DUBAI IN A WORLD OF FLOWS

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Abstract
During the last decade, Dubai has experienced dramatic forms of urban transformation in response to the new global order. Since the early 1990s, the city has been investing in the construction of an urban structure that has the capacity of triggering intense flows of capital, people, goods, and information in order to upgrade its world city status. A major portion of real estate investments was directed to the development of a series of projects that primarily aim to attract these flows. I refer to these projects as “places of flows.” I mean by “places of flows,” places that have the capacity of attracting and hosting agglomerations of capital, people, and information flows and facilitate their transmission to the local context. In this paper, I propose an analytical model that categorizes these places into: 1) Places of capital flows; 2) Places of people flows; and 3) Places of information flows. The study aims to emphasize the role of these places in integrating Dubai into the new world order.

Keywords: Dubai; globalization; global flows; urban development.

INTRODUCTION
We live in the era of globalization which features what David Harvey refers to as time-space compression (Harvey, 1990). The revolution in communication and transportation technologies has contributed to the acceleration of the experience of time and the shrinkage of the significance of distances. This has facilitated the integration of economic, cultural, political, and social systems across the globe or what we call “globalization.” The movements of capital, people, information and knowledge currently feature unprecedented rates and magnitudes (see Held & McGrew, 2002). These movements are referred to as global flows. These flows have increased long distance connectedness, economic interdependence and cultural integration. Besides, they caused the restructuring of spaces and urban forms of cities (see Held, 1995; Hannerz, 1996).

Billions of dollars are flowing across the globe every second. In 2010, nearly 940 million international tourist arrivals were recorded around the world generating one trillion dollars of revenues.1 Information, knowledge, and ideas are exchanged with the speed of light. All these dramatic changes in the ways people interact and communicate have significantly impacted trends of urban development. It poses challenges to local identities and cultures. However, it also offers opportunities to developing cities through the unprecedented access to global capital and knowledge.

The intense exposure to global flows has triggered the emergence of new urban landscapes or what Arjun Appadurai refers to as “scapes of flows” (Appadurai, 1990). According to him, five types of scapes emerge in response to globalization. 1) Ethnoscapes which are created by the interaction of diverse cultures and ethnics activated by the revolution in transportation technology. Tourists, immigrants, travelers and refugees moving from one place to another contribute to the production of these landscapes. 2) Mediascapes which are triggered by the expanding role of media as a result of the revolution in information technology. Today, internet and TV channels are major sources of information and knowledge. 3) Finanscapes or the landscapes created by flows of capital that are triggered by currency markets, stock exchanges, and transnational corporations. 4) Technoscapes which reflect the influence of advanced technologies of communication and networking on contemporary life. 5) Ideascapes or the

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1 World Tourism Organization (UNWTO)
Ideologies and counter-ideologies that are spreading in unprecedented rates because of the revolution in modes of communication (Appadurai, 1990). Appadurai describes these "scapes" as the critical players that shape social practices in the era of globalization.

The five scapes discussed by Appadurai (1990) are becoming features of “world cities.” They reflect the intensity of flows to an urban context. The emergence of these scapes in top world cities such as New York and London was associated with the production of places that have the capacity of serving global flows. World class business centers, international airports and immigrants enclaves are examples of these places. In this paper I argue that Dubai is actually reversing the process experienced by top world cities. In the case of global cities, certain urban typologies have actually emerged in response to global flows. In other words, these places were shaped by global flows. In the case of a globalizing city such as Dubai, urban change is shaped for global flows. Dubai has actually been investing in creating places that have the capacity of attracting global flows to its local context. In the following section I explain the concept of places of flows and its role in the process of Dubai’s globalization.

**Places of Flows**

Places of flows are urban nodes that attract and host agglomeration of global flows. In order for capital, people and information to move to a city, there must be places that transfer them to the local context. Although global flows, as noted by Castells (1996), are capable of penetrating national and local boundaries, they still need places to host their interaction with the locale (see Castells, 1996). In the era of globalization, certain places can play a significant role in attracting global flows. It is worth noting that the three types of places of flows I discuss in this paper might overlap, or in other words, the same place can host multiple forms of flows.

**Places of Capital Flows**

Places of capital flows are hubs that attract flows of capital to a local context. International banks, stock markets, financial corporations and trading firms are all examples of these places. The revolution in information technology has facilitated transnational trade and communication between sites of production and those of consumption. It allowed the relocation of corporate offices far from manufacturing sites and the development on new urban concentrations or what Saskia Sassen calls “production complexes” (Sassen, 1995). Corporate headquarters, international banks and transnational enterprises preferring to locate close to service firms such as lawyers, accountants, designers and brokers are forming new nodes of agglomeration. Besides, they seek places that can offer an exquisite lifestyle for their top executives and intellectuals elites.

Business headquarters hosting major multinational corporations became an essential urban typology in any top world city. Cities that are seeking to upgrade their world city status tend to establish these headquarters in spectacular forms in order to attract the attention of multinational corporations. Although capital can be transferred from one place to another through cyber space, there is a continuous need to establish business centers at both poles of these transactions. The flow of capital to a city is triggered by economic activities which are designed and managed by both governments and corporations in the place. Places of capital flows are essential for any city aiming to become a major player in the global economy. The quality and quantity of these places indicate the scale of capital flows to the city and its role in the global economy.

**Places of Capital Flows in Dubai**

Since the beginning of the 20th century Dubai has been growing as a business hub. However, it was not until the late 70s that city started to become one of the major trade centers in the region. The opening of Jebel Ali Free Zone in 1979 has jump started urban development in the city. It has triggered massive flows of capital and goods to and from Dubai. The free zone hosts 37% of the city non-oil trade. It was supported by a series of other places of capital flows such as Dubai.
International Financial Center (DIFC) which is described by the government of Dubai as “the newest global financial hub, bridging the geographical and time gaps between the major capital markets of New York and London in the West and Hong Kong in the East.” Around 848 companies were registered at DIFC by the end of 2011. In their mission statement, the DIFC describes itself as “the world’s fastest growing international financial centre. It aims to develop the same stature as New York, London and Hong Kong.” DFIC hosts Dubai International Financial Exchange (DIFX) which was renamed as NASDAQ Dubai. NASDAQ OMX acquired a one-third stake in NASDAQ Dubai in February 2008. The other two-thirds are owned by Borse Dubai the holding company for Dubai Financial Market (DFM). DIFC allows 100% foreign ownership and offers 0% tax rate on income and profits.

Tourist hubs are another examples of places of capital flows in Dubai. The city received nearly 10 million tourists in 2010 and is expecting to receive 15 million in 2015. Dubai managed to create an attractive urban environment in order to compete with major tourist destinations in the region such as Egypt, Lebanon, and Turkey. The city has simply relied on contemporary spectacular architecture in order to attract tourism. Places such as Burj Al Arab, the most luxurious hotel in the world; Atlantis The Palm, a $1.5 billion replica of Atlantis Bahamas; and the new Giorgio Armani Hotel, the first of its kind in the world have managed to attract millions of tourists to the city every year. In 1988, the number of hotels in Dubai was estimated by 48 hotel. In 2010, this number reached 382 offering 51,115 rooms.

Tourism in Dubai has generated nearly $4.8 Billion of revenues in 2010. Foreigners constitute 94% of hotel guests which emphasizes their contribution to capital flows to the city. Hotels in Dubai not only bring capital to the city in the form of revenues, but also act as nodes of agglomeration of domestic and foreign investments. Most of the city’s extravagant hotels are partially funded by international corporations such as Kerzner International which invests in Atlantis The Palm, and Donald Trump the developer of the Trump International Hotel and Tower.

Spectacular mega real estate developments are another form of places of capital flows in Dubai. These projects have the capacity of attracting global capital to the city. The new residential and commercial developments in Dubai mainly target foreign consumers.

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3 Dubai International Financial Centre official website: http://www.difc.ae/index.html
4 Dubai Statistics Centre.
of supplied units in the real estate market exceeds the demands of the local population. Besides, the majority of foreign residents in the city cannot afford the luxurious residential units in the market. These projects are mainly sold to regional and international rich elites. For example, and as noted by Mohamed Alabbar, the developer of Burj Khalifa, the project has sold 85% of its units, worth $1.1 billion in two nights. Customers are from all around the world including Russia, Iran, Europe, and the Arab Gulf. Projects as the Palm and World Islands have attracted many of the world rich elites such as the Irish investor John Dolan and celebrities such as David Beckham. The first 4,000 condos and homes sold on Palm Jumeirah went to citizens of the United Arab Emirates and other Persian Gulf countries, 25% went to British customers and rest was purchased by 75 different nationalities.

According to Khaleej Times, a leading newspaper in Dubai, “two out of three of all new freehold properties in the UAE are bought by foreign corporations or individuals who live outside the country.” Mohamed Nimer, CEO of MAG Group Property Development, notes that final home owners currently account for 30% of the market and only 5% of them are UAE nationals. These figures reflect the scale of capital brought to the city by real estate development. The construction sector actually comes second after financial intermediation and insurance in attracting flows of capital. Dubai is currently the largest recipient of foreign investments in the Middle East. DIFC aims to host 20% of the world’s investment funds. The city has benefited of flows of Arab capital from the West post 9/11. It managed to attract a significant portion of these investments. As noted by Mike Davis (2005):

“Since 9/11 many Middle Eastern investors, fearing possible lawsuits or sanctions, have pulled up stakes in the West. According to Salman bin Dasmal of Dubai Holdings, the Saudis alone have repatriated one third of their trillion-dollar overseas portfolio. The sheikhs are bringing it back home, and last year the Saudis were believed to have ploughed at least $7 billion into Dubai’s sand castles” (Davis, 2005).

Dubai managed to attract these flows of capital by offering huge opportunities and incentives mainly in the real estate sector. The extravagant urban projects in the city absorbed billions of the dollars that were withdrawn from western banks. Dubai offered a safe haven for Arab billionaires who feared the confiscation of their accounts in Western banks. The city currently has construction projects worth hundreds of billions of dollars. As described by Steve Kroft, Dubai is:

One project, called by some the ‘largest construction site on earth,’ was just desert several years ago. The site employs half a million laborers, working 12 hour shifts on a reported $300 billion worth of projects, building Sheikh Mohammed’s dream of a modern, efficient and tolerant Arab city with fine restaurants, a vibrant nightlife, that is both the playground and business capital of a new Middle East.

Whole sale and retail trade receives 20.5% of direct foreign investments in the city. Free zones facilitate trade between the city and the global domain. For direct trade, imports of Dubai are estimated by $120 billion in 2011. However, nearly 30% of the imports value is re-exported again. The value of trade in free zones such as Jebel Ali reached nearly 101 billion dollars in the same year. Places of capital flows managed to bring huge foreign investments to Dubai. These places encouraged investors to pour billions of dollars in the market. The financial city, free zones, business headquarters and mega projects have all contributed to the huge scale of flows to the city. The production of these places has triggered massive capital flows to the city.

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PLACES OF PEOPLE FLOWS

As argued by Smith and Timberlake (1995), “the world system is constituted, on one level, by a vast network of locales that are tied together by multitude of direct and indirect exchanges” (Smith & Timberlake, 1995). For global flows of people, these ties include modes of transportation that facilitate people movement and hubs that host them. The revolution in modes of transportation, especially air travel has facilitated the movement of people across the globe. According to the International Air Transport Association, 2.8 billion passengers have traveled by air in 2011.11

Human flows from one place to another require both modes of transportation and nodes of agglomeration. Places such as airports, seaports, highways and train stations facilitate mobility. They contribute to what Donald Janelle (1969) describes as “space-time convergence” or the diminishing time needed to connect two places due to the advances in transportation technologies (Janelle, 1969). Hotels, resort areas, tourist attractions, immigrants and foreign labor enclaves, universities and convention centers are all examples of nodes of agglomeration that attract people and trigger their movement from one place to another. These places are important indicators of the scale of human flows to a city.

Flows of people take different forms such as tourism, business travel, and labor immigration and migration. Although modes of transportation of these different forms flows are similar, the nodes of agglomeration are significantly different. Tourists arrive to their destinations through places as airports, seaports, train and bus stations or border check points. Gareth Shaw and Allan Williams (2004) note that:

*The direct distance between potential points of origin and destination no longer matters. Instead, scapes [modes of mobility] create inequalities in tourist and related flows as they bypass some areas, while connecting others with channels enriched with transport and tourism facilities* (Shaw and Williams, 2004).

Places of tourists’ agglomeration such as hotels, resorts, museums and other attractions are another indicator of the scale of human flows to a city. No doubt that information technology has created what John Urry (2001) calls “virtual and imaginative travel” through internet, radio and TV (Urry, 2001). However, “there is no evidence that virtual and imaginative travel is replacing corporeal travel” (Urry, 2001). Today, tourism is one of the largest sectors of the global economy. Cities that don’t have natural or urban attractions tend to create artificial ones in order to draw part of global tourism. These invented places are becoming commodities that generate wealth for their cities.

Migration is another form of human flows in the era of globalization. In 2010, the number of people living outside their countries of birth was estimated to be 215 million, up from 82 million in 1970.12 Nearly 75% of all international migrants are in 12% of all countries.13 Migrants usually use the same modes of mobility as tourists. However, their nodes of agglomeration are different. Depending on their race, culture and number, some immigrant groups might create enclaves or little communities within the city they live in. Others prefer to assimilate into the local culture. However, there are always places that reflect the presence of immigrants such as religious and cultural centers, and ethnic restaurants and schools.

Places created for or by immigrants feature multiple forms of interaction between the local and the global. They expose local cultures to foreign influences and accordingly create hybrid environments. These places are another indicator of the scale of human flows to a city. Most of the major world cities as London, New York, and Los Angeles have these nodes of agglomeration. As observed by Laguerre (1999), “a global city is any urban environment housing a multiplicity and diversity of transnational niches” (Laguerre, 1999, p. 19). These niches or enclaves as described by Featherstone and Lash (1995) are “global creation of locality”

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Mark Abrahamson describes these enclaves as any named locale that hosts a subculture and features some sort of attachment between its residents (Abrahamson, 1995). They are either constructed little cities within the city such as Chinatowns and Koreatowns in many American cities, or less defined agglomerations that feature some distinct qualities such as Muslims' neighborhoods in London. The presence of these enclaves triggers more immigrants' flows to the city. They provide haven for new comers who don’t master the local language nor are familiar with the new lifestyle. In these enclaves immigrants can find “middleman minorities” who can help them settle and find a job (see Cobas, 1987).

Immigrants’ enclaves are important indicator of people flows to a city. They are part of the urban fabric of most of the top world cities. These enclaves might not appear in a well-defined form. They could be in the form of networks of services and places of agglomeration across the urban fabric of the city. These places could be traced by reading the urban text. They produce symbols and signifiers that distinguish them within the local urban structure.

In many cases, places of flows of people are also nodes of global capital agglomeration. In 2010, inward remittance flows are estimated by $325 billion. In the same year, international tourism has generated nearly one trillion dollars. These flows of capital are associated with flows of people who in turn trigger flows of ideas and information. In this sense, some places as immigrants’ urban settings for example, act as nodes of intense agglomeration of multiple types of flows.

**PLACES OF PEOPLE FLOWS IN DUBAI**

Dubai, as most of the Arab Gulf cities, relies heavily on foreign labor mainly from the Middle and Far East. According to Dubai Statistics Centre, foreigners make nearly 85% of the population of the city. This makes Dubai a major hub of flows of labor in the region. Adding to this, the city is becoming one of the top tourist destinations in the Middle East. The production of a series of places of people flows has contributed significantly to the increasing number of tourists to the city. Dubai has invested billions of dollars in extravagant hotels such as Burj Al Arab which actually jump started iconic architecture in the city. This luxurious hotel is one of a kind. The lowest room rate is nearly $2000. It opened in 2000 as part of the city’s new millennium celebrations. It was followed by a series of luxury hotels run by global chains as Hilton, Intercontinental and Hyatt. In 2008, Atlantis The Palm, a replica of the one in Bahamas, has opened in Dubai. The cost of the opening ceremony is estimated by $20 million. The hotel was built on the man-made island of Palm Jumeirah. The hotel offers under water suites surrounded by tanks of fish and dolphins. The Armani is another extravagant hotel in Burj Khalifa. It is the first of a new chain of Giorgio Armani Hotels. The hotel and 144 residential units in the same tower are exclusively designed by Armani Designers.

Attracting tourists to Dubai mainly relies on the idea of creating spectacles. Hotels, an example of places of people flows in the city, usually have a theme. This makes most of the major hotels in the city destinations rather than places that host tourists coming to the Dubai. People go to the city in order to see Burj Al Arab Hotel. They even pay a fee to enter its reception. Same phenomenon could be observed in Atlantis The Palm which attracts much more visitors than guests.

Dubai invested in constructing one of the largest international airports in the world. In 2011, Dubai International airport served 51 million passengers on 326,341 flights making it the fourth busiest airport in the world in terms of international passengers. The airport current capacity is 62 million passengers. Over 150 airlines operate out of Dubai International Airport.18

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15 World Tourism Organization
17 Dubai International Airport official website: http://www.dubaiairport.com/DIA/English/TopMenu/About+DIA/New+Projects/
The airport capacity is expected to reach 90 million in 2018 and will be expanded again to serve 98.5 million passengers in 2020. Once fully completed, it will be the largest airport in the world with a passengers capacity of 120 million. This huge number of passengers compared to the small population of the city reflects the intense degree of people flows to and from the city. The airport plays a significant role in accelerating the rate of these movements considering the absence of other modes of regional transportation except vehicles.

Mega shopping malls are another example of places of flows in the city. Dubai has invested intensely in creating mega malls, the largest, not only in the region but the whole world. Dubai Mall a 9,000,000 ft² of shopping retail space that is designed to host 1200 stores is one of the largest malls in the world. It marked the largest mall opening in history with 600 retailers. The mall is located in Burj Khalifa, the tallest building on earth. The mall hosted 37 million visitors in its first year. It includes a 10,000,000 liters aquarium with 33,000 marine animals on display.

As most of the major developments in Dubai, malls are designed to look spectacular. Ibn Battuta Mall for example, is named after the medieval traveler and explorer Ibn Battuta. The mall has six main sections; each replicates the architecture of the regions visited by Ibn Battuta. The mall has Chinese, Egyptian, Persian, Tunisian, Andalusian and Indian themed courts. The mall is a major destination for both locals and visitors of the city. It is one of the major hubs of people flows in Dubai. The mall was developed by Nakheel Company, one of the largest real estate developers in Dubai and the owner of the famous man-made Palm Islands. Again, this company is partially owned by the ruling family and the government of Dubai. Mercato Mall is another example of themed malls in Dubai. The place replicates Tuscan and Venetian architecture. The developer states with pride that Mercato Mall is the first themed mall in the Middle East. All these places managed to attract millions of people to Duba. The city became a major tourism hub in the Middle East. Besides, it became one of the most appealing locations for transnational corporations and their talented experts and professionals. In less than a decade, Dubai succeeded in transforming itself to become a major global hub for people flows.

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21 Mercato Mall Official Website: http://mt.mercatotowncentre.com/default.php
PLACES OF INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE FLOWS
Unlike people, ideas can flow from one place to another in enormous speed. Through the internet, satellite channels or any other digital form, ideas can penetrate local boundaries and territories. In the context of this study, I am mainly concerned with places that receive these flows and transmit them to the local context. The internet and TV channels are modes of connection between the local and the global. Homes, internet cafes, ICT headquarters, libraries and universities are examples of the hubs or nodes of agglomeration of these flows.

According to Castells, information is the raw material of the new technological paradigm that shape contemporary life (Castells 1996). It could be argued that flows of information, knowledge and ideas have reached places that other forms of flows could not reach. Flows of knowledge and ideas that featured early phases of globalization occurred to a great extent, spontaneously or on individualistic level through new modes as internet and satellite channels. Today, flows of knowledge is more institutionalized and managed by organizations and institutions. The concepts of the knowledge economy and the production and management of knowledge are becoming crucial in discussions on globalization and cities. Knowledge management is defined as “the systematic process of identifying, capturing, and transferring information and knowledge people can use to create, compete, and improve.”

Global flows of knowledge require nodes of agglomeration that transmit them to the locale or what Kris Olds calls “global knowledge-based hubs” (see Olds, 2007). Educational facilities are examples of places that have the capacity of hosting agglomerations of information and knowledge flows. Many of the cities seeking an upgrade of their world city status are focusing on the internationalization of their education to maximize their exposure to global flows of knowledge and information. According to Olds (2007), internationalization of education occurs in four different modes: 1) Cross-border supply such as on-line distance education; 2) Consumption abroad of education services by sending students to study in other countries; 3) Commercial presence in the form of establishing foreign campuses in the city; and 4) Presence of faculty teaching in another country or bringing foreign faculty (Olds 2007). The new emerging transnational educational institutions also include schools, libraries and training centers. Partnership between local and foreign educational institutions is currently a common trend in many globalizing cities. These institutions are becoming places of flows of knowledge and information.

Although contemporary modes of information and knowledge flows such internet, phones and satellite channels offer alternatives to face-to-face communication, they also contribute to the emergence of what Howard Rheingold (2006) describes as the “smart mobs” (Rheingold 2002). He means by smart mobs, groups of people who manage to use communications technology to activate and organize social actions and events in the real world (Rheingold 2002). These flows of information agglomerate in places such as plazas, squares, and streets. They initiate events, protests and political activities. In this sense, public places become a core hub for flows of information and knowledge.

PLACES OF INFORMATION FLOWS IN DUBAI
Since the beginning of its transformation to become a world city, Dubai has focused on constructing the most advanced communication networks in the region. The state of Dubai has invested intensively in ICT infrastructure and offered very attractive incentives to transnational information technology giants to come to the city. In 2000, the city launched Dubai internet city (DIC), a huge information technology hub that was able to bring major world corporations like Microsoft, Cisco Systems, IBM, HP, Dell, Siemens, Sun Microsystems, Computer Associates, PeopleSoft, and Sony Ericsson to Dubai. In its mission statement, there is a clear emphasis on the notion of connecting the local to the global.
"The mission of Dubai Internet City is to create an infrastructure, environment and attitude that will enable Information and Communications Technology (ICT) enterprises to operate locally, regionally and globally, from Dubai, with significant competitive advantage." In its early years, DIC offered major global enterprises very attractive deals to open branches in Dubai including subsidized office spaces. Enterprises in DIC pay no taxes since the whole project is a free zone.

Dubai Internet City was followed by a series of information technology hubs such as Dubai Media City (DMC), a place that offers world class services for the media industry. The project is owned by the state and as mentioned in their mission statement “reflects the vision of His Highness Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum, UAE Vice President, Prime Minister and Ruler of Dubai to transform Dubai into a knowledge-based society and economy.” DMC with the newly established Dubai International Media Production Zone and Dubai Studio City tend to attract international media production companies to Dubai. They offer all types of media services and enjoy the same free zone regulations as Dubai Internet City. Many private international and domestic media production enterprises as CNN, Reuters, Showtime Arabia, CNBC Arabiya, and the Pakistani Ary Digital Network broadcast from Dubai Media City.

The determination of the state of Dubai to invest in places of information and knowledge flows not only served its interest in becoming a major media hub, but also contributed to the quality of education in the city. Dubai Knowledge Village launched in 2003, is a huge international educational center with a kilometer long building that is designed to host any knowledge based activities. Dubai International Academic City is another hub of flows of information and knowledge. It focuses on international higher education and is owned by the state.

International education in another form of activities that trigger flows of ideas and information. Dubai hosts many international schools and universities that act as hubs of flows to and from the city. The American School of Dubai, Dubai British School, American University of Dubai, and British University in Dubai are examples of these hubs. These places serve both foreigners and locals who seek foreign education.

Events and conventions are other forms of activities that trigger flows of information and ideas. Dubai has relied heavily on spectacular events in order to promote itself globally. Concerts, fashion shows, expos, and international athletic tournaments introduce to locals new ideals and lifestyles. In 2010, Dubai International Convention and Exhibition Centre drew 1.4 million visitors from over 155 countries with 32,781 exhibiting companies from over 85 countries. Cars, fashion, jewelry, yachts, construction and real estate expos in Dubai attract major international corporations and experts.

CONCLUSION

During the last decade, Dubai managed to transform itself to become an influential player in the new world order. The city relied on constructing a series of places which have the capacity of attracting and hosting agglomerations of global flows of capital, people, and information. These places have triggered enormous flows to Dubai. Billions of dollars moved to the city through places such as Jebel Ali Free Zone, Dubai International Financial Centre and many mega real estate projects such as The Palm and The World artificial Islands. Mega shopping malls such as Dubai Mall and Ibn Battuta Mall, and spectacular places such as Burj Khalifa, Atlantic The Palm and Burj Al Arab managed to attract millions of tourists to Dubai. The city became a major tourism hub in the Middle East that competes with other destinations such as Egypt and Turkey. For information and knowledge, Dubai has developed a series of places such as Dubai Media City, Dubai Internet City, and the Knowledge Village which have intensified flows of knowledge and information to the city.

23 Dubai Internet City Official Website: http://www.dmc.ae/
24 Dubai Media City Website: http://www.dmc.ae/
By these three types of places of flows, Dubai managed to upgrade its world city status. In ten years, the city was able to transform itself from a peripheral world city to become one of the emerging global cities in the world today. It was all about the production of places of flows which triggered global flows of capital, people, and information to the city.

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