GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY QATAR
SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE

Fall 2017

IPOL 430 - POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE GULF
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Times and Venue: Mondays & Wednesdays, 15:30-16:45, 0A03
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COURSE SUMMARY & AIMS

The course considers processes of economic, political and social change in the modern Arab Gulf states within the framework of the area's regional and international context. The economies and societies of the Gulf states interact with the world economy and from their unique position as the repository of the largest concentration of crude oil reserves in the world. Oil rent cannot be taken for granted, but the impact of oil revenues is nevertheless real and far-reaching.

The purpose of this module to develop an understanding of processes of change in the Gulf countries and of the way these processes have shaped the existing economic, social and political realities of the region. The institutions and the cultural setting of Gulf societies mediate the processes of change and have themselves been radically altered by these processes. This module also considers the position of the Gulf in the international arena – in particular with regard to the regional integration of the region, and its mutual interaction with the global political economy.

INTENDED LEARNING OUTCOMES:

On completion of this module, students should be able to:

(Module-specific Skills)

(1) Demonstrate ability to locate, appraise and use main sources of information and data relating to the Gulf countries.

(2) Demonstrate an understanding of the main issues in the political economy of the Gulf, including the politics of economic development, the economic factors in domestic and regional politics; the domestic and international political economy of oil and gas; and the political economy of regional integration.

(3) Demonstrate a grasp of different analytical approaches towards the study of the Gulf's political economies and social systems, and an ability to make informed judgements regarding the similarities and contrasts of different Gulf polities.

(Discipline-specific Skills)

(4) Demonstrate an ability to connect political and economic factors and dynamics in their domestic-international linkages; to draw from broader concepts in political economy of development; and to draw on the wider area studies sources and literature relating to the Gulf region.

(Personal and Key Skills)
(5) Demonstrate skills of reasoned and supported argumentation in writing and in oral presentation;
(6) Demonstrate skills of independent research;
(7) Demonstrate skills of finding, analysing and synthesising information from a range of sources.

COURSE ORGANISATION

The course is taught in 28 75-minute sessions (2 per week). These will combine lecturing components with your own presentations and discussion.

You will have all session subjects and key relevant reading available from the start of the course (with additional sources being provided via Canvas as the course progresses). Indeed, the distribution of subjects on which you will have to make your presentations will happen during the first week of the course. So start your preparation early!

Course website: on canvas.georgetown.edu

ASSESSMENT AND ASSIGNMENTS

- **Essay 1** (2500-3000 words)**:** **20%**
- **Plan for essay 1:** **2%**
- **Book Review** (600-1000 words)**:** **10%**
- **Essay 2** (2500-3000 words)**:** **30%**
- **Plan for essay 2:** **2%**
- **16 Reaction papers** (400-500 words): **16%**
- **In-class presentations (x3):** **15%**
- **Discussion on-line:** **5%**

I. **TWO ESSAYS** (papers) are required, of 2,500-3,000 words each. These will together account for **50% of your course mark** (20% for the first, and 30% for the second) – or 54% if you count the Essay Plans (see below). Essay titles should be chosen from among the seminar questions or agreed with me. Only one of them may overlap with your presentations. The DEADLINES for submission of the essays are:

Essay I: **19 October**

Plan / Bibliography: submit a plan with draft bibliography by **5 October** and I will feed back at least a week before your essay deadline. You will receive 2 marks out of your overall course mark for a timely plan, 1 for one that is late but no lesss than a week before the essay deadline.

Essay II: **7 December**

Plan / Bibliography: submit a plan with draft bibliography by **25 November** (same rules as for Essay 1).

You are, of course, very welcome to complete them early!

Essays are marked out of 100 – with 50% being the pass mark – as follows:

A:	95+ Outstanding	C+:	70-74 Adequate
A-:	90-94 Excellent	C:	65-69 Adequate
B+:	85-89 Very good	C-:	60-64 Adequate
B:	80-84 Good	D:	50-59 Weak
B-:	75-79 Good	F:	0-49 (Fail)

A marking grid with rubrics / criteria is attached, and is also posted to the course website..

Essays should be submitted as Word documents electronically via the Course Website on Canvas. As long as it is submitted before 9 am, it will be considered as having been submitted on the previous working day.

Penalties for late submission are as follows:

Essay I:

1 day:	*5 marks*
2 days:	*10 marks*
3 days:	*15 marks*
4 days:	*20 marks*
5 days:	*30 marks / capped at 50*
More than 5 days:	*Fail (marked at 0)*

Essay II:

1 day:	*20 marks*
2 days:	*capped at 50 (D)*
3 days+	*F*

I will expect you to **observe academic conventions** (and write correctly) in your essays. See the ***GUIDE TO THE PRESENTATION OF WRITTEN WORK*** on the course website. There you will find all the relevant rules for

proper referencing and bibliography, with examples, as well as a list of common grammatical and spelling errors which should be avoided.

To help you understand what is and isn't acceptable and how the process for judging infractions works, please visit the SFS-Q Honor System website at http://qatar.sfs.georgetown.edu/programs-and-faculty/honor-system and read the brochure at http://qatar.sfs.georgetown.edu/programs-and-faculty/honor-system/sfs-q-honor-system.

All submitted papers will be submitted to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism: by taking this course you are deemed to agree to this. (All submitted papers will be added as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers in the future).

On the first page (or title page) of the essay, you must include the following statement:

"I affirm that my paper is free of plagiarism; I have examined the citations and references in my paper and I affirm that they are complete and correct; I have verified that this version is indeed the one that I intend to submit."

II. Three 10-15-minute SEMINAR PRESENTATIONS on topics selected from those listed in this syllabus. Topics for these presentations will be allocated during the first week. **All tangible outputs for this need to be uploaded to the Course website on Canvas within 1 day of the presentation**.

(Again, note that you can only do one of your two essays on a subject you have done a presentation on).

These presentations (including the uploads) will together count for 15% of your overall course mark (5%

each).

They will be marked on the normal scale from A to F (0-100).

Note: Failure to upload the materials within one day will result in a 10-mark reduction in the mark for the assignment. Failure to do so within a week will result in a 20-mark reduction. Failure to do so by the end of the course will attract a 30-mark reduction.

III. 16 REACTION PAPERS of 400-500 words: Everyone will be expected to arrive prepared for discussion of the topic of the session, having read *at least* one of the required readings. From week 3 (session 5), a reaction paper *on the subject of the upcoming session and explicitly based on this reading*, must be uploaded to the course website before the start of the session in question. *At least 16 of these brief papers must be uploaded over the duration of the course*. (if more than 16 are submitted, the best 16 will count). These will be rated as follows:

0	(inadequate or missing)	85	(good)
50	(pass)	90	(very good)
75	(satisfactory)	100	(excellent).

Together they count for *20 % of your course mark*. Late submission will normally mean a mark of "0". (You will see a "0" for every session for which you do not submit a reaction paper on time – but this will only affect your mark if you have fewer than 20 timely reaction papers overall). NOTE: reaction papers normally only count when you attend the class in question.

IV. Everyone will be expected to take regular part in the **ONLINE DISCUSSIONS.** To stimulate this a little further, a small opportunity to improve your overall grade will be offered: I will expect at least 10 substantial contributions (that is: contributions to 10 topics), which will be rated on the same scale as the reaction papers:

0	(inadequate or missing)	85	(good)
50	(pass)	90	(very good)
75	(satisfactory)	100	(excellent).

This discussion participation will be worth *5% of your overall course mark*.

V. Finally, you will need to pick one book to review. This **BOOK REVIEW** (of up to 1000 words) needs to be submitted by **11 November**. Please think about this early on and discuss with me. Take as your model the reviews sections of academic journals such as *International Affairs*, *Journal of Arabian Studies*, or other academic journals in the social sciences.

ATTENDANCE

In light of the course's reliance on group discussion and feedback on presentations, it is important that you attend class both as a listener and contributor. Absence not only means you do not benefit from the discussion, you also deprive others from benefiting from your own input. For this reason, **any reaction paper will normally only get a mark if you turn up for the class in question**. If you have a good reason why you cannot come to class, please let me know in advance and/or bring corroborating evidence.

MOBILE PHONES must be switched off (not only 'silent') during the class.

INSTRUCTIONAL CONTINUITY

In case of emergency situations that make it impossible for us all to meet together for a scheduled class, including the inaccessibility of campus, we will, aside from make-up classes where inevitable, use the available means to hold our classes or their equivalent by using web-based and email solutions. These will include the option of Zoom meetings through the Canvas platform, use of the discussion board, email, and other interaction via the course Canvas site.

READING

To guide your reading for seminar presentations, discussion and essays, there are seven categories of readings:

I. ***Course textbooks***

Kamrava, Mehran (ed.), *The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf* (Hurst, 2012)

Coates Ulrichsen, Kristian, *The Gulf States in International Political Economy* (Palgrave, 2016)

Davidson, Christopher (ed.), *Power and Politics in the Persian Gulf Monarchies* (Columbia / Hurst, 2011): A good survey of political history and economic diversification efforts in each of the GCC states, so the chapters in this book will be useful, for historical background, political context, and the each country's economic strategies.

II. **A *major collection of key articles and chapters in the field of Political Economy*** (and politics and IR) ***of the Gulf***, is:

Coates Ulrichsen, Kristian, *The Political Economy of the Arab Gulf States* (Edward Elgar, 2012)

[each of the component articles can also be found in their original sources, be they books or journals, through a Library search; I would not expect you to buy the book as it costs well over $300!]

III. **Other *excellent volumes that could serve as textbooks*** or have several chapters in them that are relevant to the course. Physical copies are available in the library, but they have not been ordered as textbooks through the bookshop:

Ehteshami, Anoushiravan, *Dynamics of change in the Persian Gulf* (Routledge, 2013) (especially chapters 4, 5, 6)

Held, David & Kristian Ulrichsen (eds.), *The Transformation of the Gulf* (Routledge, 2012)

Hudson, Michael & Mimi Kirk (eds.), *Gulf Politics and Economics in a changing world* (World Scientific, 2014)

Kinninmont, Jane, *Future Trends in the Gulf* (Chatham House Report, February 2015) https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/20150218FutureTrendsGCCKinninmont.pdf

Legrenzi, Matteo & Bassma Momani (eds.), *Shifting Geo-Economic Power of the Gulf* (Ashgate, 2011)

Luciani, Giacomo (ed.), *The Arab State* (Routledge, 1990)

Seznec, Jean-Francois and Mimi Kirk (eds.), *Industrialization in the Gulf* (Routledge, 2011)

IV. ***Additional recommended reading*** is listed either in this syllabus formeach session or added as updates via the Course Website on Canvas.

V. ***Think Tanks and specialist reporting***:

- *Gulf States Newsletter* (bi-weekly) (electronic via the Library)
- Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington on-line publications: http://www.agsiw.org/publications/
- Chatham House, Future Trends in the Gulf Project (https://www.chathamhouse.org/about/structure/mena-programme/future-dynamics-gulf)

VI. ***Journal of Arabian Studies*** (available via Library) http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rjab20

VII. Your own discoveries whether **in the library** (make sure you actually spend time there for physical books and articles that are not available online!), on the web or elsewhere.

The Web is generally a goldmine of information and analysis – but be critical about what sites you rely on. Also, ***do not be tempted to lift things from the web without acknowledgement***: this is easily traced and is viewed as **plagiarism** and heavily penalised.

See the ***GUIDE TO THE PRESENTATION OF WRITTEN WORK*** on the course website for instructions on how to reference web-based resources.

COURSE OUTLINE

(numbers below refer to sessions; there are two sessions per week; each session is 75 minutes)

1-2. Introduction and course organization

3-4. Reading and preparation with personal consultation

28 & 30 August

The aim is to give you the time, during this week and the subsequent Eid break, to familiarise yourself with some of the literature early on, including not least the background and historical context, as well as the concept of rentierism. Those of you familiar with those already, should explore some of the reading for the later portions of the course.

I will expect you to submit at least one short reaction paper of around 500 words, listing what you've been reading, summing up the key things you learned from this, and noting where you have difficulties with the texts or gaps in understanding. This will account for one of your 16 mandatory 'Reaction Papers' but will be marked simply on whether you've taken this seriously: you should not worry about showing 'weaknesses' in your understanding, for instance – in fact, the opposite is true. The main point is to show you've taken notes on your reading and that you've given some thought to it. As long as that is clear, you'll get the maximum mark.

So, between now and then, please start reading up on the following:

1. (if you're not wholly familar with the emergence of the Gulf states) Rosemary Said Zahlan, *The Making of the Modern Gulf States* (Ithaca Press, 2nd edition, 1989), especially chapters 1-2

2. Christopher Davidson, *The United Arab Emirates: A Study in Survival* (Lynne Rienner Press, 2005), pp. 5-45 . [about the seven 'Trucial States' that became the UAE]

3. Nazih Ayubi, *Over-Stating the Arab State* (IB Tauris, 1995), pp. 123-133: 'State formation in Arabia and the Gulf' [has been placed on Canvas]
4. Hazem Beblawi, 'The rentier State in the Arab World', in Giacomo Luciani (ed.), *The Arab State* (Routledge, 1990), pp. 85-98 [also in Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, The Political Economy of the Arab Gulf States (Edward Elgar, 2012), pp. 58-72] [has been placed on Canvas]

5. I would suggest you begin, at least, to read an absolute classic in the field (and a well-told story, too): Jill Crystal, *Oil and Politics in Kuwait and Qatar* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-80 [general and about Kuwait), and 112-147 [about Qatar]

6. A good survey of political history *and* economic diversification efforts in each of the GCC states can be found in Christopher Davidson (ed.), *Power and Politics in the Persian Gulf Monarchies* (Columbia / Hurst, 2011): this book will be useful, therefore, for historical background, political context, and each country's economic strategy.

5-6. Traditional political economy of the Gulf

(11 & 13 September)

Starter questions:

1. *How did the different states or political entities of the Gulf and Arabia come into being?*
2. *What were the main factors affecting the success or failure of these entities and their regimes?*
3. *What were the main economic sectors in the Gulf prior to oil?*
4. *How isolated from, or connected to, the global economy was the economy of the Arabian Peninsula?*
5. *How similar or different do you think the class structure of the pre-oil era in the Gulf was from today's?*
6. *To what extent do you think aspects of the pre-oil political economy carried through into, or affected, the political economy of the oil era?*

Presenter (13 September): Jawaher Al-Hajri

Suggested readings (select at least one – but more if you are presenting)

Al-Naqeeb, Khaldoun, *Society and State in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula* (Routledge, 1990), Chapter 4 [also on Canvas]. For the Arabic original, see http://www.khaldounalnaqeeb.com/en/imageDisplay.jsp?pdfURL=/UploadedFiles/books/B5/B5.pdf]

Al-Rumaihi, Mohammed, 'The Mode of Production before Oil', in Tim Niblock (ed.), *Social and economic development of the Arab Gulf States* (Croom Helm, 1980), chapter 3 [Also on Canvas]

Ayubi, Nazih, *Over-Stating the Arab State* (IB Tauris, 1995), pp. 123-133: 'State formation in Arabia and the Gulf' [see on Canvas]

Bishara, Fahad et al, 'The Economic Transformation of the Gulf', in J. E. Peterson (ed.), *The Emergence of the Gulf States* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), pp. 187-222 (also on Canvas course website)

Carter, Robert, *Sea of Pearls. Seven Thousand Years of the Industry that shaped the Gulf* (Arabian Publishing, 2012)

Coates Ulrichsen, Kristian, *The United Arab Emirates* (Routledge, 2017), pp. 26-34.

Crystal, Jill, *Oil and Politics in Kuwait and Qatar* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-61 [general and about Kuwait), and 112-118 [about Qatar]

Davidson, Christopher (ed.), *Power and Politics in the Persian Gulf Monarchies* (Columbia / Hurst, 2011): see the historical sections on each country, focusing on the period before the 1950s)

Davidson, Christopher, *The United Arab Emirates: A Study in Survival* (Lynne Rienner Press, 2005), pp. 5-45

Heard-Bey, Frauke, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, (Longman, 1996 (2nd edition), chapters 5 & 6

Onley, James & Sulayman Khalaf, 'Shaikhly Authority in the Pre-Oil Gulf', *History and Anthropology*, 17.3, September 2006), pp. 189-208 [also in Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, *The Political Economy of the Arab Gulf States* (Edward Elgar, 2012), pp. 38-57]

Penziner Hightower, Victoria, 'Pearling and Political Power in the Trucial States, 1850-1930: Debts, Taxes and Politics', *Journal of Arabian Studies*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (December 2013), pp. 215-231.

Said Zahlan, Rosemary, *The Making of the Modern Gulf States* (Ithaca Press, 2nd edition, 1989), chapters 1-2.

7-8. The coming of oil and early impact on economics and politics

(18 & 20 September)

Starter Questions:

1. How would you describe the impact of the oil age on the politics of the Gulf region?
2. How did the coming of oil affect Gulf societies?
3. What were the main economic effects of the coming of oil, prior to the 1970s?

Presenter (20 September): all will be expected to contribute informally

Suggested Readings:

Al-Naqeeb, Khaldoun, *Society and State in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula* (Routledge, 1990), pp. 78-90 (sections 3-4 of Chapter 5) [Arabic original version: see http://www.khaldounalnaqeeb.com/en/imageDisplay.jsp?pdfURL=/UploadedFiles/books/B5/B5.pdf]

Altorki, Soraya and Donald Cole, "Change in Saudi Arabia: A View from the Paris of Najd" in Nicholas Hopkins and Saad Eddin Ibrahim (eds.), *Arab Society: Class, Gender, Power &Development*, (AUC Press, Cairo, 1997), pp. 29-52.

Bishara, Fahad et al, 'The Economic Transformation of the Gulf', in J. E. Peterson (ed.), *The Emergence of the Gulf States* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), pp. 187-222 (also on Canvas course website)

Coates Ulrichsen, Kristian, *The Gulf States in International Political Economy* (Palgrave, 2016), pp. 22-35.

Coates Ulrichsen, Kristian, *The United Arab Emirates* (Routledge, 2017), pp. 34-39 ("Oil and Borders')

Cole, Donald, 'Pastoral Nomads in a rapidly changing economy: the case of Saudi Arabia', in Niblock, Tim (ed.), *Social and Economic Development in the Arab Gulf* (Croom Helm, 1980), pp. 106-121

Crystal, Jill, *Oil and Politics in Kuwait and Qatar* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 62-93 (on Kuwait); pp. 118-155 (on Qatar)

Ehteshami, Anoushiravan, *Dynamics of Change in the Persian Gulf* (Routledge, 2013), pp. 49-59.

Fabietti, Ugo, "State Policies and Bedouin Adaptations in Saudi Arabia, 1900-1980", in Martha Mundy and Basim Musallam (eds.), *The Transformation of Nomadic Society in the Arab East*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), pp. 82-9

Malone, Donald, 'Involvement and change: the coming of the oil age to Saudi Arabia', in Niblock, Tim (ed.), *Social and Economic Development in the Arab Gulf* (Croom Helm, 1980), pp. 20-48.

McLachlan, Keith, 'Saudi Arabia: Political and Social Evolution', in Ian R. Netton (ed.), *Arabia and the Gulf: from Traditional Society to Modern States* (Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 91-106

9-10. The concept of Rentier states

(25 & 27 September)

Starter Questions:

1. What are the defining features of a Rentier State?

2. What impact may rentierism have on the politics of a state?

3. What may be the impact of rentierism on state-society relations?

4. What may be the impact of rentier dynamics on economic policy and development patterns?

5. How has Rentier State Theory evolved?

Presenter: Carolina Lubinus (27 September)

Read at least one of:

Beblawi, Hazem & Giacomo Luciani, 'Introduction', in Beblawi, Hazem & Giacomo Luciani (eds.), *The Rentier State* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 1-21.

Beblawi, Hazem, 'The rentier State in the Arab World', in Giacomo Luciani (ed.), *The Arab State* (Routledge, 1990), pp. 85-98 [also in Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, *The Political Economy of the Arab Gulf States* (Edward Elgar, 2012), pp. 58-72; and in Beblawi, Hazem & Giacomo Luciani (eds.), *The Rentier State* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 49-62]

Kamrava, Mehran, "The Political Economy of Rentierism in the Persian Gulf", in Mehran Kamrava (ed.), *The Political economy of the Persian Gulf* (Hurst, 2012), pp. 39-68

Further Suggested Readings:

Cammett, Melanie et al., *A Political Economy of the Middle East* (Westview Press, 2015 (4th edition), Chapter 9 (pp. 319-354): "The effects of Oil on Development and the Rise of the Gulf Cooperartion Council". [also on Canvas]

Chatelus, Michel & Yves Schemeil, 'Towards a New Political Economy of State Industrialization in the Arab Middle East', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 16 (1984), pp. 251-265.

Coates Ulrichsen, Kristian, *The Gulf States in International Political Economy* (Palgrave, 2016), pp. 28-33

Davidson, Christopher, *The United Arab Emirates: A Study in Survival* (Lynne Rienner Press, 2005), pp. 87-92

El-Katiri, Laura et al, 'Anatomy of an oil-based welfare state: rent distribution in Kuwait', in Held, David & Kristian Ulrichsen (eds.), *The Transformation of the Gulf* (Routledge, 2012), pp. 165-187

Kamrava, Mehran (ed.), *The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf* (Hurst, 2012), pp. 1-9 (Introduction)

Kamrava, Mehran, "The Political Economy of Rentierism in the Persian Gulf", in Mehran Kamrava (ed.), *The Political economy of the Persian Gulf* (Hurst, 2012), pp. 39-68

Luciani, Giacomo, 'Allocation versus production States', in Giacomo Luciani (ed.), *The Arab State* (Routledge, 1990), pp. 65-84.

Luciani, Giacomo, 'The Oil Rent, the Fiscal Crisis of the State, and Democratization', in Ghassan Salame (ed.), *Democracy without Democrat*s (IB Tauris, 1994), pp. 130-155.

Luciani, Giacomo, "Resources, Revenues and Authoritarianism in the Arab World: Beyond the Rentier State", in *Political Liberalisation and Democratisation in the Arab World, Vol. 1*, edited by Rex Brynen, Bahgat Korany and Paul Noble (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995)

Mahdavi, Hossein, "Patterns and Problems of Economic Development in Rentier States: The Case of Iran", in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East* (Oxford University Press, 1970) (reprinted by Routledge, 2014), pp. 428-467.

Niblock, Tim, *The Political Economy of Saudi Arabia*, Routledge, 2007, pp. 14-21 (a good, lucid discussion of rentier state theory and it possible critiques.)

Okruhlik, Gwenn, "Rentier Wealth, Unruly Law, and the Rise of Opposition: The Political Economy of Oil States", in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 3. (Apr., 1999), pp. 295-315. [also in Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, *The Political Economy of the Arab Gulf States* (Edward Elgar, 2012), pp. 98-118]

Ozyavuz, Anais & Dorothee Schmidt, 'Persistence and Evolutions of the Rentier State Model in the Gulf Countries' (Paris: IFRI, 2015)

https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/rentier-state-final.pdf, pp. 4-11

11. The Political Economy and Development Strategy of Saudi Arabia

(2 October)

Starter Questions:

1. What was the impact of oil and the rentier dynamic on Saudi Arabia's development?

2. What was the impact of oil and the rentier dynamic on Saudi state-society relations?

3. Is Saudi Arabia a 'Developmental State'?

4. Can Saudi Arabia escape the resource curse and its dependence on oil?

5. What are the implications, possibilities and challenges of the Saudi Vision 2030 Plan?

Suggested Readings:

Specifically on Saudi Arabia:

Hertog, Steffen, 'Good, Bad, or Both? The Impact of Oil on the Saudi Political Economy', in Kamrava, Mehran (ed.), *The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf* (Hurst, 2012), pp. 221-250.

Hertog, Steffen, "Segmented Clientelism: The Political Economy of Saudi Economic Reform Efforts", in Paul Aarts and Gerd Nonneman, eds. *Saudi Arabia in the Balance*, (London: Hurst, 2005), pp. 111-143.

Kinninmont, Jane, *Vision 2030 and Saudi Arabia's Social Contract: Austerity and Transformation* (Chatham House Research Paper, 20 July 2017) https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/vision-2030-and-saudi-arabias-social-contract-austerity-and-transformation?utm_source=Chatham%20House&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=8497383_Jane%27s%20paper&dm_i=1S3M,524MF,O7YX6M,JCEXO,1

Niblock, Tim *Saudi Arabia: Power, Legitimacy & Survival*, (Routledge, 2006), Ch. 4.

Niblock, Tim, *The Political Economy of Saudi Arabia* (Routledge, 2007)

'Vision 2030' (Saudi Arabia, 2016), http://vision2030.gov.sa/sites/default/files/report/Saudi_Vision2030_EN_0.pdf

'National Transformation Plan' (Saudi Arabia, 2016) http://vision2030.gov.sa/sites/default/files/NTP_En.pdf

McKinsey Global Institute, *Saudi Arabia Beyond Oil* (December 2016) https://www.mckinsey.com/global-themes/employment-and-growth/moving-saudi-arabias-economy-beyond-oil [also on Canvas]

Also see the material on Saudi Arabia in the following:

Hvidt, Martin, 'The Development Trajectory of the GCC States: An Analysis of Aims and Visions in current Development Plans', in Hudson, Michael & Mimi Kirk (eds.), *Gulf Politics and Economics in a changing world* (World Scientific, 2014), pp. 11-28

Hvidt, Martin, 'Planning for Development in the GCC States: A Content Analysis of Current Development Plans', *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 2.2 (December 2012), pp. 189-207.

12. The 'Dubai model' & the UAE

(4 October)

Starter Questions:

1. Is it useful to talk about a "Dubai Model", and if so, what does it consist of?

2. What are the similarities and differences between Dubai's political economy and that of the rest of the GCC?

3. Is the Dubai model sustainable without external oil-based input?

4. How does Abu Dhabi's development model compare to Dubai's, and what explains the difference?

5. How have the poorer emirates been affected by the UAE's oil wealth?

6. How has oil affected state-society relations in the UAE?

Presenter: Younsuk Choi

Suggested Readings:

Specifically on Dubai & the UAE:

Davidson, Christopher, 'The Dubai Model: Diversification and Slowdown', in Kamrava, Mehran (ed.), *The Political economy of the Persian Gulf* (Hurst, 2012), pp. 195-220.

Davidson, Christopher, *Dubai: the Vulnerability of Success* (London: Hurst, 2008), chapters 4 & 6.

Davidson, Christopher, *The United Arab Emirates: A Study in Survival* (Lynne Rienner Press, 2005), pp. 119-184

Heard-Bey, Frauke, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates* (Longman, 1996), chapter 7: 'The Development of a City-State on the Coast: Example Dubai', pp. 238-270.

Hvidt, Martin, "The Dubai Model: An Outline of Key Development-Process Elements in Dubai," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 41, no. 03, August 2009, pp. 395-418.

Also see the material on the UAE in the following:

Hvidt, Martin, 'The Development Trajectory of the GCC States: An Analysis of Aims and Visions in current Development Plans', in Hudson, Michael & Mimi Kirk (eds.), *Gulf Politics and Economics in a changing world* (World Scientific, 2014), pp. 11-28

Hvidt, Martin, 'Planning for Development in the GCC States: A Content Analysis of Current Development Plans', *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 2.2 (December 2012), pp. 189-207.

[13-14]. Individual Library-based sessions on subject research & writing (one hour each)

(between 8 – 11 October)

I have arranged for each of you to have two individual & mandatory 1-hour sessions on writing and research respectively, with Donna Hanson (Director of the Library) and Kerry Sauer (Writing Center), timed to come immediately after you have handed in your first essay plan on 5 October (I will feed back on that by 7 October), so the sessions can be specially tailored to your individual needs.

You will need to book these slots directly with Kerry and Donna, between 8 and 11 October.

Donna Hanson: donna.hanson@georgetown.edu

Kerry Sauer: kas433@georgetown.edu

These will count for 2 of the course's 28 sessions, so in compensation there will be **no 'normal' sessions during the following week on 16 & 18 October: instead, you can use that time to finish your essay (due by 19th).**

15. Development Visions / Strategies / issues:

(9 October)

Starter Questions

1. How similar or diferent are the GCC states' development visions, and why?

2. What are the prospects and challenges for diversification in the GCC?

3. What are the key requirements for the GCC states' development visions being able to become reality? Can they at all?

4. Are the GCC states' development plans and visions indications of 'developmental states'?

5. Is the private sector likely to play a significant role in aiding reform and creating sustainable economies in the GCC states?

Presenter: Najwa Al-Obaidly

Read at least one of:

Coates-Ulrichsen, Kristian, *The Gulf States in International Political Economy* (Palgrave, 2016), pp. 62-82

Hvidt, Martin, 'Planning for Development in the GCC States: A Content Analysis of Current Development Plans', *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 2.2 (December 2012), pp. 189-207.

Hvidt, Martin, 'Economic Diversification in GCC Countries: Past Record and Future Trends', Kuwait Programme Research Paper no. 27 (LSE, January 2013) http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/55252/1/Hvidt_2013.pdf

Hvidt, Martin, 'The Development Trajectory of the GCC States: An Analysis of Aims and Visions in current Development Plans', in Hudson, Michael & Mimi Kirk (eds.), *Gulf Politics and Economics in a changing world* (World Scientific, 2014), pp. 11-28

Cammett, Melanie et al., *A Political Economy of the Middle East* (Westview Press, 2015 (4th edition), Chapter 9 (pp. 319-354): "The effects of Oil on Development and the Rise of the Gulf Cooperation Council". [also on Canvas]

El-Katiri, Laura, 'Vulnerability, Resilience and Reform: The GCC and the Oil Price Crisis, 2014-1016'. (Columbia University, Center on Global Energy Policy, December 2016)

Further Suggested Readings:

Coates-Ulrichsen, Kristian, 'Knowledge Based Economies in the GCC', in Mehran Kamrava, (ed.), *The Political economy of the Persian Gulf* (Hurst, 2012), pp. 95-122.

http://energypolicy.columbia.edu/publications/report/vulnerability-resilience-and-reform-gcc-and-oil-price-crisis-2014-2016

Hvidt, Martin, 'Economic Diversification in the Gulf States" Lip service or actual implementation of a new development model?', in Legrenzi, Matteo & Bassma Momani (eds.), *Shifting Geo-economic Power of the Gulf* (Ashgate, 2011), pp. 39-54

Kamrava, Mehran, Gerd Nonneman, Anastasia Nossova & Marc Valeri, 'Ruling Familes and Business Elites in the Gulf States (Chatham House, November 2016) https://reader.chathamhouse.org/ruling-families-and-business-elites-gulf-monarchies-ever-closer# [also on Canvas]

Ozyavuz, Anais & Dorothee Schmidt, 'Persistence and Evolutions of the Rentier State Model in the Gulf Countries' (Paris: IFRI, 2015) https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/rentier-state-final.pdf

Salehi-Isfahani, Djavad, 'Population and Human Capital in the Persian Gulf', in Kamrava, Mehran (ed.), *The Political economy of the Persian Gulf* (Hurst, 2012), pp. 147-172

16. The case of Qatar

(11 October)

Presenter: Younsuk Choi

Suggested Readings:

See the Qatar-related materials in the readings for session 15, especially Coates-Ulrichsen (2012), Hvidt (2011, 2012, 2014)

Specifically on Qatar:

Kamrava, Mehran, *Qatar: Small State, Big Politics* (Cornell, 2015), chapter 5 (pp. 140-164) [also on Canvas]

Kamrava, Mehran, 'State-Business Relations and Clientelism in Qatar', *Journal of Arabian Studies*, Vol. 7, no. 1 (April 2017), pp. 1-27.

Mitchell, Jocelyn & Leslie Pal, 'Policy-making in Qatar: the Macro-Policy Framework', in Tok, Evren, Lolwah Al-Khater & Leslie Pal (eds.), Policy-Making in a Transformative State: the Case of Qatar (Palgrave Macmillan (2016), pp. 65-96.

Some readings on other country cases

Oman

Valeri, Marc, 'State-Business Relations in the Gulf: The role of business actors in the decision-making process in Bahrain and Oman', in Hudson, Michael & Mimi Kirk (eds.), *Gulf Politics and Economics in a changing world* (World Scientific, 2014), pp. 55-76

Valeri, Marc, 'Oligarchy vs Oligarchy: Business and the politics of reform in Bahrain and Oman', in Hertog, Steffen et al (eds.), *Business & Politics in the Middle East* (Hurst, 2013), pp. 17-42.

Valeri, Marc, *Oman: Politics and Society in the Qaboos State* (Hurst, 2009), pp. 71-89; 101-118; & 201-224.

Kuwait

El-Katiri, Laura et al, 'Anatomy of an oil-based welfare state: rent distribution in Kuwait', in Held, David & Kristian Ulrichsen (eds.), *The Transformation of the Gulf* (Routledge, 2012), pp. 165-187

[No ordinary class sessions on 16 & 18 October]

19 October: DEADLINE FOR ESSAY 1

17-18. The GCC states in the world economy

(23 & 25 October)

Presenter: ***Younsuk Choi***

Read at least :

Coates Ulrichsen, Kristian, *The Gulf States in International Political Economy* (Palgrave, 2016), Chapter 1

Plus at least one of:

Coates Ulrichsen, Kristian, 'Repositioning the GCC States in the Changing Global Order', in *Journal of Arabian Studies*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (December 2011), pp. 231-247.

Coates-Ulrichsen, Kristian, 'The GCC States and the Shifting Global Balance of Power' (CIRS: Occasional Paper 6, 2010) (https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/558292/CIRSOccasionalPaper6KristianCoatesUlrichsen2010.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y)

Davidson, Christopher, 'The Gulf Arab States and Asia Pacific: geo-economics and interdependency', in Legrenzi, Matteo & Bassma Momani (eds.), *Shifting Geo-economic Power of the Gulf* (Ashgate, 2011), pp. 183-198

Ehteshami, Anoushiravan, *Dynamics of change in the Persian Gulf* (Routledge, 2013): Ch. 5: 'Globalization of the Persian Gulf', pp. 66-87; Ch. 6: 'Asianization of the Persian Gulf', pp. 88-105

Lawson, Fred H., "The Persian Gulf in the Contemporary International Economy", in Kamrava, Mehran (ed.), *The Political economy of the Persian Gulf* (Hurst, 2012), pp. 13-38

Yamada, Makio, 'Gulf-Asia Relations as "Post-Rentier" Diversification? The case of the Petrochemical Industry in Saudi Arabia', Journal of *Arabian* Studies, Vol. 1, no. 1 (June 2011), pp. 117-127.

(on Global Aviation):

Coates Ulrichsen, Kristian, *The Gulf States in International Political Economy* (Palgrave, 2016), pp. 151-165

(on SWFs & Finance):

Coates Ulrichsen, Kristian, *The Gulf States in International Political Economy* (Palgrave, 2016), pp. 103-129

Seznec, Jean-Francois, 'The Sovereign Wealth Funds of the Persian Gulf', Kamrava, Mehran (ed.), *The Political economy of the Persian Gulf* (Hurst, 2012), pp. 69-94.

Ziemba, Rachel & Anton Malkin, 'The GCC's international investment dynamics: the role of sovereign wealth funds', in Legrenzi, Matteo & Bassma Momani (eds.), *Shifting Geo-economic Power of the Gulf* (Ashgate, 2011), pp. 109-126.

19-20. Migration in the Gulf

(30 October & 1 November)

Presenter: ***Najwa Al-Obaidly***

Read at least one of:

Babar, Zahra, 'Population, Power and Distributional Politics in Qatar', *Journal of Arabian Studies*, Vol. 5, no. 2 (December 2015), pp. 138-155

Coates-Ulrichsen, Kristian, *The Gulf States in International Political Economy* (Palgrave, 2016), Chapter 8, pp. 167-186

Fargues P. 2015, 'Immigration vs. Population in the Gulf,' in L. Narbone (ed.), *The Gulf Monarchies Beyond the Arab Spring. Changes and Challenges*, EUI e-book (European University Institute, 2015), pp. 11-17 http://cadmus.eui.eu//handle/1814/37734

Kamrava, Mehran & Zahra Babar (eds.), *Migrant Labor in the Persian Gulf* (Columbia University ress, 2012)

Additional suggested reading:

See the website of the European University Institute's *Gulf Labour Markets & Migration project*, for news, data and publications: http://gulfmigration.eu/

Diop, Abdulaye et al, 'Reform of the Kafala System', in *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 5.2 (December 2015), pp. 116-137

Diop, A., K.T. Le, and M.C. Ewers, 'Working and Living Conditions of Migrant Workers in the GCC', in S. Irudaya Rajan (Ed.), *India Migration Report 2016: Gulf Migration* New York (Routledge, 2017), pp. 75-89. (https://books.google.com.qa/books?hl=en&lr=&id=MiklDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA75&dq=info:SXq_wvz3zmAJ:scholar.google.com&ots=IQ18ig3rh0&sig=mS_L6khh9AEOxopTKH2VRaZ-MYc&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false)

Fargues P. & F. de Bel-Air, 'Migration to the Gulf States: The Political Economy of Exceptionalism,' in Acosta Arcarazo D. & and Wiesbrock A., *Global Migration: Old Assumptions, New Dynamics* (Praeger, 2015), pp. 139-166.

Gardner, Andrew et al., 'A Portrait of Low Income Migrants in Contemporary Qatar', in *Journal of Arabian Studies*, Vol. 3, no. 1 (June 2013), pp. 1-17.

Hertog, Steffen, *The Political Economy of Labour Markets and Migration in the Gulf: workshop proceedings.* (London School of Economics, 2016)(http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/67919/)

Kapiszewski, Andrzej "The Changing Status of Arab Migrant Workers in the GCC", in *Journal of Social Affairs*, 20:78, Summer 2003, pp. 33-60.

Kapiszewski, Andrzej *Arab Versus Asian Migrant Workers In The GCC Countries*, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, UN/POP/EGM/2006/02, 22 May 2006 http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/EGM_Ittmig_Arab/P02_Kapiszewski.pdf

Kapiszewski, Andrzej, *Nationals and Expatriates in the Gulf* (Ithaca Press, 2001)

Longva, Anh-Nga, *Walls built on sand: migration, exclusion, and society in Kuwait*, (Westview Press, 1997), Ch 3 & 4

Thiollet, Helene, 'Managing Migrant Labor in the Gulf: Transnational Dynamics of Migration Politics since the 1930s', IMI Working Paper Series no. 131 (July 2016).

21. The question of water & the environment in the GCC

(6 November)

Presenter: Jawaher Al-Hajri

Suggested Readings:

Al-Farra, Taha, 'Water Security in the Gulf Region', Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 31 March, 2015 (http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/dossiers/2015/03/20153318534835257.html)

BQ Magazine, 'The Big Gulp', *BQ Magazine*, February 2015, pp. 28-37 (http://www.bq-magazine.com/industries/2015/02/water-scarcity-in-the-middle-east)

Gulf Research Center, *Green Gulf Report* (Dubai: GRC, 2006)

Darwish, Mohgamed et al, 'Qatar and GCC Warter Security', Desalination and Water Treatment, Vol. 55, no. 9, 2015, (http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/19443994.2014.947782)

Hertog, Steffen & Giacomo Luciani, 'Energy and sustainability policies', in Held, David & Kristian Ulrichsen (eds.), *The Transformation of the Gulf* (Routledge, 2012), pp. 236-257

Raouf, Mohamed, 'Water Issues in the Gulf: Time for Action', Middle East Institute, Policy Brief, 1 January 2009. (http://www.mei.edu/content/water-issues-gulf-time-action)

Saif, Omar et al, 'Water Security in the GCC Countries: Challenges and Opportunities', Journal of Enviromental Studies (2014) 4, pp. 329–346 (https://www.researchgate.net/publication/268713523_Water_security_in_the_GCC_countries_challenges_and_opportunities)

World Bank, *A Water Sector Assessment Report on the Countries of the Cooperation Council of the Arab States of the Gulf*, World Bank, 2005 (http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTMNAREGTOPWATRES/Overview/20577193/GCCWaterSectorReport--Englishversion.pdf)

Zubari, Waleed, 'Water Resource Management in the GCC',. EcoMENA, 26 March, 2017 (https://www.ecomena.org/water-resource-management-gcc/)

Zubari, Waleed, 'Future Water Scenarios in the GCC', EcoMENA, 16 March 2016 (https://www.ecomena.org/water-gcc/)

22. The Gulf states and the politics of Climate Change

(8 November)

Presenter: Carolina Lubinus

Aarts, Paul & Dennis Janssen, 'Shades of Opinion: The Oil Exporting Countries and International Climate Politics', in Gerd Nonneman (ed.), *Analyzing Middle East Foreign Policies* (Routledge, 2005), pp. 223-242.

Luomi, Mari, *The Gulf Monarchies and Climate Change: Abu Dhabi and Qatar in an era of natural unsustainability* (Hurst, 2012)

Luomi, Mari, *Mainstreaming Climate Policy in the Gulf Cooperation Council States* (Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, Paper MEP 7, 2014) https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/MEP-7.pdf

Luomi, Mari, 'Gulf of Interest: Why Oil still dominates Middle Eastern Climate Politics', *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 1.2 (December 2011), pp. 249-266.

Raouf, Mohammed, 'Climate Change Threat, Opportunities and the GCC States', Middle East Institute, Policy Brief, 1 April 2008 (http://www.mei.edu/content/climate-change-threats-opportunities-and-gcc-countries)

Interesting news articles / blogs:

- https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-10-03/saudi-arabia-gets-cheapest-ever-bids-for-solar-power-in-auction
- http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2016/10/24/can-climate-change-speed-up-economic-diversification-in-the-gcc/

For Qatar's and Saudi Arabia's national commitments on climate change policy:

- *The Intended Nationally Determined Contribution of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia under the UNFCCC* http://www4.unfccc.int/submissions/INDC/Published%20Documents/Saudi%20Arabia/1/KSA-INDCs%20English.pdf
- *State of Qatar Ministry of Environment Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) Report*

http://www4.unfccc.int/submissions/INDC/Published%20Documents/Qatar/1/Qatar%20INDCs%20Report%20-English.pdf

23. The political economy of regional integration in the Gulf

(13 November)

Starter Questions:

1. What were the drivers for the creation of the GCC?
2. What have been the main aims of the GCC?
3. What have been the main achievements of the GCC?
4. What have been its main failures or disappointments?
5. What have been the main factors in favour and against GCC integration?

Presenter: Najwa Al-Obaidly

Read aty least one of:

Abdullah, Jamal (ed.), *The Gulf Cooperation Council's Challenges and Prospects* (Al-Jazeera Center for Studies and Research, 2014) http://studies.aljazeera.net/mritems/Documents/2015/3/31/2015331131534662734Gulf%20Cooperation.pdf

Legrenzi, Matteo, *The GCC and the International Relations of the Gulf* (IB Tauris, 2011).

Legrenzi, Matteo, 'Did the GCC make a difference? Institutional Realities and (un)intended consequences', in Matteo Legrenzi & Cilja Harders (eds.), *Beyond Regionalism? Regionalism, Regionalization and Regional Integration in the Middle East* (Ashgate, 2007), pp. 107-124

Martini, Jeffrey et al, *The Outlook for Arab Gulf Cooperation* (Rand, 2016) (https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR1400/RR1429/RAND_RR1429.pdf)

Momani, Bessma, 'Reacting to Global Forces: Economic and Political Integration of the Gulf Cooperation Council', *Journal of the Gulf & Arabian Peninsula Studies*, Vol. 34 (2008), No. 128, pp. 47-66 (http://www.arts.uwaterloo.ca/~bmomani/Documents/JGAPS_GCC_Paper.pdf)

Shediac, Richard et al, 'Integrating, not Integrated: A Scorecard of GCC Economic Integration' (Booz&co., Ideation Center Insight, July 2011) http://static1.squarespace.com/static/565d7420e4b0987eb9f25078/5672d951816924fc226b0b66/5672d953816924fc226b0c68/1450367315938/BozCo-Scorecard-GCC-Economic-Integration.pdf?format=original

Additional suggested reading:

Antoniades, Alexis, 'The Gulf Cooperation Council Monetary Union', in Kamrava, Mehran (ed.), *The Political economy of the Persian Gulf* (Hurst, 2012), pp. 173-192

Barnett, Michael & Gregory Gause, 'Caravans in Opposite Directions: Society, state and the development of community in the Gulf Cooperation Council', in Emmanuel Adler & Michael Barnett (eds.), *Security Communities* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 161-197.

Cammett, Melani, 'Defensive Integration: The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Arab Maghreb Union', *Global Governance*, Vol. 5 (1999), pp. 379-402

Nonneman, 'Environmental and socio-cultural cooperation in the Gulf', in Gerd Nonneman (ed), *The Middle East and Europe: the search for stability and integration*, pp. 95-98

Nonneman, Gerd, 'The Gulf: Background Assessment', in Gerd Nonneman (ed), *The Middle East and Europe: the search for stability and integration*, pp. 55-59

Ramazani, Rouhollah K., The Gulf Cooperation Council: Record and Analysis (University Press of Virginia, 1988)

Rutledge, Emilie, *Monetary Union in the Gulf* (Routledge, 2009)

Tessler, Mark & Justin Gengler, 'Views of the Gulf Cooperation Council among Qatari and Other Gulf Nationals' (SESRI Policy Brief no. 6, September 2016) (download in Arabic or English from http://sesri.qu.edu.qa/web/publications/

Tripp, Charles, 'Regional Organizations in the Arab Middle East', in Fawcett, Louise & Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Regionalism in World Politics* (Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 283-309

Young, Karen, 'Self-imposed barriers to economic integration in th GCC', AGSIW paper, August 4, 2017 (http://www.agsiw.org/self-imposed-barriers-economic-integration-gcc/)

A theoretical / comparative perspective can be found in:

- Fawcett, Louise & Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Regionalism in World Politics* (Oxford University Press, 1995)

An excellent overview of integration trends and developments before the GCC was created, is:

- Niblock, Timothy, 'The Prospects for integration in the Arab Gulf', in Tim Niblock (ed.), *Social and Economic Development in the Arab Gulf* (Croom Helm, 1981).

24. The political economy of reform in the GCC states – I:

Economic Reform

(15 November)

Starter questions:

1. What are the key areas of reform necessary a chance to develop a sustainable economy beyond oil?

2. What are the main factors and actors constraining such economic reform?

3. What are the key conditions to make a success of such economic reform?

4. What chance is there of the emergence of a larger, competitive private sector?

5. Is the private sector likely to play a significant role in aiding reform and creating sustainable economies in the GCC states, and why/why not?

6. What is the likelihood – and why – of thorough reforms in the areas of taxes and subsidies?

Presenter: Jawaher Al-Hajri

- See the resources on the 6 countries' development plans and 'Visions' (Sessions 11, 12, 15, 16)
- By all means feel free to scour sources of the last week or so on the changes in Saudi Arabia!

Almezaini, Khaled, 'Private sector actors in the UAE and their role in the process of Economic and political reform', in Steffen Hertog et al (eds.), *Business & Politics in the Middle East* (Hurst, 2013), pp. 43-66

Ewers, Michael et al, 'Public Acceptance of Taxation in Qatar' (SESRI Policy Brief, no. 4, June 2016 (download in Arabic or English from http://sesri.qu.edu.qa/web/publications/)

Fattouh, Bassam, 'Economic Adjustment and Reform in the Context of a Rentier State' Presentation at the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, September 2017 (https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Economic-Adjustment-and-Reform-in-the-Context-of-a-Rentier-State.pdf) (Power Point)

Gengler, Justin & Laurent Lambert 'Renegotiating the Ruling Bargain: Selling Fiscal Reform in the GCC' *Middle East Journal* (Spring 2016), pp. 321-329 (https://muse.jhu.edu/article/614798/pdf)

Herb, Michael, 'A Nation of Bureaucrats: Political Participation and Economic Diversification in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 41, no. 03, August 2009, pp. 375-95.

Hertog, Steffen, 'Redesigning the distributional bargain in the GCC', in Hudson, Michael & Mimi Kirk (eds.), *Gulf Politics and Economics in a changing world* (World Scientific, 2014), pp. 29-54

Hertog, Steffen, 'State and Private Sector in the GCC after the Arab Uprisings', *Journal of Arabian Studies*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (December 2013), pp. 174-195.

Hertog, Steffen, "Segmented Clientelism: The Political Economy of Saudi Economic Reform Efforts", in Paul Aarts and Gerd Nonneman, eds. *Saudi Arabia in the Balance*, (London: Hurst, 2005), pp. 111-143.

Nossova, Anastasia, 'Business and Economic Reform Policies in Kuwait: The Case of the Capital Market Authority', in Journal of Arabian Affairs, Vol. 7, no. 1 (April 2017), pp. 28-43

Valeri, Marc, 'State-Business Relations in the Gulf: The role of business actors in the decision-making process in Bahrain and Oman', in Hudson, Michael & Mimi Kirk (eds.), *Gulf Politics and Economics in a changing world* (World Scientific, 2014), pp. 55-76

Valeri, Marc, 'Oligarchy vs Oligarchy: Business and the politics of reform in Bahrain and Oman', in Hertog, Steffen et al (eds.), *Business & Politics in the Middle East* (Hurst, 2013), pp. 17-42

[25-26] Preparation and consultation for your second essay drafts

(week of 19 November)

NOTE: Deadline first draft / detailed outline + bibliography:

<u>Saturday 25 November</u>

I will give feed-back on questions and drafts

- by email 19-21 November;
- in person (in my office) Thursday 9am-1pm and 4-5 pm

27. The political economy of reform in the GCC states – II:

Political Reform

(27 November)

Presenter: Carolina Lubinus

Starter Questions:

1. What is the likely future of political reform in the GCC states?

2. What factors or social actors constrain / enable the likelihood of political reform in the GCC states?

Read at least one of:

Kinninmont, Jane, *Future Trends in the Gulf* (Chatham House Report, February 2015) https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/20150218FutureTrendsGCCKinninmont.pdf

Kinninmont, Jane, 'Vision 2030 and Saudi Arabia's Social Contract', Chatham House research paper, July 2017 (https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/vision-2030-and-saudi-arabias-social-contract-austerity-and-transformation)

Nonneman, Gerd, 'Political Reform in the Gulf Monarchies: From Liberalisation to Democratisation? A Comparative Perspective', in A. Ehteshami & S. Wright (eds.), *Reform in the Middle East Oil Monarchies* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 2008), pp. 3-45
[also reproduced in Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, *The Political Economy of the Arab Gulf States* (Edward Elgar, 2012), pp. 147-189]

Additional recommended reading:

Coates-Ulrichsen, Kristian, 'Politics and Opposition in Kuwait', in *Journal of Arabian Studies*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (December 2014), pp. 214-230)

Herb, Michael, 'A Nation of Bureaucrats: Political Participation and Economic Diversification in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 41, no. 03, August 2009, pp. 375-95.

Hertog, Steffen, 'Redesigning the distributional bargain in the GCC', in Hudson, Michael & Mimi Kirk (eds.), *Gulf Politics and Economics in a changing world* (World Scientific, 2014), pp. 29-54

Khalaf, Abdulhadi & Giacomo Luciani (eds.), *Constitutional Reform and Political participation in the Gulf* (Gulf Research Center, 2006)

Luciani, Giacomo, "Resources, Revenues and Authoritarianism in the Arab World: Beyond the Rentier State", in *Political Liberalisation and Democratisation in the Arab World, Vol. 1*, edited by Rex Brynen, Bahgat Korany and Paul Noble (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995)

Okruhlik, Gwenn, "Rentier Wealth, Unruly Law, and the Rise of Opposition: The Political Economy of Oil States", in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 3. (Apr., 1999), pp. 295-315. [also in Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, *The Political Economy of the Arab Gulf States* (Edward Elgar, 2012), pp. 98-118]

28. The Qatar Crisis 2017

(29 November)

All read at least two articles on the subject.

Consider:

Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS), *The Qatar Crisis* (POMEPS, October 2012) (https://pomeps.org/2017/10/12/the-qatar-crisis-pomeps-brief-31/)

See the reports and analyses on various aspects and implications of the GCC crisis on AGSIW's website: http://www.agsiw.org/gcc-crisis/ . Especially the work by Kristin Diwan, Karen Young, David Roberts, and Diane Munro