Jonathan Welcome to the CHINA-MENA podcast. I'm your host, Jonathan Fulton, a senior nonresident fellow at the Atlantic Council and a political scientist at Zayed University in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. In our last episode, we discussed some of the factors that have put a ceiling on the China Iran relationship. One factor that is often overlooked is the deep levels of political and economic engagement between China and Iran's neighbors and rivals in the Gulf Cooperation Council. China has comprehensive strategic partnerships with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, putting them at the same level of diplomatic standing as Iran and Qatar, Kuwait and Oman all have strategic partnerships with China one level down. But it's in economic terms where we see the real difference. China consistently trades much more with the GCC than with Iran, and Chinese companies have an exponentially deeper footprint on the Arabian Peninsula than anywhere else in the Middle East North Africa. While the China Saudi Arabia relationship correctly gets a lot of attention, I would argue that Beijing's most diverse and sustainable Arab partnership is right here in the United Arab Emirates. Beyond the frequent high level official meetings, there's a fascinating social element at work as well. The UAE is home to by far the largest Chinese expatriate population in the region, with thousands of Chinese businesses operating here. In 2020, the first Chinese state sanctioned international school opened its doors in Dubai, and the Chinese language classes have been built into the national curriculum. So what is it that is bringing these two distinct countries together? To answer that question, I am delighted to introduce our guest Professor Wang Yuting. Yuting is a professor of sociology at the American University of Sharjah in the UAE. She's lived in the Emirates for over a decade and in 2020 published a fantastic book Chinese in Dubai. Money, Pride and soul searching. I can't think of anyone who can tell us more about China, UAE relations. Yuting, welcome to the show.

Yuting Hi, Jonathan. Thanks for having me here today.

**Jonathan** Oh, of course, I'm so happy you could do this for us. I want to ask you first about your book. What can you tell us about the Chinese community in Dubai? Why did they come here? How long has a community been here and what keeps them here?

**Yuting** Excellent questions. And those are the questions that many people have asked me and which led me to do research about my own ethnic community here in the UAE and eventually led to the writing of the book and the publication of the book. So here we go to put this in a nutshell. The Chinese community has been here actually since the early 1980s, but they were in a very small number at the time, and the growth is really driven by China's economic reform and that deepened in the 1990s and especially by the end of 1990s and early 2000s. And you know, we have this new policy that encourages small to medium enterprises to go out and which has generated a steady flow of Chinese into the new market here in the Middle East, especially the oil rich region and the Gulf. And so that's how the Chinese started coming to this part of the world. And then, as you can tell, the driving force is mostly economic. So they're mostly volunteer economic migrants. But over the years, the population has also become quite diversified in terms of their occupation. And then there have always actually been guite diverse in terms of social class. And so they have been here for actually quite a long time, but yet they're not quite noticed. I think there's a lot of misunderstanding about the Chinese community in the region and because of their concentration in trade and commerce. But what I've seen is a vibrant community that has grown exponentially since the 1990s and early 2000s and in

the last two decades in particular, and we've seen the diversification of professions among them. And so that's the short sort of overview of the Chinese community.

**Jonathan** No, it's great. You know, one thing you said that really stood out is they're not entirely noticed, and I'll talk with my students sometimes and mention how many Chinese people are actually living here. And my Emirati students are shocked. They'll say, I had no idea. And they think mostly it's centered around, well, as you know, to our listeners, there's a massive Chinese retail complex in Dubai, which I'm sure you think we'll talk a lot about. And I think most people think it's basically ground zero. But you know, again, in your book, you showed that it's actually really quite spread out. Just for our listeners you say it's a big population. I've heard so many different numbers. Do you have a sense of how many Chinese actually live in the UAE?

**Yuting** Well, it's actually difficult to tell, especially since the beginning of the pandemic. The most up to date number that we have was shared actually by Her Excellency, the consul general back in June 2018. And so she put the number at 270,000 in Dubai alone. So in the entire emirate and then we're looking at somewhere around 300,000. And this is also one of the reasons why there was such strong interest in building educational institutions here, not really for the expatriate community and from other ethnic groups, but then to cater to the Chinese. And so that's something that you mentioned earlier and the opening of Chinese school and in the middle of the pandemic, because that was actually quite amazing.

**Jonathan** That is amazing. 300,000 would put China at one of the largest single country communities in the UAE, of course. The UAE is really a very diverse country. But like you said, it's not always obvious that there's a huge Chinese presence. We know there's a huge Indian presence or Filipino expat Arab, but to have 300,000 Chinese people living here kind of flying under the radar, I think is really interesting. And it has a lot of implications. I mean, not just economic but also political security, and it really does kind of alter the landscape in the region, I think.

**Yuting** We don't want to over emphasize the presence of this 300,000, actually. They mostly lie low and they're very low key. And now that is one way to describe them. I think another way to describe it will be and they'll probably be reluctant to engage. I think, you know, this is one of the characteristics of the community.

Jonathan Why do you think that is?

Yuting I think this has to be discussed actually in various ways. First of all, the Chinese expats here in the UAE focused primarily on the economic and outcome of their migration. And so they tend to be quite cautious. And then in other aspects of their social life. And that's one thing, there's the emphasis on economic, security, financial well-being instead of on social cultural engagements. But then probably most importantly, we have to look at the barriers to language differences and cultural differences. And most Chinese expats living in the region are not Muslims, and they actually found themselves actually quite alienated to a great extent living in the majority Muslim region. And a lot of these communities also live apart from each other, and they like to hang out with their ethnic groups. And that made it extremely difficult actually for these newcomers from China and to find this niche and to really engage. And of course, you know, you also have the typical problems that expats face, which is the kind of transitional lifestyle here in the region. And people don't want to invest too much while they're here and so they have very strong ties with China

and are not building much here. So I think some of these issues now are facing the second generation and we are looking at actually a growing second generation here or either born and raised in the region or have been brought by their parents at such a young age. And they are actually investing themselves now in a region that they know that's going to have what you think Asians of this presidency. And we're yet to see the outcome. But I think that's going to be another very interesting topic for sociologists, anthropologists or interesting Chinese expats here in the region.

Jonathan There's so much in there that I'd like to talk about, especially the question of just identity and faith and this as well. It reminds me a few years ago I was interviewing different diplomats here in Abu Dhabi, and when I talked to a Japanese diplomat rather and I asked how many Japanese citizens are in the UAE, and he knew almost the exact figure, you know, because it was something like twelve hundred and sixty or something like this. Like, he knew which cities they lived in. And about a week later, I was talking to a Chinese diplomat and I asked him the same question, and he's like, I have no idea. Maybe 200,000, maybe 300,000. Maybe more, maybe less. It's so hard to keep track. There's just so many people here. It seemed really overwhelming. One thing I want to ask, I mean, there are huge Chinese diasporas everywhere, right? I mean, you know, and like you say, sometimes it's not always obvious. My wife is from Quebec, in Canada and Quebec City is a very, very French city with a surprisingly big Chinese community that I just never knew about until I spent some time there. So, Chinese communities are all around the world. But are there unique factors that drive Chinese people to the Middle East or to Dubai?

**Yuting** Very good question indeed. I think in the end, studies about Chinese migration or the main focus of the Chinese diaspora has always actually been in Southeast Asia and in North America. Then there has been interest in studying Chinese trade communities in Europe. Middle East has been this black region and it's really unknown why because the Chinese are not really attracted to the region and for a very long time until recently, as I mentioned, and so the influx of Chinese actually began toward the end of 1990s and early 2000s, so they have been here for just about two decades. And now one of the reasons has to do with the economic opportunities here in the U.S. and in the Gulf region and the Middle East and North Africa in general. As economic migrants, they seek out markets that have potential. And so some of these developments in China, especially since that reform began and then the developments here in the Middle East and Israel coincided. And so that was one of the impetus that had driven Chinese merchants and traders to look at these unconventional markets. So that's an economic goal, their economic and driving force has been there to push them to other parts of the world and to seek out. And so the first wave of Chinese migrants on the Chinese expats for lack of better words were the ones who were quite adventurous, actually risk taking traders. And they are not really the ones that we would describe as entrepreneurs, but they were the first generation were eager to look at these unexplored markets and then the going out policy that was developed in 1999 and in the early 2000s has really generated this kind of interest among this new generation of Chinese entrepreneurs who are looking at some possible destinations and to to kind of, you know, try their luck and then to really kind of test the water. So I think the increased number of Chinese population in the region really sort of becomes the barometer of China's own economic development as well as the development here in the region. And so that's something that I found guite interesting. And then this inflow of population is very closely linked to the broader political economic context.

Jonathan So one thing I've noticed, you know, I track China G6E relations pretty closely and over the years you see a lot of patterns. So you know, here in Abu Dhabi around 2016, 2017, we start to see a lot of things move. After the Crown Prince Mohammed bin Zayed traveled to Beijing and met with Xi Jinping, and they said a lot of deals. And suddenly, what we saw in Abu Dhabi was a lot of Chinese companies and groups from Jiangsu province kind of came to Abu Dhabi. And then we saw in 2017, you know, in Oman, there was a lot of talk about this project and Stockholm. And we saw a lot of people from Ningxia. So it seems like and again, that's why it's great to have a sociologist, you know, ask, do these large consortiums or local groups or networks? Are these people that are traveling together? They see an opportunity? And, you know, kind of as individuals or as groups do it? Or are they being directed by the state or by the National Reform Development Commission or ministries? What is it that's making these kinds of, and also in Dubai, what do you see as are there localities or provinces or cities in China that are more deeply represented in Dubai?

**Yuting** Actually, I think there's a little bit of everything here. And so you have these individuals who for various reasons, I have been attracted to the region, whether they are adventurous entrepreneurs or they had a personal interest in the region or some sort of family ties. But then you also see groups that have been sort of pushed actually by state policy and also by some of these locally development plans and especially in the North West region. And then you have some of this younger generation of Chinese and India who have been attracted to global cities and the city Dubai. And so you have a little bit of everything. But then we do see these regional differences actually even within the UAE. Abu Dhabi actually has drawn a large number of state owned enterprises. So most of these companies actually concentrate in Abu Dhabi and the people who work for these large corporations, they lead a very different life than other Chinese traders, merchants or professionals who live in Dubai, and their life is much more institutionalized. I don't know if you notice that they mostly actually rent these large villas and where the Chinese employees will actually share the same living space. And they have actually built their own cafeteria and then they hire chefs and helpers from China. So they actually still live in the Chinese environment. They rarely reach out and engage with other Chinese living in the country. But the Chinese people in Dubai, however, they're much, much more diverse and also much, much more active. They're not on to state owned enterprises. They do not respond to the state policies and to that extent. And so they're much more flexible. And so they find their ways to engage with other expat communities. So I can see actually, in recent years, especially since the pandemic began, there's much more engagement happening at different levels. But most of these engagements were actually grassroots movements and done by people who have been here for a very long time, have really invested themselves in and have developed some sort of emotional attachment to the region. Yes, it's becoming more and more like other expats. Maybe, you know, the Indian expats and Filipino expats, then those people who work for the state owned companies and the we're patient bases every three years and they'll be relocated to another location. And so they don't really have that kind of interest in developing social rights.

**Jonathan** I absolutely recognize that here, because again, you have just so many better Chinese restaurants in Dubai, right here in Abu Dhabi. I mean, really, I know that over the past few years, especially since a lot of these big SOE's have come to Abu Dhabi and Khalifa Port in doing really big contracts and Abu Dhabi global. But we don't see a Chinese community here the same way you do Dubai, where you could just be walking along the creek and see Chinese characters on a sign and go, oh, you know? So it does feel

different. You've got interesting experiences, an expat yourself, right, like you did your Ph.D. in the U.S., didn't you?

**Yuting** I lived in the US for about nine years.

**Jonathan** So you've got a comparative like as a sociologist, you can study yourself and you can see these differences in your expat experience in the states around here in the Emirates. But just generally for Chinese expatriates who live in the Gulf or live in the UAE or live in Dubai. Are there particular challenges that people talk about?

**Yuting** Absolutely. Leaning up towards maybe an invigorating experience, but it's also essentially guite challenging. And so I think the biggest challenge that the Chinese face then is just like everyone else, and that is their traditional sort of lifestyle here. People don't really find a sense of belonging because of the lack of naturalization here. But at the same time, I think they also enjoy this kind of variety, which makes them very mobile and that actually places them in the category actually on par with these global trotting executives who are privileged in this globalization. And so it might be an illusion, but yes, they have become more mobile than their counterparts in China. But then it comes with challenges, of course, family, and it's very difficult to maintain family for the expats who live here. I think one of the biggest issues that the Chinese companies are concerned with right now is education. How do you raise your children here? How especially, you know, as they spend longer and longer time and they're looking at their second generation growing up here and they are Chinese, obviously, but they have also been exposed to various cultures and then they are accustomed to the local conditions. So that is another challenge. But I think another challenge that hovers above everyone's heads and has to do with the political economic conditions here in the region. Unlike other migrants in North America, in Southeast Asia, we don't really have indigenous Chinese population here. And everyone's new and the longest-same Chinese expats probably came in early 1980s. So they are still not very old and there are very, very few of them. So most people have been here for a decade and actually I have been here for 13 years. And then I'm, you know about this kind of long, long term state rather than here in the UAE. So. And then this is something that's challenging because you don't have this kind of social networks that would help you to understand the currents, the political currents and the economic currents. And so we have to be very careful about where they invest and what they invest in. You know, when you have to withdraw from the region. So I think that is something that's always talked about in the community and the political and economic situation here has been relatively stable in comparison to other places. And that is the reason why Dubai and Abu Dhabi have been the base of the largest Chinese expats here in the entire Middle East and North Africa. You don't find this anywhere else.

Jonathan Yeah, I remember when I was doing my research for my Ph.D., so maybe nine or 10 years ago there was a Chinese banker who lived in Dubai, but he'd been operating in the region. Most of his contracts were in Saudi. But, you know, he made sure his company set up the regional HQ in Dubai because he said, we find this a very comfortable, comparatively comfortable compared to where in Saudi you're navigating not just different cultural experiences, but different approaches to religion or, you know, things that might be hard to to understand. So it does have a pretty big appeal, I think. But still, like you say, a lot of people come and go pretty quickly. You've been here. You said 13 years.

Yuting Yes.

**Jonathan** Yeah. And we're like the old people, right? Like, everybody's like, Oh my god you've been here so long. It's strange. I mean, we constantly see people come and go all the time. And for us, I mean, we both have young kids, right? So with kids growing up and their friends constantly moving. It's a very unusual experience, I think.

**Yuting** But what's interesting is that I've seen that Dubai becomes a hub of the broader Chinese diaspora actually in the goals and even actually stretches as far as Ethiopia. You have entrepreneurs working in Ethiopia setting up their family base here in Dubai, and they have been enabled by these very well developed and the roots of Emirates Airlines. And so they maintain these kinds of connections and an identity for the continent. So the central location of Dubai has really broadened the reach of Chinese communities. So these are not just family ties, and they're also economic networks that they're expanding, based in Dubai and radiating way into Africa and into Europe and Central Asia and South Asia as well.

Jonathan Yeah. All over the Middle East, I mean, this is something I keep bringing up, especially with my students to say, this is such a smart source of security for your government, because when you're in a competitive region like the Gulf with aggressive neighbors like Iran, to have these huge populations really does provide a lot more security. And also the fact that the UAE is hyperconnected, that is a logistics hub. It's a safe business community that, like you say, you can set up a home base in Dubai, but service contracts in East Africa, in Egypt and Central Asia, it really does explain why this place is pretty successful in a lot of ways.

**Yuting** Yeah, and this is one of the reasons why Dubai has become more and more interesting and an attractive destination for Chinese and migrants, the mobile ones and those who are always on the edge, and to find out more about the new markets and the new opportunities.

**Jonathan** So what are Chinese people doing here then? I mean, we know in Abu Dhabi they're here with the big SOE's in Dubai. I assume there's a lot of regional headquarters in Jebel Ali, Jafza, but you know, there's two hundred and seventy thousand approximately. I mean, you must see the whole spectrum, you know, are we seeing a lot of small businesses? Are there a lot of service industry jobs that cater specifically to the Chinese community? You know, what kind of things do you see?

Yuting You're absolutely right. There's a very wide spectrum of businesses and projects that are going on and not operated by the Chinese, and so most of them, I will say, still concentrate on small to medium businesses and mostly operate around driving UAVs. And while it is true that Drug Mart is the face of the Chinese community here in the US, and everyone automatically associates Chinese people and Chinese community or even China, that is the fact, right? And therefore, I think, you know, we are unlikely to find Chinese everywhere else, however they really do spread on a very wide spectrum. So we have these highly educated Chinese and especially the younger generation who are in their late 20s, early 30s, and they were educated in Europe and North America. And they have come to Dubai for various reasons and many of them to work for multinational corporations and another relocated to Dubai. And so these people there are actually quite active, and they also sort of know we would actually refer to them as part of the creative class. Maybe, you know, there are actually quite a number of artists here in Dubai and maybe they actually have become quite successful in the Chinese art market. Yet they're

not so well known by the China UAE scholars. I think there's something sort of overlooked because the focus has always been on trade. So you have some of these very interesting individuals here. Some of those work for Fortune 500 companies. So that's at one end creative class and very innovative, very, very engaged because they have no language barrier. So this fits right in with the sort of the elites here within the community or even have developed these very meaningful relationships with Emirates. But then on other sites like you have Chinese laborers, workers and now we don't see many of them now because of COVID. But yes, in Sonapur, for example, you see them there. I mean, very, very few of them. But yes, they were there. So you have this kind of the other extreme side of Chinese presence. So you have these wage workers who have come here and you try to sort of make a little bit more money and then send them home. So you have this kind of migration. But then these are some examples most people will be in the middle. But then they are engaged in different kinds of trades, and many of them are small and medium businesses. And then you have now I think what is interesting is that you know what we see growing investments of capital in education and training facilities and in medicine is something that is probably again overlooked by many or probably all heard of. But then there is a sizable population who are engaged in providing educational services and then medical services. And then, of course, you also have bloggers and social media and celebrities. Instagram right now they have actually, yeah, they have made their fame, actually broadcasting content created here based on their life in Dubai, and they have the words actually quite a fan base in China, so there's a fascination about Dubai and the stories are being told that cheap from the eyes of these social media startups. And then the bloggers and they've actually done wonderful things, really to introduce the region and to China, the big market that is waiting to come back to Dubai. And maybe there is.

**Jonathan** So one thing I find Yuting, the UAE does a really good job of promoting religious tolerance here. It's something that the government has put a lot of energy and effort on over the past few years. You'll find churches, synagogues, Hindu temples, the whole spectrum. Does this make living in a Muslim majority country easier for Chinese people? And also, I mean, China has a huge Muslim population, of course. Are there a lot of Chinese Muslims who are living here in the Emirates?

Yuting Yes, indeed. There are a large number of Chinese Muslims living in the UAE, I think, especially in terms of the concentration of Chinese Muslims in Dubai. It's difficult to find another site around the world actually with this kind of large Chinese Muslim community. And so there's something quite special about the presence of China here in the Middle East. Now the religious policy implemented in the UAE has been quite positive, I think, and as it perceives among the Chinese community here. And it has given a lot of flexibility and also allowed more engagement actually within the non-Muslim, Chinese and Muslim Chinese. And there was a book actually published many, many years ago on Chinese Muslims, and the title was the familiar stranger. And it was actually a very interesting book about Muslims living in China, the most western part of China, especially. But I think in the UAE, I would say the Muslims are no longer strangers to most Chinese working and living here. And the longer people spend time there and then inevitably they will make social contacts actually or even become friends with Chinese Muslims. And the visibility of Chinese Muslims in the UAE, in Dubai in particular, is quite significant.

**Jonathan** Yes, I remember I was talking to some friends years ago when I first moved here, I had North American friends who are Muslim, and they said they found it much easier, you know, living here than living back home in the U.S. or Canada or wherever. Just because if you are a Muslim person living here, everything is just a lot more

convenient. You don't deal with a lot of the same kind of issues or prejudice or issues that you might face at home. So I imagine for Chinese Muslims, it's probably a similar situation where it's a pretty comfortable place to practice your faith and not feel any kind of issues there.

**Yuting** Indeed, indeed. But if I may, I just wanted to add another layer of their experiences here. So the Muslim Chinese who live in the UAE have also actually served as a bridge between China and the UAE in many ways. And they have become very important cultural capital in that and that have served many functions in the society, in China and in the Gulf region and the rest of the Middle East.

Jonathan Yeah. So that's always something that surprises my students because they have not a lot of experience with China or Chinese people. And you know, like everybody, I think we easily resort to stereotypes. And when they learn about the religious diversity within China to realize there is a huge 20 plus million population of Muslim people in China, that's something that always surprises them and I think makes them more interested, which is, I guess, what the next thing I want to ask you about is, I mean, living here for so long. What do you find about Emirati perceptions of China or Chinese people or Chinese culture, you know, has that changed over the years? Do you see people looking at China in a different light these past few years?

Yuting Yes, very clearly, I will say, based on my own experiences and my research, I think the perceptions have changed. The opening of these Chinese language centers actually has facilitated these exchanges, and then, of course, you know, introduction of Chinese language courses into public schools in the UAE have further strengthened the ties between China and the UAE. So all of those appear quite positive. When I first came here, I think people didn't know, actually, I will say what to expect from a Chinese person, they knew so little about China. Now they often found it difficult to understand my presence here in the UAE, as a scholar, as an academic, as a teacher, because most Chinese would concentrate on trade and commerce. So that's a stereotype about China. It's mostly about low-cost commodities and being traded in bulk to entrepreneurs, to business people actually from the Middle East and from Africa. But now the perceptions have changed, and because we are seeing a growing number of Chinese investors and they really challenge the stereotype about China, that is not always a good thing to be perceived as people who are actually equipped with financial capability and who are looking to invest in the market. I think that's again, also still typing about the Chinese. Many of my students have taken courses with me about China, about East Asia in general. And in fact, this semester I'm again teaching a sociology course on East Asian societies and all of these discussions we had actually in classes and help them to decipher some of these confusing or conflictive descriptions about China. So I think as more and more Chinese, especially the well-educated ones India and the UAE, settle down here and become more engaged, the perception will inevitably change. And so there is an interest actually and the desire among Emirati students to learn Chinese and the language itself, to learn Mandarin and to kind of, you know, try to understand more about China and this generation college educated Emirati and have become really the new connection, I think, between China and the UAE because they are eager to understand and to learn. And then they also are actually quite aware of some of these problems and with media portrayal of China. So they want to come to their own understanding and conclusions about China, the Chinese society in general.

**Jonathan** I think that's a really interesting point because my students have again, China still seems like a very faraway place culturally, linguistically, historically. My students don't

know much about it. What they say in class often are these big statements of how important China is, but they don't really know much about it yet. And I can see this next generation of students who are coming down the pipes are going to be different. It's an interesting time for us to be here. If we come back in 20 years, I think we'll see a very different environment. Or maybe we'll still be here in 20 years. Who knows? We'll see. So the last thing I want to ask you about a lot of our audience is not here in the Gulf War. In the Middle East, a lot of folks will be in the U.S. or overseas, except, of course, for our students who are probably listening and watching us. What do you think is important for people to know about China's growing presence here in the UAE in the Gulf?

Yuting Well, the takeaway point is that we have to keep an open mind actually about the sort of the developments of China in the region, and I think, you know, we see a lot of interesting phenomenon now that's actually happening in the last two decades. But in the real drive and speed up recently, well after the pandemic, I'm sure the Chinese will actually again come back and into the region. But I think most importantly, it would be this growing diversity and this developing institution within the Chinese community, which is going to lead the Chinese presence here, much more enduring than temporary. And so you are going to see this growing diasporic community very much like I hope maybe it's too early to say that. But then I think given my observation in the last decade or so and also looking at the developing second-generation Chinese expats living in the region, I think they're becoming more and more like other long term residents in the region. So that is one thing. And I think another interesting aspect will be this sort of the that and the cultural and cultural and social exchanges, actually, that is being driven by these young people who are interested in promoting China's cultural industry here. And there have been some of these events organized by a younger generation of Chinese entrepreneurs who very much seek to establish the connection between China and the UAE using the modern language of postmodern art, really dramatic music, art. And then, of course, you know, social media, all of these actually are happening. And I think the old sort of still typical image about China focusing on trade and commerce, and we have to be replaced by a sort of more open minded understanding of what Chinese are doing here. And then the future of China relations. I think even at that level, you'll see some of these grassroots developments will eventually have an impact on how China is dealing with the U.S. is definitely becoming much, much more multifaceted and multi-layered.

Jonathan Thank you so much, Yuting. This has really been great. As you know, I'm a political scientist and I tend to look at the bilateral relationship in terms of geopolitics or economics. You've done a really great job of putting a human face on it for me and for the listeners who've joined us today. Everyone, please check out Yutings work. We're going to put a link to her book on the landing page for the episode. I always have it this close. It's a fantastic book. Other than the book, is there anything that you'd like to promote, any work you have that's coming out or any research projects that you think people should hear all about?

**Yuting** Oh, yes, I'd like to share a little bit about my ongoing project with the listeners and then maybe they will comfort me and volunteer to join my research. And right now actually looking at the flow of medical resources into the region from China and really actually trying to understand the medical entrepreneurs who are from China, who have found a new home here in Dubai's global medical market. So, yes, you know, this kind of alternative medicine has become really strong in Dubai. And so and while in the past people would travel to other parts of the world to receive treatments as part of doing so. What we know as medical tourism Dubai is Abu Dhabi, as well as positioning themselves

as a next destination for medical tourism. And then the Chinese entrepreneurs are looking at these markets and they are very interested in exploring this and in particular, looking at Islamic medicine, Chinese Islamic medicine, and there's something probably we have not heard about before. And so if you have ever tried Chinese medicine and you wanted to chat with me about the experiences and of you very happy and talk to you. So yeah, that's an ongoing project. I'm looking at the intersection between religion, religious practices, medicine and, of course, entrepreneurship.

Jonathan That is fascinating. You know, one of the great things about what we do, whether it's sociologist or anthropologists or political scientist, there's just so much work to be done. And it's like we can just wake up and throw a dart and say, OK, I'll work on that. There's just so much great stuff Yuting. Thanks so much. This has really been wonderful to our audience. Thank you for joining us. Follow us on social media. Subscribe on iTunes, Spotify, Stitcher or wherever you get your podcasts. We'll see you next time. So thank you very much.