef, not a home cook for his family. In contrast, many female hosts such as Rachael Ray (*30-Minute Meals*), Melissa d’Arabian (*10 Dollar Dinners*), Paula Deen (*Home Cooking*), and Sandra Lee (*Money Saving Meals*) address time-saving and economical solutions to daily food preparation. With mantras such as ‘waste not, want not’ (Paula Deen), female hosts offer creative solutions to doing more with less – less money, less time, fewer ingredients – while male hosts challenge themselves to make cooking fun and leisurely. The very titles of the shows suggest contrasting contexts and priorities that appear to be gender related.


The kitchen and equipment of the cooking show establish the surround view and help to define this gendered discourse. In male cooking shows, the context conveys messages of power and masculinity. For example, in Guy Fieri’s *Big Bite*, the kitchen suggests a ‘man’s cave’, with billiard tables, a red Viking refrigerator with a No. 5 and a racing stripe, a drum set, a large flat-screen television turned on with extreme sports shows, and so on. In contrast, female cooking shows feature home kitchens with flower decorations and bright lighting. Sandra Lee’s *Semi-Homemade Cooking* specializes in unique kitchen sets and tablescapes for each show (e.g. red window curtains and a red rose bouquet for Valentine’s, soft yellow tablecloth and lemon lace cookies for a baby shower). The tailored context provides a surround view of the cooking event, setting the tone and atmosphere of the cooking show. A foreshadow to the act of inquiry itself, the surrounding context prepares the participants who will weave in their own knowledge, expectations, and interests in the kitchen talk.

Recognizing the surrounding context of acts of inquiry helps us understand how we give meaning and make sense of wondering. We understand words by considering context, which includes the location and surroundings of the cooking event. The context of the language event helps to establish a recognizable set of expectations or *genre*, a concept developed by Halliday (1978), which captures the conventions understood by shared stylistic criteria. Establishing norms of interaction, genres provide recognizable codes between speakers/listeners and writers/readers. Recognizing these codes, we are able to



**Food, Culture & Society**  
An International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research

ISSN: 1552-8014 (Print) 1751-7443 (Online) Journal homepage: <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rffc20>





**The Intimacies of Industry**  
Consumer Interactions with the “Stuff” of Celebrity Chefs


**Emma-Jayne Abbotts**


To cite this article: Emma-Jayne Abbotts (2015) The Intimacies of Industry, Food, Culture & Society, 18:2, 223-243, DOI: [10.2752/175174415X14180391604323](https://doi.org/10.2752/175174415X14180391604323)


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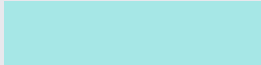
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Panic About time-saving in home appliance ads too!

Gender distinctions between male and female chefs on cooking shows.







## 8. Three Birthdays

c.1970s, 1980s, 1990s

The birthday menus displayed are constructed from photographs, oral history interviews, and social media correspondence with interlocutors who lived in the UAE in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s.

Photos courtesy of Samar Abdulmoaty, Warren Ball and the Serry family archives.

Celebrations convey various cultural and social norms surrounding food: is it consumed standing or sitting down, what kind of ingredients are to be used, are there any religious considerations when it comes to food on certain occasions? Birthdays however, seem to be a little more universal despite the cultural nuances of each community and respective family or household norms. Cake is almost always present in birthday parties, while guests expect a variety of dishes to choose from. Home birthdays speak a lot of who we chose to invite into our private space, and how food sometimes becomes the excuse to partake in such an exception to the quotidienne.

Other times, birthday parties become classic examples of communal food that may be practiced outside of homes, in more public spaces such as restaurants, bars, or party halls. Even at homes, the concept of private spaces gets stretched when others are invited to the party.

Regardless of the universality of birthday parties, their menus reflect what hosts aspired to please others with, what they believed would go together, and what speaks of their generosity towards their loved ones and others. As I reflect in my attached short essay, “birthday parties are performances of a ritual of many things: of public conviviality, of gifting wishes in the form of physical bodily attendance, of breaking rules of healthy eating to savor sugar and “junk”, of encouraged indulgence and extravagance, and of social exchange. Food (cake and other) is central in all those aspects of social and cultural actions, and birthday food of the migrant communities in Dubai present a particularly interesting topic when considering the problems of loneliness, placemaking, otherness, and consumerism.” (FIG. 11)



(FIG. 11)

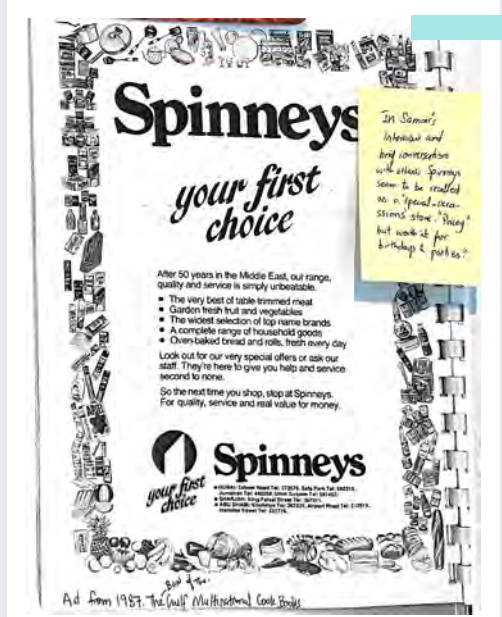
**Birthday Food and The Middle Class Migrants in Dubai**  
An unfinished draft for a short essay of thoughts and reflections on this exhibition.  
Saima Sanyal

A happy, clean tossed green salad came with it a candle and a ritual "Happy Birthday" is a sight that brings out the child in anyone. The birthday cake, the prized glory of our childhood parties that crown the celebrations of turning older and brings together family and friends around the table. The cake, that has fast become a birthday tradition, is a ritual of many things of public life. The cake, the birthday cake, is a symbol of celebration, of achievement, of exchange. The cake, the birthday cake, is a symbol of social and cultural actions, of birthday food for the migrant communities in Dubai present a particularly interesting topic when considering the problems of business, placements, and consumption.

[illegible]

Perhaps though, risk got almost eliminated with the media, the internet and to a great extent, consumerism that decreased the sense of unfamiliarity. Obedience spreaders in the 1990s might be more or less predictable and homogeneous with a well-known children's appetite that wants to eat anything. Superheroes, like Batman, and a variety of other characters, from comic book superheroes, like Superman, are on a race to transcend borders and aspirations with discounted prices, making money. Dubai successfully has been a home to a globalised shopping festival that began in 1996, drawing the city into a world of a shopping wonderland with multinational food markets and unbridled access to the world's food markets. Cultural foods and home-made delicacies are sold, and the city has become a melting pot of cultures. The city has become the table to manage for the ethnic-less-character. Tabbouleh, Knafeh, Harro or Laddu, became enjoyed side by side with dairy-character stone-bought cakes and frozen pizzas. The city has become a melting pot of cultures, and the city has become a melting pot of cultures somewhere else, and, in reality, being in whole other place: a spread of a three-dimensional migrant geography.

*In Samar's interview and brief conversations with others, Spinneys seem to be recalled as a 'special-occasions' store. "Pricey" but worth it for birthdays & parties.*



## 8. Three Birthdays

## Library Circles: Salma Serry

**A Menu of H.S.'s Son Birthday**  
(1981)

Chocolate birthday cake  
Home-made Kunafa  
Bananas and oranges  
Pepsi

**A Menu from Samar Children's Birthdays**  
(1983- end of 1990s)

Home-made fatayer  
Spinach  
Cheese  
Zaatar

raa' Enab

## Sandwiches

bbouleh

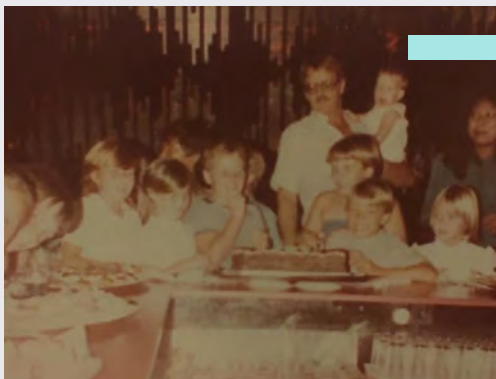
Birthday cake

(home-made in the 1980s, then from Modern Bakery or Spinneys later)

Pepsi, 7UP, Mirinda

**A Menu from Lucifer Junior's Disco**  
**(As remembered by Warren Ball and Lindy Sherman)**  
 (1981)

Hotdog on a stick  
Pineapple and cheese on a stick  
Cheese sandwich  
Chicken salad sandwich  
Birthday cake  
Pepsi, 7UP, Miranda



Hi Salma, happy new year. I dont mind the use of the photo. I cant really bring much of the food to mind as it was 40 years ago. One thing I do remember about Lucifers party food because they had the same at the junior discos on a Friday afternoon was mini hotdog sausages on sticks which everyone loved. Also pineapple and chees in cocktail sticks. Hope this helps

**MENU**

## ESSAY

## OTHER CITATIONS



A Menu of H.S.’s Son Birthday  
(1981)

- Chocolate birthday cake
- Home-made Kunafa
- Bananas and oranges
- Pepsi

A Menu from Lucifer Junior’s Disco  
(As remembered by Warren Ball and Lindy Sherman)  
(1981)

- Hotdog on a stick
- Pineapple and cheese on a stick
- Cheese sandwich
- Chicken salad sandwich
- Birthday cake
- Pepsi, 7UP, Mirinda

A Menu from Samar Children’s Birthdays  
(1983- end of 1990s)

- Home-made fatayer
  - Spinach
  - Cheese
  - Zaatar
- Waraa’ Enab
- Tuna Sandwiches
- Tabbouleh
- Birthday cake  
*(home-made in the 1980s, then from Modern Bakery or Spinneys later)*
- Pepsi, 7UP, Mirinda

MENU

ESSAY

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**Birthday Food and The Middle Class Migrants in Dubai**

An unfinished draft for a short essay of thoughts and reflections on birthdays for this exhibition  
Salma Serry

A sugary, cream frosted spongy cake with a lit candle and a piped “Happy Birthday” is a sight that brings out the child in anyone. The birthday cake: the prized glory of our childhood parties that crown the celebrations of turning older and brings together family and friends around the table. This performance, that has now almost become universal, is a ritual of many things: of public conviviality, of gifting wishes in the form of physical bodily attendance, of breaking rules of healthy eating to savor sugar and “junk”, of encouraged indulgence and extravagance, of exchange. Although scarcely studied, food (cake and other) is central in all those aspects of social and cultural actions, and birthday food of the migrant communities in Dubai present a particularly interesting topic when considering the problems of loneliness, placemaking, otherness, and consumerism.

First generation middle class migrants in Dubai, much like migrants in other places, often first arrive alone, whether typically first as a man, who might or not, be followed by his nuclear family, or as the nuclear family that might, or not, in the future be joined by sisters, brothers, aunts or uncles, cousins and second cousins. In the everyday life, the absence of others might not be prove to be taxing, until special occasions come around. How would one celebrate without the others? Does a celebration count if no one was there to have a party with? Is it ‘unhappy’ to bake a cake and eat it with no friends and family because you don’t know others yet? How different might the birthdays be if you had them ‘back home’? Is it more burdensome to hold birthday parties without the grandmother baking help, the sister’s decoration skills, the cousin music tapes, and your best friends setting the table and doing the dishes?

Then, comes the question of otherness that is confronted head to head when one invites others. Who can you invite to your home when you are alien to others cultural, religious, and ethnic background? Trust and amicability that comes from familiarity must play a role in an unfamiliar land. It is, of course, never approached this naively or simply. Even when there is a risk of the unknown, there are curiosities, social obligations, and a genuine desire to start building new friendships to make a sense of place. Approaching with some caution and optimism, birthdays expand possibilities despite the discomfort associated with breaking the privacy of homes. You se, we can say that a birthday at home is a private setting that gets extended into a quasi-public space for the temporary period of the party. There, a number of ‘risky’ exchanges occur; a neighbor might bring in “new” food from their culture, a guest might recite a better sandwich recipe, another could demonstrate cake cutting etiquette, the host could present their knowledge of setting a menu and a table, in addition to reactions on the food, commonly in the form of approval and less likely of disgust, are expressed as judgement of taste. All these interactions draw a web of social exchanges of experiences and a transfer of knowledge, both in taste and in the social codes related to the making, presenting and eating food.

Perhaps though, risk got almost eliminated with the media, the internet and to a great effect, consumerism that decreased the sense of unfamiliarity. Birthday spreads from the 1990s’ might be more or less predictable and homogenous with a ‘western’ children appetite that wants burgers and hotdogs like they see on TV, and as enabled by a globalized consumer culture. Malls, supermarkets, and hypermarkets, are on a race to tempt dreams and aspirations with discounted prices and buying more. Dubai specifically has been a home to a dedicated shopping festival that began in 1996, launching the city into a future of a shopping wonderland with multinational food brands and unmatched access to the world’s food markets. Cultural foods and home-made dishes that were once the highlight of the 70’s and 80’s parties have later been moved aside on the table to make way for the ethnic-less and homogenous. Tabbouleh, Kunafa, kheer or laddu, became enjoyed side by side with Disney-character store-bought cakes and frozen pizzas. The outcome was a colorful spread that speaks of coming from another place, aspiring to be somewhere else, and, in reality, being in a whole other place: a spread of a three-dimensional migrant geography.

MENU

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In Samar's Interview and brief conversations with others, Spinneys seem to be recalled as a 'special-occasions store - "Pricy" but worth it for birthdays & parties."

After 50 years in the Middle East, our range, quality and service is simply unbeatable.

- The very best of table-trimmed meat
- Garden fresh fruit and vegetables
- The widest selection of top name brands
- A complete range of household goods
- Oven-baked bread and rolls, fresh every day

Look out for our very special offers or ask our staff. They're here to give you help and service second to none.

So the next time you shop, stop at Spinneys. For quality, service and real value for money.

• DUBAI: Zabeel Road Tel: 373576, Safa Park Tel: 582318, Jumeirah Tel: 46268, Umm Suqeim Tel: 581453.  
• SHARJAH: King Fahad Street Tel: 357011.  
• ABU DHABI: Khalidiya Tel: 367235, Airport Road Tel: 212919, Hamdan Street Tel: 531715.

Best of the...

Ad from 1987. The Gulf Multinational Cook Books



Hi Salma, happy new year. I dont mind the use of the photo. I cant really bring much of the food to mind as it was 40 years ago. One thing I do remember about Lucifers party food because they had the same at the junior discos on a Friday afternoon was mini hotdog sausages on sticks which everyone loved. Also pineapple and chees in cocktail sticks. Hope this helps



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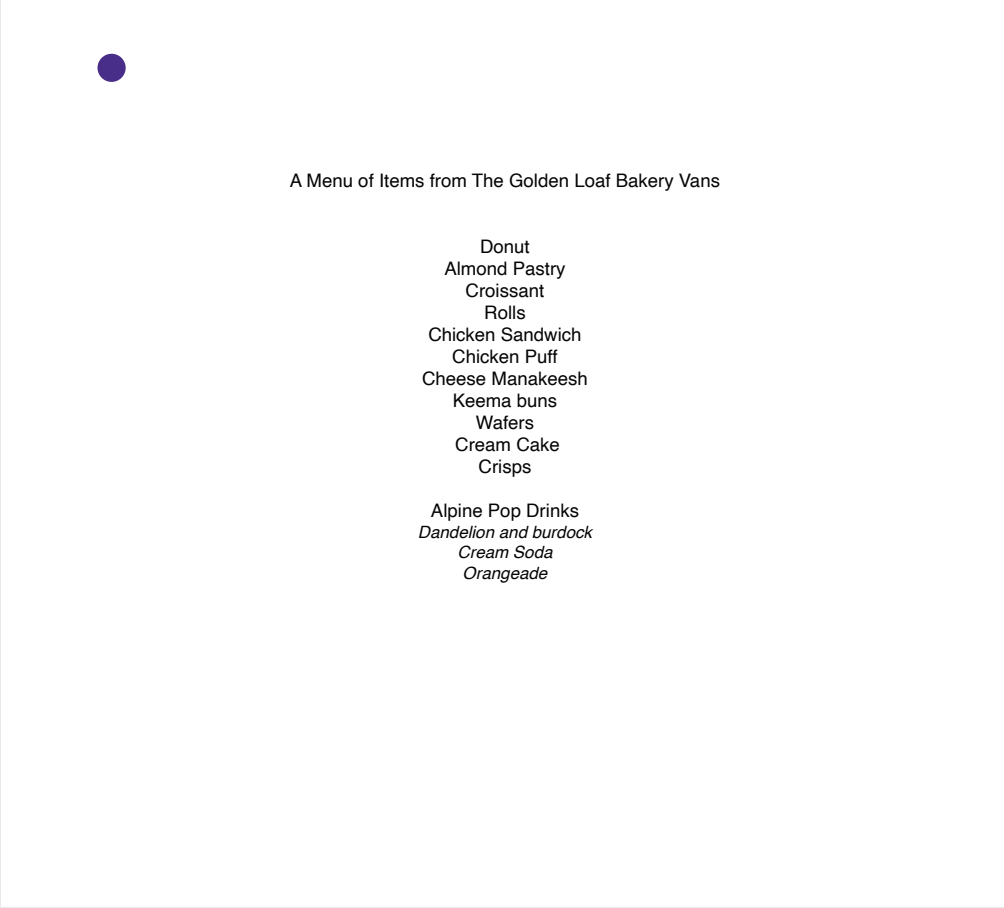


9. Golden Loaf Bakery Van  
C.1987s

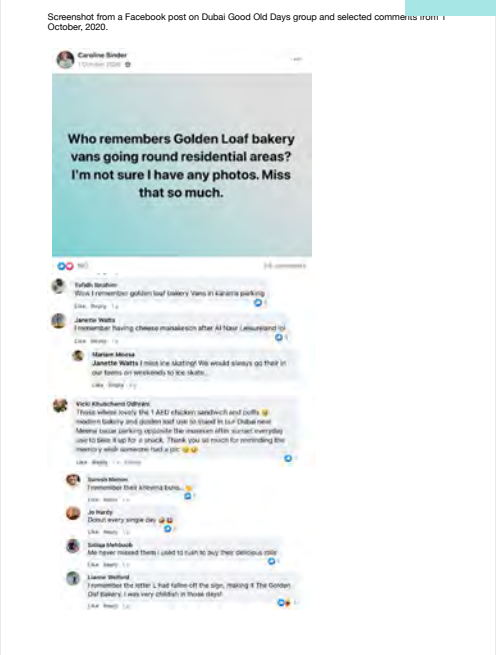
This is a menu constructed from facebook user comments reminiscing about the days when they used to buy baked goods and pastries from bakery vans that would roam around parts of the city.

Various bakeries in the 1980s had vans that drove around and stationed in particular known spots for 10-15 minutes. Most of the recalled memories were childhood ones that associated the vans with specific baked products and locations around Dubai and Sharjah. One user recalls: “I remember the letter L had fallen off the sign, making it The Golden Oaf Bakery. I was very childish in those days!” The items seem to be consumed as snacks by children as some of the comments suggest. Another user, Vickie Odharani, adds, “those were lovely the 1 AED chicken sandwich and puffs... modern bakery and golden loaf... used to stand in bur Dubai near Meena bazar parking opposite the museum after sunset everyday... used to bike it up for a snack.” (FIG. 12, 13, 14)

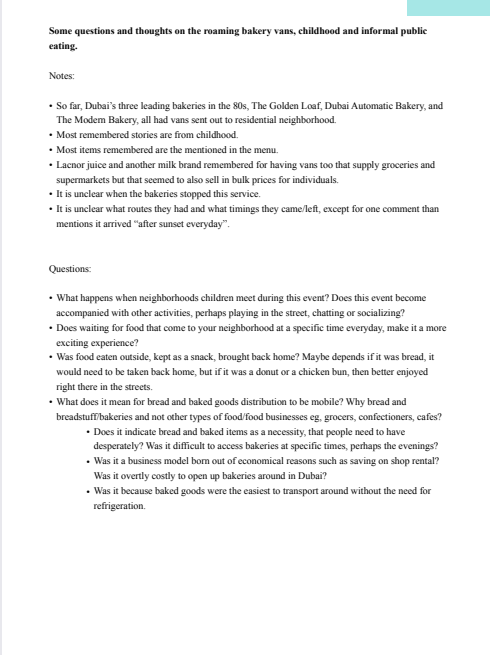
Snacks and baked goods makeup an interesting category of foods in that it reflects a more relaxed attitude towards the routine that is typically maintained in the three daily meals. It also makes for a playful take on food, where more rules are broken, comfort food is emphasized, and taste becomes more important than nutrition This gets particularly interesting when paired with childhood and its classic infatuation with public-space roaming vendors, representing a more informal way of consuming food (FIG. 15).



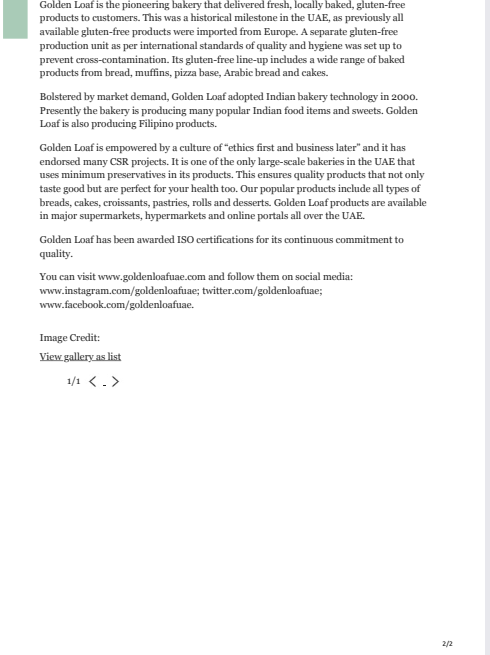
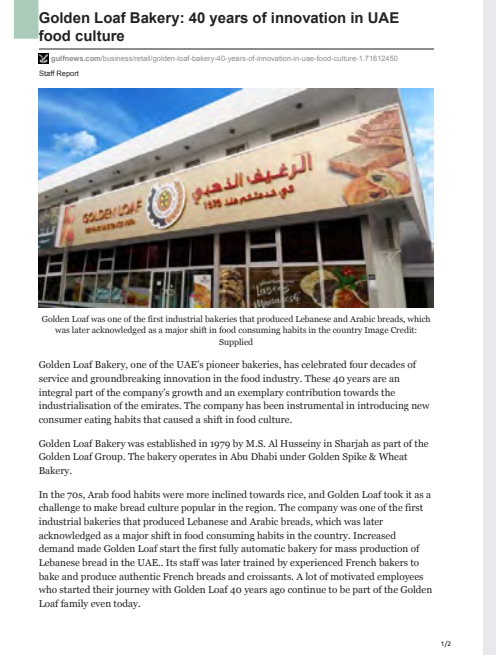
(FIG. 12)



(FIG. 13)

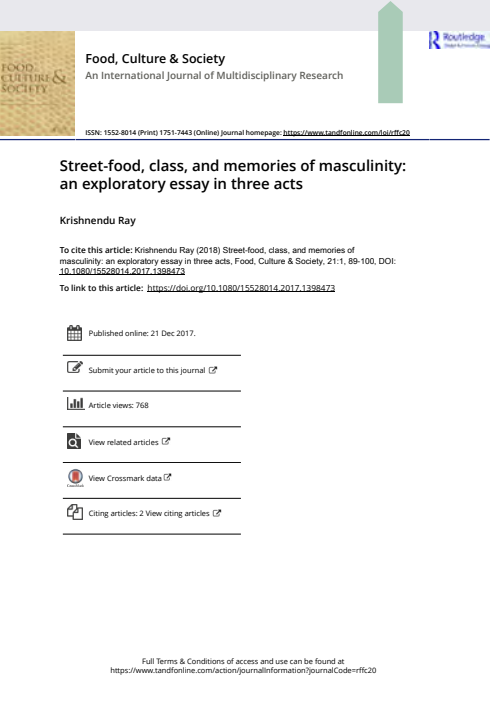


(FIG. 14)

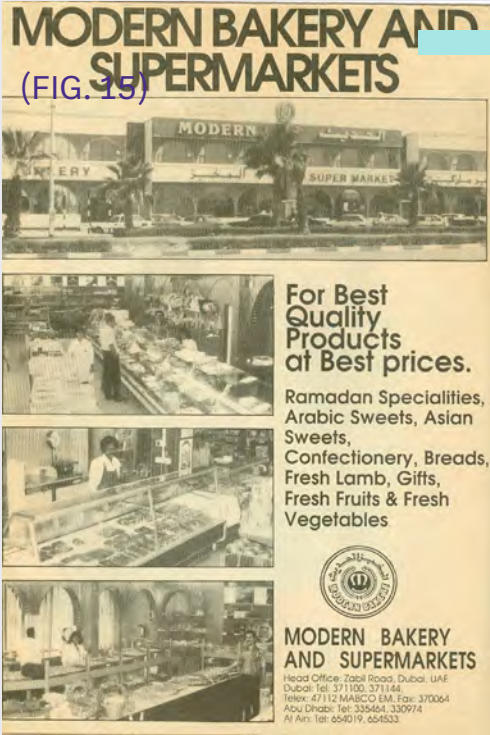
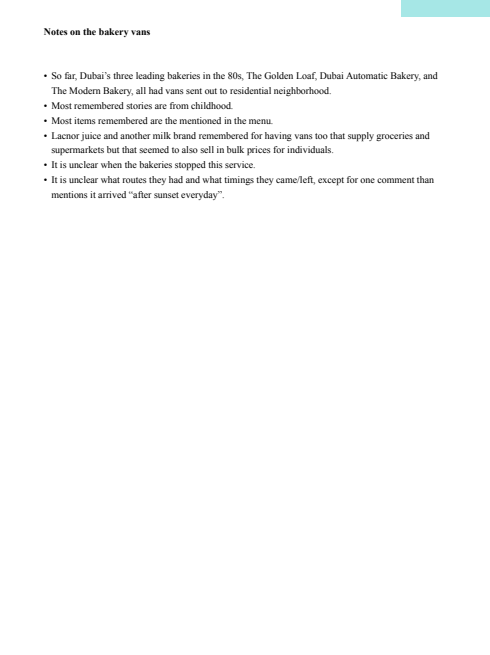


9. Goldon Loaf Bakery Van

Library Circles: Salma Serry



(FIG. 15)





A Menu of Items from The Golden Loaf Bakery Vans

Donut  
Almond Pastry  
Croissant  
Rolls  
Chicken Sandwich  
Chicken Puff  
Cheese Manakeesh  
Keema buns  
Wafers  
Cream Cake  
Crisps

Alpine Pop Drinks  
*Dandelion and burdock*  
*Cream Soda*  
*Orangeade*

MENU

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FOOD, CULTURE & SOCIETY

ISSN: 1552-8014 (Print) 1751-7443 (Online) Journal homepage: <https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rffc20>

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Street-food, class, and memories of masculinity: an exploratory essay in three acts

Krishnendu Ray

To cite this article: Krishnendu Ray (2018) Street-food, class, and memories of masculinity: an exploratory essay in three acts, Food, Culture & Society, 21:1, 89-100, DOI: [10.1080/15528014.2017.1398473](https://doi.org/10.1080/15528014.2017.1398473)

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9. Goldon Loaf Bakery Van

Library Circles: Salma Serry

Golden Loaf Bakery: 40 years of innovation in UAE food culture

[gulfnews.com/business/retail/golden-loaf-bakery-40-years-of-innovation-in-uae-food-culture-1.71612450](https://gulfnews.com/business/retail/golden-loaf-bakery-40-years-of-innovation-in-uae-food-culture-1.71612450)

Staff Report



Golden Loaf was one of the first industrial bakeries that produced Lebanese and Arabic breads, which was later acknowledged as a major shift in food consuming habits in the country Image Credit: Supplied

Golden Loaf Bakery, one of the UAE's pioneer bakeries, has celebrated four decades of service and groundbreaking innovation in the food industry. These 40 years are an integral part of the company's growth and an exemplary contribution towards the industrialisation of the emirates. The company has been instrumental in introducing new consumer eating habits that caused a shift in food culture.

Golden Loaf Bakery was established in 1979 by M.S. Al Husseiny in Sharjah as part of the Golden Loaf Group. The bakery operates in Abu Dhabi under Golden Spike & Wheat Bakery.

In the 70s, Arab food habits were more inclined towards rice, and Golden Loaf took it as a challenge to make bread culture popular in the region. The company was one of the first industrial bakeries that produced Lebanese and Arabic breads, which was later acknowledged as a major shift in food consuming habits in the country. Increased demand made Golden Loaf start the first fully automatic bakery for mass production of Lebanese bread in the UAE.. Its staff was later trained by experienced French bakers to bake and produce authentic French breads and croissants. A lot of motivated employees who started their journey with Golden Loaf 40 years ago continue to be part of the Golden Loaf family even today.

1/2

Golden Loaf is the pioneering bakery that delivered fresh, locally baked, gluten-free products to customers. This was a historical milestone in the UAE, as previously all available gluten-free products were imported from Europe. A separate gluten-free production unit as per international standards of quality and hygiene was set up to prevent cross-contamination. Its gluten-free line-up includes a wide range of baked products from bread, muffins, pizza base, Arabic bread and cakes.

Bolstered by market demand, Golden Loaf adopted Indian bakery technology in 2000. Presently the bakery is producing many popular Indian food items and sweets. Golden Loaf is also producing Filipino products.

Golden Loaf is empowered by a culture of “ethics first and business later” and it has endorsed many CSR projects. It is one of the only large-scale bakeries in the UAE that uses minimum preservatives in its products. This ensures quality products that not only taste good but are perfect for your health too. Our popular products include all types of breads, cakes, croissants, pastries, rolls and desserts. Golden Loaf products are available in major supermarkets, hypermarkets and online portals all over the UAE.

Golden Loaf has been awarded ISO certifications for its continuous commitment to quality.

You can visit [www.goldenloafuae.com](http://www.goldenloafuae.com) and follow them on social media: [www.instagram.com/goldenloafuae](https://www.instagram.com/goldenloafuae); [twitter.com/goldenloafuae](https://twitter.com/goldenloafuae); [www.facebook.com/goldenloafuae](https://www.facebook.com/goldenloafuae).

Image Credit:

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Screenshot from a Facebook post on Dubai Good Old Days group and selected comments from 1 October, 2020.

Caroline Binder

1 October 2020 · 🌐

Who remembers Golden Loaf bakery vans going round residential areas? I'm not sure I have any photos. Miss that so much.

160

54 comments

Yafidh Ibrahim

Wow I remember golden loaf bakery Vans in karama parking

Like · Reply · 1y

2

Janette Watts

I remember having cheese manakesch after Al Nasr Leisureland lol

Like · Reply · 1y

5

Mariam Moosa

Janette Watts I miss ice skating! We would always go their in our teens on weekends to ice skate..

Like · Reply · 1y

1

Vicki Khubchand Odhrani

Those where lovely the 1 AED chicken sandwich and puffs 🍔 modern bakery and golden loaf use to stand in bur Dubai near Meena bazar parking opposite the museum after sunset everyday use to bike it up for a snack. Thank you so much for reminding the memory wish someone had a pic 📷🍔

Like · Reply · 1y · Edited

1

Suresh Menon

I remember their kheema buns...🍔

Like · Reply · 1y

1

Jo Hardy

Donut every single day 🍩🍩

Like · Reply · 1y

2

Sidiqa Mehboob

Me never missed them I used to rush to buy their delicious rolls

Like · Reply · 1y

1

Lianne Welford

I remember the letter L had fallen off the sign, making it The Golden Oaf Bakery. I was very childish in those days!

Like · Reply · 1y

4

Some questions and thoughts on the roaming bakery vans, childhood and informal public eating.

Questions:

- What happens when neighborhoods children meet during this event? Does this event become accompanied with other activities, perhaps playing in the street, chatting or socializing?
- Does waiting for food that come to your neighborhood at a specific time everyday, make it a more exciting experience?
- Was food eaten outside, kept as a snack, brought back home? Maybe depends if it was bread, it would need to be taken back home, but if it was a donut or a chicken bun, then better enjoyed right there in the streets.
- What does it mean for bread and baked goods distribution to be mobile? Why bread and breadstuff/ bakeries and not other types of food/food businesses eg, grocers, confectioners, cafes?
- Does it indicate bread and baked items as a necessity, that people need to have desperately? Was it difficult to access bakeries at specific times, perhaps the evenings?
- Was it a business model born out of economical reasons such as saving on shop rental? Was it overtly costly to open up bakeries around in Dubai?
- Was it because baked goods were the easiest to transport around without the need for refrigeration.

9. Goldon Loaf Bakery Van

2 GULF NEWS SUPPLEMENT - 24-04-1990

Leading bakery and supermarket

MODERN BAKERY and Supermarket was established over 15 years ago in 1975 and is recognised as a leading bakery and supermarket. Right from the beginning, the company operated on two important principles. First, repeated orders only come to those who offer quality at a reasonable price. Secondly, only those who invest continuously and imaginatively in new products, turnover and production techniques can hope to solve today's problems and prepare for the solution of tomorrow.

Modern Bakery and Supermarket is a giant operation having a chain of 10 supermarkets/bakery showrooms, three modern automatic-bakery manufacturing units, a wholesale trading department for bakery raw materials and other consumer goods, and a marketing and sales department for the distribution of bakery items. The main objective always remained to provide the consumers, the products of their day to day requirements at a fair and very reasonable prices, without compromising the quality. Efforts have been made to promote ONE-STOP SHOPPING facilities in all the

Modern Bakery and Supermarket on Zaabeel Road

materials state to the finished products, the whole processes are carried out under strict hygienic conditions to ensure that the customers expectations of quality are satisfied or exceeded even. In these fast moving times when new developments often occur almost overnight, the need is for in addition to consistency and imaginative thinking, entrepreneurial presence of mind that means a flexible organisation, rapid decision making and employees who know to accept the challenge of new demands and turn it into the company advantage. Modern Bakery and Supermarket Management has always been able to fulfil these conditions and will continue to strive to develop them even further in the interest of their clients. Modern Bakery specialties include Arabic sweets, Asian sweets, Ramadan specialties, French breads, German breads, English breads, fresh fruit cakes, a variety of confectionary assortments, different types of snacks and petit fours.

Modern Bakery and Supermarket offers its customers a real value of their money and unconditionally guarantees high quality products, better services, and is famous for special occasion and festival shoppings.

Ramadan specialties include: dates, figs, dry apricots, dry nuts, roasted nuts, candies, pickles, cheese varieties, Qataif Ajeen, Kunafa Ajeen, Ma'brooma Qushia, Kunafa cheese, Ma'nafa Qushia, Qataif Jose and Qataif Qushia.

Modern Bakery and Supermarket is an ideal place for buying Eid gifts like cakes, sweets, chocolates, cookies, toys, perfumes etc. Birthday and wedding cakes are offered according to the entire satisfaction of the customers.

A very aggressive and professional team of wholesales trading department takes care for the needs of their clients in the bakery raw materials and other consumer goods as Modern Bakery and Supermarket represents the leading manufacturers from all over the world.

Bakery products are distributed to all the supermarkets and other retail outlets through efficient marketing and sales staff.

All possible efforts are made for timely supplies. Stale products are collected back regularly. Customer complaints are attended efficiently and rectified accordingly.

Some questions and thoughts on the roaming bakery vans, childhood and informal public eating.

Notes on the bakery vans

- So far, Dubai’s three leading bakeries in the 80s, The Golden Loaf, Dubai Automatic Bakery, and The Modern Bakery, all had vans sent out to residential neighborhood.
- Most remembered stories are from childhood.
- Most items remembered are the mentioned in the menu.
- Lacnor juice and another milk brand remembered for having vans too that supply groceries and supermarkets but that seemed to also sell in bulk prices for individuals.
- It is unclear when the bakeries stopped this service.
- It is unclear what routes they had and what timings they came/left, except for one comment than mentions it arrived “after sunset everyday”.

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