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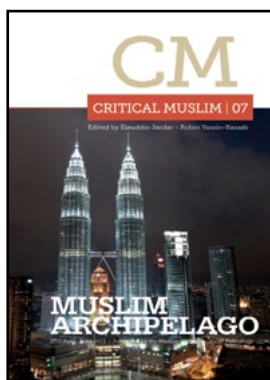
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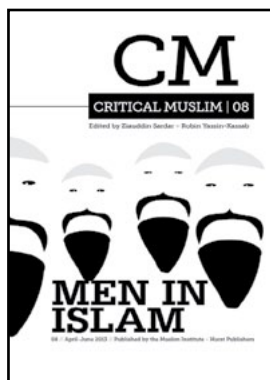
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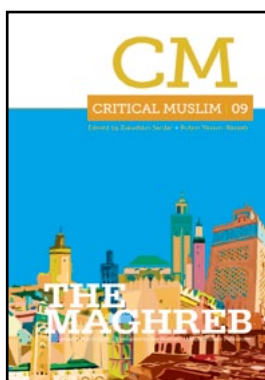
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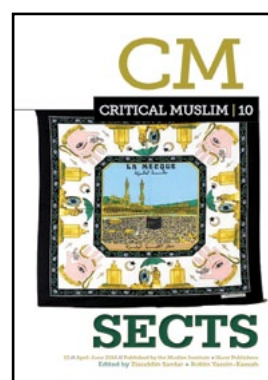
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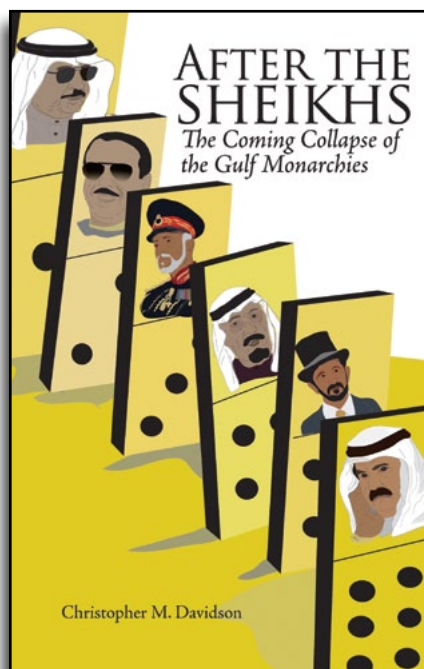
After the Sheikhs

The Coming Collapse of the Gulf Monarchies

CHRISTOPHER M. DAVIDSON

THE COLLAPSE OF THE KINGS, EMIRS AND SULTANS OF THE
PERSIAN GULF MONARCHIES IS GOING TO HAPPEN AND
WAS ALWAYS GOING TO

CURRENT AFFAIRS/GULF MONARCHIES



The Gulf monarchies (Saudi Arabia and its five smaller neighbours: the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, and Bahrain) have long been governed by highly autocratic and seemingly anachronistic regimes. Yet despite bloody conflicts on their doorsteps, fast-growing populations, and powerful modernising and globalising forces impacting on their largely conservative societies, they have demonstrated remarkable resilience. The obituaries of the traditional monarchies have frequently been penned, but even now these absolutist, almost medieval, entities still appear to pose the same conundrum as before. In the wake of the 2011 'Arab Spring' and the fall of incumbent presidents in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya, the apparently steadfast Gulf monarchies have, at first glance, re-affirmed their status as the Middle East's only real bastions of stability.

In this book, noted Gulf expert Christopher Davidson contends that the collapse of these kings, emirs, and sultans is going to happen, and was always going to. While the revolutionary movements in North Africa, Syria, and Yemen will undeniably serve as important, if indirect, catalysts for the coming upheaval, many of the pressures that were building in the Arab republics are now also very much present in the Gulf monarchies. It is no longer a matter of if but when these steadfast allies of the West fall. This is a bold claim to make but Davidson, who accurately forecast the economic turmoil that afflicted Dubai in 2009, has an enviable record in diagnosing social and political changes afoot in the region.

'Fine-tuned monarchical resilience, Davidson argues, cannot be sustained for much longer. Immense internal pressures are building up and the pressure-cooker is about to explode. [...] Davidson marshals an impressive array of evidence.'
— *The Independent*

'An unsentimental story of hard-nosed political calculation, conspicuous consumption, opaque budgets and sovereign wealth funds [...] an important account of prospects for the Gulf region.'
— *The Guardian*

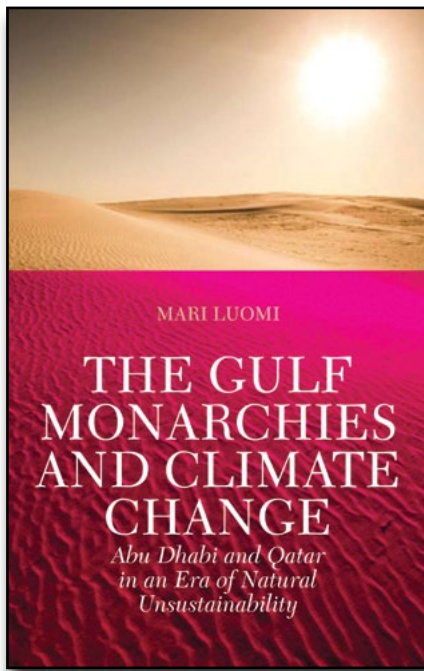
Christopher M. Davidson is Reader in Politics at the University of Durham and the author of several definitive books on the Gulf, including *Abu Dhabi: Oil and Beyond* and *Dubai: The Vulnerability of Success*, published by Hurst.

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The Gulf Monarchies and Climate Change

Abu Dhabi and Qatar in an Era of Natural Unsustainability

MARI LUOMI

.....
 REVEALS HOW THE GULF'S MOST DYNAMIC RENTIER MONARCHIES HAVE BEGUN RESPONDING TO NEW, MULTIDIMENSIONAL PRESSURES, PARTICULARLY CLIMATE CHANGE

.....
 CLIMATE CHANGE/CURRENT AFFAIRS

SERIES:

POWER AND POLITICS IN THE GULF
 Christopher M. Davidson and
 Dirk Vandewalle (editors)

'This innovative book will transform our thinking about the future of the Persian Gulf monarchies. Skillfully weaving case-studies of Qatar and Abu Dhabi into an examination of the political economy of natural unsustainability, Luomi focuses on the big issues that will dominate Gulf politics in the twenty-first century.' — Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, author of *Insecure Gulf: The End of Certainty and the Transition to the Post-Oil Era*

Mari Luomi is a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Center for Regional and International Studies, Georgetown University, Qatar.

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 NOVEMBER 2012 • 288PP

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At the heart of Mari Luomi's salutary book is whether oil- and gas-dependent authoritarian monarchies can keep their natural resource use and the environment in balance. She argues that the Gulf monarchies have already reached their limits of 'natural sustainability', given that several of them are dependent on natural gas imports. Water resources are dwindling, and food import dependence is high and rising. Qatar's per capita emission of CO² is ten times the global average.

As a result of their booming economies, the Gulf monarchies' surging electricity and water demand have exerted unexpected pressures on domestic energy supply. Simultaneously, the consolidation of climate change on the international agenda has created a new uncertainty for local rulers whose survival depends on the sale of oil and gas. Meanwhile, domestic resource consumption, together with climate change, are putting unprecedented stress on the region's fragile desert environment. The Gulf is under stress, but so too are its states' power, wealth and ecosystems.

Luomi reveals how Abu Dhabi and Qatar have responded to these new natural resource-related pressures, particularly climate change, and how their responses are inextricably linked with elite legitimacy strategies and the 'natural unsustainability' of their political economies.

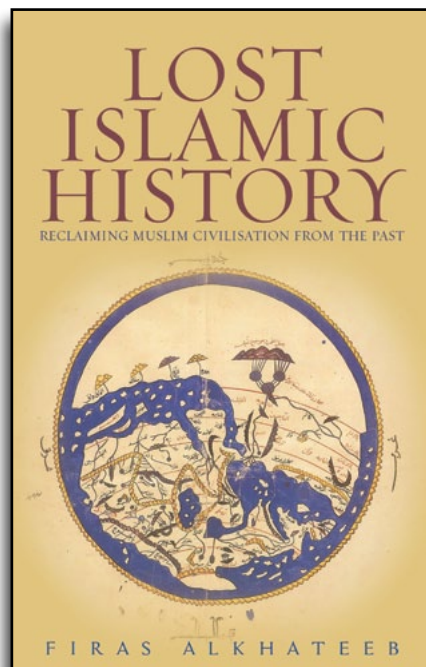
Lost Islamic History

Reclaiming Muslim Civilisation from the Past

FIRAS ALKHATEEB

.....
A LIVELY AND EYE-OPENING POPULAR
HISTORY OF ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

.....
HISTORY



Islam has been one of the most powerful religious, social, and political forces in history. Over the last 1400 years, from origins in Arabia, a succession of Muslim polities and later empires expanded to control territories and peoples that ultimately stretched from southern France, to East Africa to South East Asia.

Yet many of the contributions of Muslim thinkers, scientists, and theologians, not to mention rulers, statesmen and soldiers, have been occluded. This book rescues from oblivion and neglect some of these personalities and institutions while offering the reader a new narrative of this lost Islamic history. The Umayyads, Abbasids, and Ottomans feature in the story, as do Muslim Spain, the Savannah kingdoms of West Africa and the Mughal Empire, along with the later European colonisation of Muslim lands and the development of modern nation-states in the Muslim world. Throughout, the impact of Islamic belief on scientific advancement, social structures, and cultural development is given due prominence, and the text is complemented by portraits of key personalities, inventions and little known historical nuggets. The history of Islam and of the world's Muslims brings together diverse peoples, geographies, and states, all interwoven into one narrative that begins with Muhammad and continues to this day.

Firas Alkhateeb is an American researcher, writer and historian who specialises in the Islamic world. He completed his BA in history from the University of Illinois, Chicago, in 2010 and has since been teaching Islamic history at Universal School in Bridgeview, Illinois. He founded and writes the popular website *Lost Islamic History*.

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Qatar and the Arab Spring

KRISTIAN COATES ULRICHSEN

AN ACCOUNT OF HOW QATAR HAS PUNCHED ABOVE ITS WEIGHT IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BY DINT OF ITS ENORMOUS WEALTH AND AMBITIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND HOW THIS HAS CONDITIONED ITS RESPONSE TO THE ARAB SPRING

CURRENT AFFAIRS/INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Kristian Coates Ulrichsen

is Deputy Director of the Kuwait Research Programme on Development, Governance and Globalisation in the Gulf States, based at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His research focuses on political and security trends in the Arabian Peninsula and the geopolitics of regional insecurity in the Horn of Africa.

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Qatar and the Arab Spring offers a frank examination of Qatar's startling rise to regional and international prominence, describing how its distinctive policy stance toward the Arab Spring emerged. In only a decade, Qatari policy-makers — led by the Emir, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani, and his prime minister Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim Al-Thani — catapulted Qatar from a sleepy backwater to a regional power with truly international reach. In addition to pursuing an aggressive state-branding strategy with its successful bid for the 2022 FIFA World Cup, Qatar forged a reputation for diplomatic mediation that combined intensely personalised engagement with financial backing and favourable media coverage through Al Jazeera.

These factors converged in early 2011 with the outbreak of the Arab Spring revolts in North Africa, Syria, and Yemen, which Qatari leaders saw as an opportunity to seal their regional and international influence, rather than as a challenge to their authority, and this guided their support of the rebellions against the Gaddafi and Assad regimes in Libya and Syria.

From the high watermark of Qatari influence after the toppling of Gaddafi in 2011, that rapidly gave way to policy overreach in Syria in 2012, Coates Ulrichsen analyses Qatari ambition and capabilities as the tiny emirate sought to shape the transitions in the Arab world.

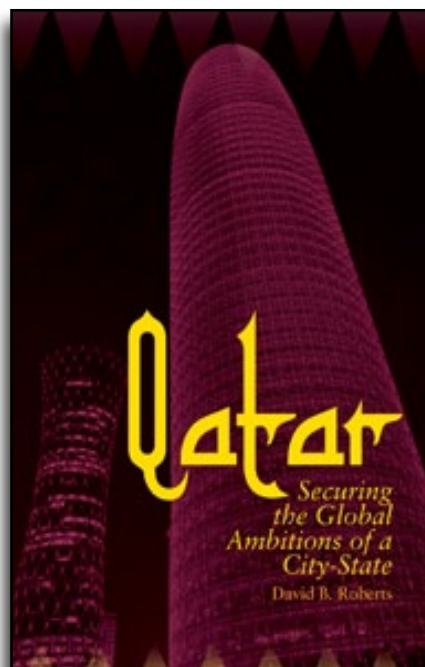
Qatar

Securing the Global Ambitions of a City-State

DAVID B. ROBERTS

.....
 TINY QATAR PROJECTS INFLUENCE GLOBALLY VIA MASSIVE
 OVERSEAS INVESTMENTS AND ITS INVOLVEMENT IN FOREIGN
 AFFAIRS: THIS BOOK EXPLAINS WHY

.....
 CURRENT AFFAIRS/INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



Rarely has a state changed its character so completely in so short a period of time. Previously content to play a role befitting its small size, Qatar was a traditional, risk-averse Gulf monarchy until the early 1990s.

A bloodless coup in 1995 brought to power an emerging elite with a progressive vision for the future. Financed by gas exports and protected by the US security umbrella, Qatar diversified its foreign relations to include Iran and Israel, established the satellite broadcaster Al Jazeera, assumed a leading role in international mediation, and hosted a number of top-level sporting tournaments, culminating in the successful 2022 FIFA World Cup bid.

Qatar's disparate, often misunderstood, policies coalesce to propagate a distinct brand. Whether to counter regional economic competitors or to further tie Qatar to the economies of the world's leading countries, this brand is designed innovatively to counter a range of security concerns; in short, Qatar is diversifying its dependencies.

Qatar's prominent role in the Arab Spring follows a similar pattern, yet the gamble it is taking in supporting Islamists and ousting dictators is potentially dangerous: not only is it at risk from 'blowback' in dealing with such actors, but a lack of transparency means that clichés and assumptions threaten to derail 'brand Qatar'.

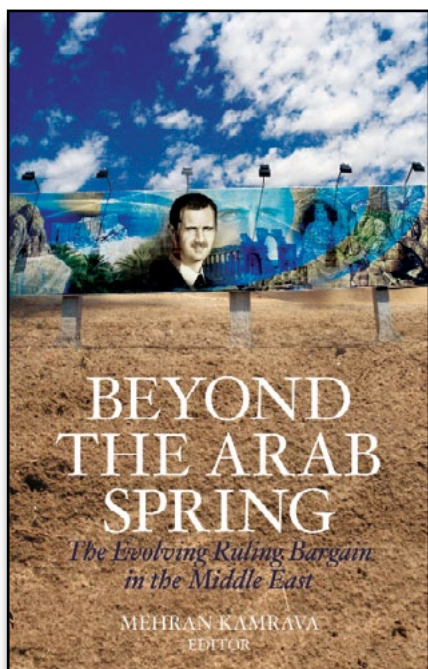
David B. Roberts is Director of the Qatar office of RUSI, the British security and defence think tank. A recognised expert on the Gulf region, he has lived, studied, researched and worked in the Gulf for nearly a decade.

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Beyond the Arab Spring

The Evolving Ruling Bargain in the Middle East

EDITED BY MEHRAN KAMRAVA

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THE CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS BOOK SCRUTINISE THE LEGITIMACY OF THE ARAB REGIMES THAT EXPERIENCED POPULAR UPRISINGS IN 2010–2011 AND DISCUSS THE CONSEQUENCES OF PUBLIC DISENCHANTMENT WITH THEM

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

Published in collaboration with Georgetown University's Center for International Regional Studies, School of Foreign Service, Qatar.

The Arab Spring occurred within the context of the unravelling of the dominant 'ruling bargain' that emerged across the Middle East in the 1950s. This is being replaced by a new and inchoate system that redefines sources of authority and legitimacy through various devices (such as constitutions), experiences, and processes (mass protests, civil wars, and elections), by reassessing the roles, functions, and at times the structures of institutions (political parties and organisations, the armed forces, the executive); and by the initiative of key personalities and actors (agency).

Across the Arab world and the Middle East, 'authority' and 'political legitimacy' are in flux. Where power will ultimately reside depends largely on the shape, voracity, and staying power of these new, emerging conceptions of authority. The contributors to this book examine the nature and evolution of ruling bargains, the political systems to which they gave rise, the steady unravelling of the old systems and the structural consequences thereof, and the uprisings that have engulfed much of the Middle East since December 2010.

Mehran Kamrava is the Director of the Center for International and Regional Studies at Georgetown University in Qatar.

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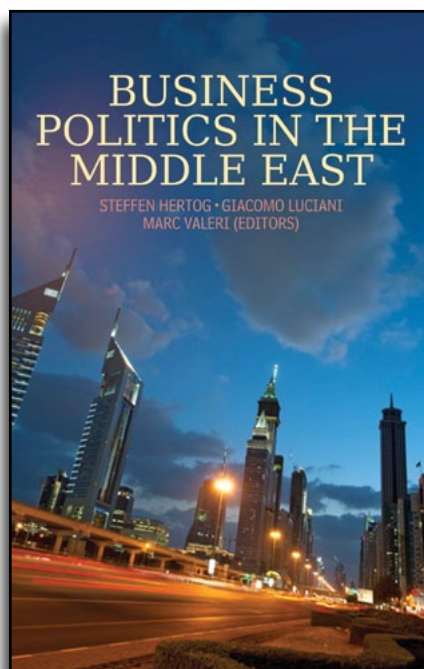
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Business Politics in the Middle East

EDITED BY STEFFEN HERTO, G.
GIACOMO LUCIANI AND MARC VALERI

EXAMINES STATE-BUSINESS RELATIONS IN THE WAKE OF
ECONOMIC LIBERALISATION, PRIVATISATION AND
THE 'ARAB SPRING'

BUSINESS/CURRENT AFFAIRS



Although most Arab countries remain authoritarian, many have undergone a restructuring of state-society relations in which lower- and middle-class interest groups have lost ground while big business has benefited in terms of its integration into policy-making and the opening of economic sectors that used to be state-dominated. Arab businesses have also started taking on aspects of public service provision in health, media and education that used to be the domain of the state; they have also become increasingly active in philanthropy.

The 'Arab Spring', which is likely to lead to a more pluralistic political order, makes it all the more important to understand business interests in the Middle East, a segment of society that on the one hand has often been close to the *ancien régime*, but on the other will play a pivotal role in a future social contract.

Among the topics addressed by the authors are: the role of business in recent regime changes; the political outlook of businessmen; the consequences of economic liberalisation on the composition of business elites in the Middle East; the role of the private sector in orienting government policies; lobbying of governments by business interests and the mechanisms by which governments seek to keep businesses dependent on them.

Steffen Hertog is Lecturer in Comparative Politics in the Department of Government, London School of Economics and Political Science.

Giacomo Luciani is Scientific Director of the Masters in International Energy in the Paris School of International Affairs, Sciences Po and a Princeton University Global Scholar attached to the Woodrow Wilson School and the Department of Near Eastern Studies.

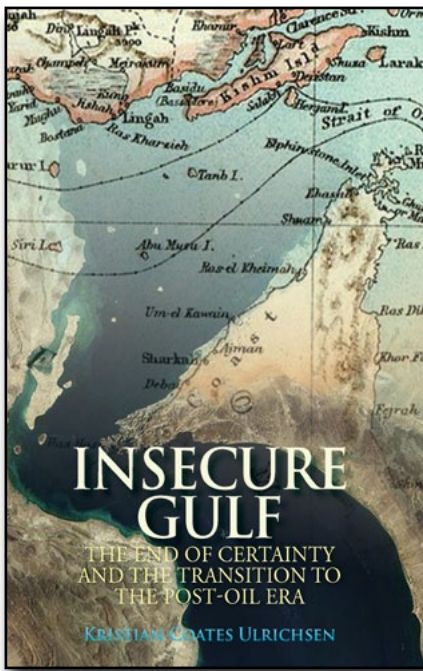
Marc Valeri is Lecturer in the Political Economy of the Middle East at the University of Exeter.

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Insecure Gulf

The End of Certainty and the Transition to the Post-Oil Era

KRISTIAN COATES ULRICHSEN

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ANALYSES THE CHANGING CONCEPT OF ARABIAN/PERSIAN GULF 'SECURITY' IN RESPONSE TO NEW, AND INCREASINGLY NON-MILITARY, CHALLENGES

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OIL POLITICS/CURRENT AFFAIRS

SERIES:

POWER AND POLITICS IN THE GULF
 Christopher M. Davidson and
 Dirk Vandewalle (editors)

'[B]rilliant in its analysis and masterful in scope, tackling the most important and toughest questions on security in the Gulf region.' — Steven Wright, Department of International Affairs, Qatar University

Kristian Coates Ulrichsen

is Deputy Director of the Kuwait Research Programme on Development, Governance and Globalisation in the Gulf States, based at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His research focuses on political and security trends in the Arabian Peninsula and the geopolitics of regional insecurity in the Horn of Africa.

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Insecure Gulf examines how the concept of Arabian/Persian Gulf 'security' is evolving in response to new challenges that are increasingly non-military and longer-term. Food, water and energy security, managing and mitigating the impact of environmental degradation and climate change, addressing demographic pressures and the youth bulge, and reformulating structural economic deficiencies, in addition to dealing with the fallout from progressive state failure in Yemen, require a broad, global and multi-dimensional approach to Gulf security. While 'traditional' threats from Iraq, Iran, nuclear proliferation and transnational terrorism remain robust, these new challenges to Gulf security have the potential to strike at the heart of the social contract and redistributive mechanisms that bind state and society in the Arab oil monarchies.

Insecure Gulf explores the relationship between 'traditional' and 'new' security challenges and situates them within the changing political economy of the GCC states as they move toward post-oil structures of governance. It describes how regimes are anticipating and reacting to the shifting security paradigm, and contextualises these changes within the broader political, economic, social and demographic framework. It also argues that a holistic approach to security is necessary for regimes to renew their sources of legitimacy in a globalising world.

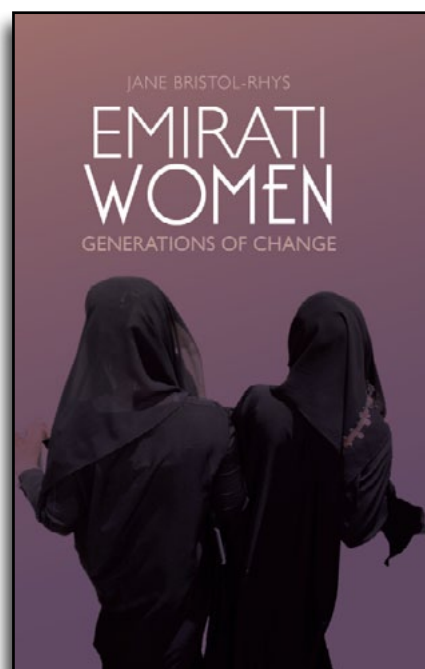
Emirati Women

Generations of Change

JANE BRISTOL-RHYS

.....
 A RARE VIEW INTO THE LIVES OF
 WOMEN FROM THE EMIRATES

.....
 ANTHROPOLOGY/CURRENT AFFAIRS



The discovery of oil in the late 1960s catapulted Abu Dhabi out of the isolating poverty into which it had plunged in the 1930s and onto the global stage. Massive construction projects built the city and infrastructural developments altered the physical and cultural landscape; in a few breathtaking decades, the lives of Emiratis were transformed by new opportunities and a social welfare system that offered free education, medical treatment, generous pensions, subsidies to families, and government incentives to participate in all sectors of the economy. Oil wealth also brought new expectations and new lifestyles that are often sophisticated and lavish yet just as often criticised for their conspicuous display of unbridled consumerism. The author offers a rare view into the lives of Emirati women and how they perceive the changes that have made poverty a dim and almost forgotten memory. She weaves together eight years of conversations and interviews with three generations of women, her observations of Emirati society in Abu Dhabi, the unflattering stereotypes commonly heard in the extensive expatriate communities, and discussions with her Emirati university students on topics ranging from marriage, independence, freedom, and the future.

SERIES:

POWER AND POLITICS IN THE GULF
 Christopher M. Davidson and
 Dirk Vandewalle (editors)

'Emirati Women is an engaging, insightful and lucidly written study on this important subject. Anyone who wants to discover how and why the role of women is changing within this dynamic Gulf state must read this book! — Steven Wright, Qatar University

Jane Bristol-Rhys is an Arabic-speaking cultural anthropologist who has lived in the Middle East for twenty years and has taught at Zayed University, Abu Dhabi since 2001, having formerly taught in Egypt for many years. She is the author of many articles on the UAE.

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Migrant Labor in the Persian Gulf

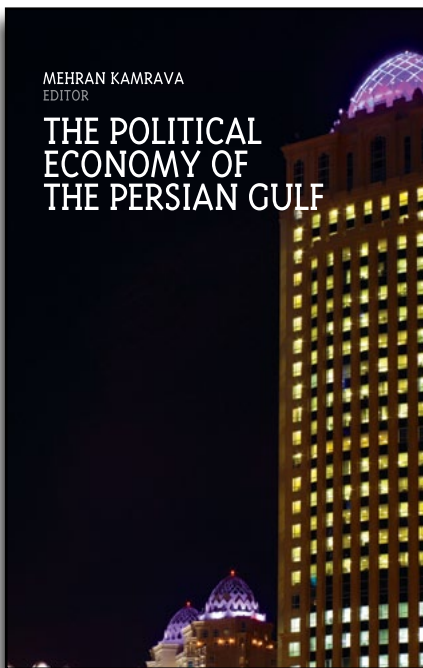
EDITED BY MEHRAN KAMRAVA
AND ZAHRA BABAR

.....

In some countries of the Persian Gulf as much as 85 to 90 per cent of the population is made-up of expatriate workers. Unsurprisingly, all of the concerned states spend inordinate amounts of their political energies managing the armies of migrant labourers employed in their countries, and there are equally fundamental social, cultural, and economic consequences involved as well. *Migrant Labor in the Persian Gulf* is the first multi-disciplinary, comprehensive and accessible examination of the manifold causes, nature, processes, and consequences of labour migration into the Persian Gulf.

JUNE 2012 • 276PP • PAPERBACK • 9781849042109 • £25.00

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The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf

EDITED BY MEHRAN KAMRAVA

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Explaining the different ways in which globalising forces have shaped new dimensions to the political economy of the Persian Gulf states, this book evaluates the changes that have occurred, especially in light of the ongoing global economic crisis. Mutually beneficial rentier arrangements have guided the GCC countries' formation of oil-based economies and labour relations in the past, but will this necessarily be the case in the future? This book addresses key issues including: discussion on the future demographic aspects of the GCC; the feasibility of establishing a GCC monetary union; the effects of rentierism on state autonomy; and analysis of sovereign wealth funds and Islamic banking models.

JUNE 2012 • 276PP • PAPERBACK • 9781849042093 • £25.00

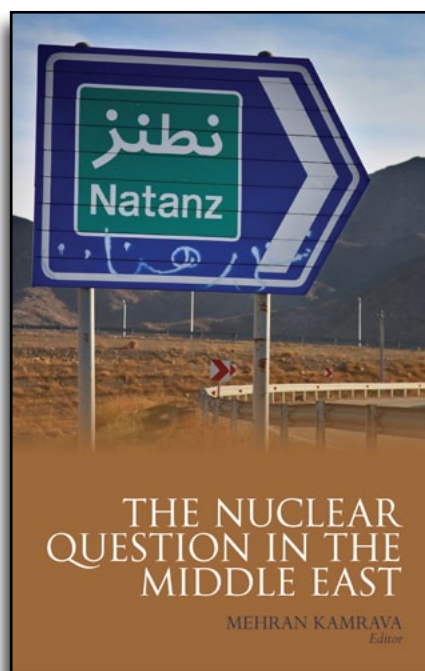
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The Nuclear Question in the Middle East

EDITED BY MEHRAN KAMRAVA

A FRESH AND CONTEMPORARY STUDY OF
NUCLEAR POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

NUCLEAR POLITICS/CURRENT AFFAIRS



The nuclear age is coming to the Middle East. Understanding the scope and motivations for this development and its implications for global security is essential. The last decade has witnessed an explosion of popular and scholarly attention focussed on nuclear issues around the globe and especially in the Middle East. These studies fall into one of four general categories, tending to focus either on the security and military aspects of nuclear weapons, on the sources and mechanisms for proliferation and means of reversing it, on nuclear energy, or on the logics driving state policymakers toward adopting the nuclear option. *The Nuclear Question in the Middle East* is the first book of its kind to combine thematic and theoretical discussions regarding nuclear weapons and nuclear energy with case studies from across the region.

What are the key domestic drivers of nuclear behaviour and decision-making in the Middle East? How are the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council seeking to employ nuclear energy to further guarantee and expedite their hyper-growth of recent decades? Are there ideal models emerging in this regard that others might emulate in the foreseeable future, and, if so, what consequences is this development likely to have for other civilian nuclear aspirants? These region-wide themes form the backdrop against which specific case studies are examined.

'The writers of this collection of essays raise several important questions: who holds the reins of nuclear power in the Middle East? [...] To what ends will these countries go to further them? [...] *The Nuclear Question in the Middle East* provides an interesting source book for the curious and, as a work of academic research, each essay emerges as both in-depth and insightful!'
— *The National*

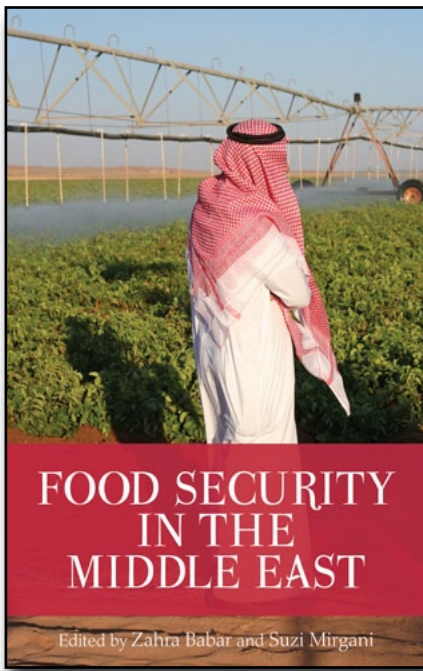
Mehran Kamrava is the Director of the Center for International and Regional Studies at Georgetown University in Qatar.

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Food Security in the Middle East

EDITED BY ZAHRA BABAR
AND SUZI MIRGANI

AN EXAMINATION OF THE RISING IMPORTANCE OF FOOD SECURITY
IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND HOW GOVERNMENTS HAVE
RESPONDED TO IT

FOOD SECURITY

Zahra Babar is Project Manager at the Center for International and Regional Studies of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in Qatar.

Suzi Mirgani is manager and editor for publications at the Center for International and Regional Studies, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar. Her work is based on theorising the connections between law, commerce, and the circulation of cultural material.

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This volume comprises original, empirically grounded chapters that collectively offer the most comprehensive study available to date on food security in the Middle East. The book starts with a theoretical framing of the phenomena of food security and food sovereignty, presenting empirical case studies of Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine, Egypt, Yemen, the Persian Gulf states and Iran. Some of the major themes examined include the ascent and decline of various food regimes, urban agriculture, overseas agricultural land purchases, national food self-sufficiency strategies, distribution networks and food consumption patterns, and nutritional transitions and healthcare. Collectively, and individually, the chapters represent highly original contributions to the disciplines of political science, economics, agricultural studies, and health-care policy.

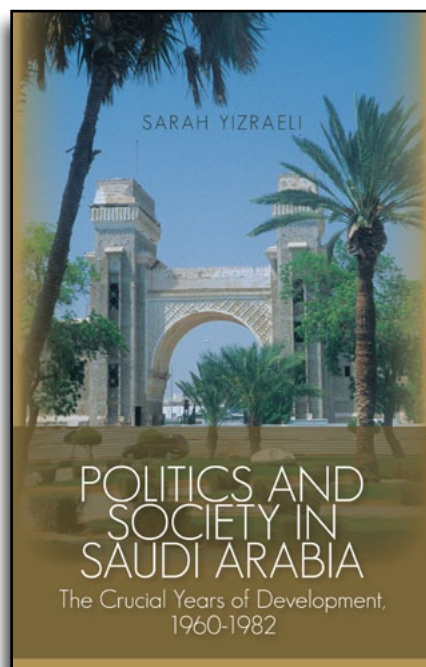
Politics and Society in Saudi Arabia

*The Crucial Years of
Development, 1960–1982*

SARAH YIZRAELI

PROVIDES THE ESSENTIAL BACKGROUND TO MODERN POLITICS IN
SAUDI ARABIA BY EXAMINING THOSE AT ITS HEAD, THE
SAUDI ROYAL FAMILY

SAUDI ARABIA / DEVELOPMENT



This book provides readers with the essential context and background for a real understanding of modern Saudi Arabia. Yizraeli examines a rarely studied topic: Saudi royal family decision-making in the process of building a modern state. She tracks in detail the internal deliberations in the formative years of development in the Kingdom, when priorities were defined. This unique strategy was first formulated by the royal family in a document known as the ‘Ten Point Programme’, which was delivered in a speech (November 1962) by Crown Prince Faysal. In practice, this strategy placed severe limitations on potential social change and thwarted any reform of the political system that might have been expected had such development been carried out by more western-oriented countries.

‘The reasons Saudi Arabia became the authoritarian US client state we know today ... is the subject of Sarah Yizraeli’s revelatory new study. Yizraeli has managed to penetrate Saudi society from afar in ways that have eluded journalists and scholars with more direct access. Although she is apparently barred from entering Saudi Arabia as an Israeli citizen, she has long had a following among specialists for her mastery of obscure Saudi and international source material. Significantly, she focuses not on the much-studied decades since 1979 but on the largely neglected preceding era. Intricate in its accumulation of detail and nuance, the story Yizraeli tells is nevertheless stark in its conclusions.’ — *New York Review of Books*

‘Yizraeli’s *tour de force* deftly illustrates how the complex interplay between the royal family, Aramco, the US government, and the religious establishment directly affected the course of Saudi development. She gives the reader what amounts to an insider’s view — though she is far from one. This is a shining example of what judicious scholarship can do!’
— Joshua Teitelbaum, Professor of
Middle Eastern History,
Bar-Ilan University

Sarah Yizraeli is Senior Research Fellow at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University.

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SERIES:

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Christopher M. Davidson and
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Abu Dhabi

Oil and Beyond

CHRISTOPHER M. DAVIDSON

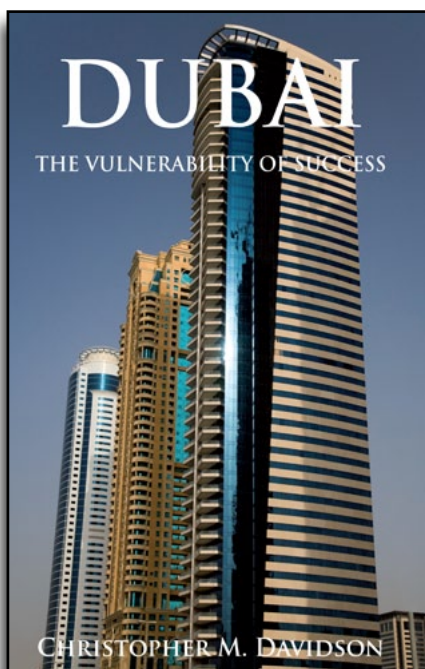
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'Davidson's book is a *tour de force* [...] Altogether, no student, business person, firm or government entity should consider learning about Abu Dhabi and the UAE without reading this book and underlining its key passages. As is the case with all other works by Davidson, the narrative is excellent, the style is highly readable and the information by and large is priceless.' — *International Affairs*

'A timely and thoughtful contribution to the thus-far scanty literature on the emirate, discussing its "dramatic trajectory" over the past two centuries. [...] As this highly enjoyable book demonstrates, with the world watching and its people asking questions, Abu Dhabi has everything to play for.' — *Times Higher Education*

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Dubai

The Vulnerability of Success

CHRISTOPHER M. DAVIDSON

.....

'Nicely lays out this flashy emirate's astonishing ascent from tiny fishing and pearling village to global hub.' — *New York Times*

'Davidson has produced the first academic book specifically on Dubai, which is already becoming essential reading for anyone interested in the history, economy or socio-politics of this emirate.' — *International Affairs*

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Power and Politics in the Persian Gulf Monarchies

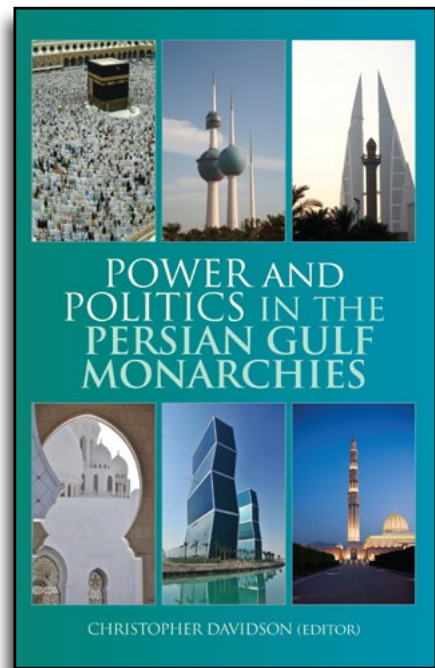
EDITED BY CHRISTOPHER M. DAVIDSON

A THOROUGH EXAMINATION BY EXPERT CONTRIBUTORS OF THE SIX STATES OF THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL COVERING HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

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In command of the world's largest hydrocarbon reserves and occupying a central role in both Middle Eastern and global politics, the six traditional monarchies—Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates—that comprise the Gulf Cooperation Council are now among the most heavily researched yet most commonly misunderstood actors in the international system. Christopher M. Davidson, an acclaimed expert on the fast-moving politics and economics of the Gulf, together with five other leading authorities on the region, has brought together a unique collection of comprehensive yet highly accessible analyses of these six states.

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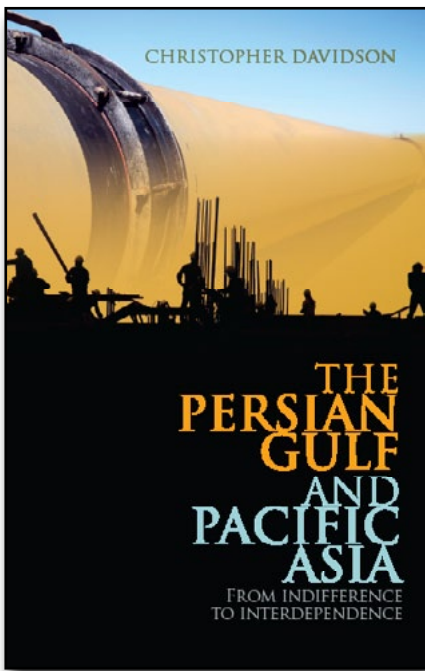
Christopher M. Davidson is Reader in Government and International Affairs at the Institute for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, Durham University. He formerly taught at Zayed University in Abu Dhabi and Dubai.

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 — *International Affairs*

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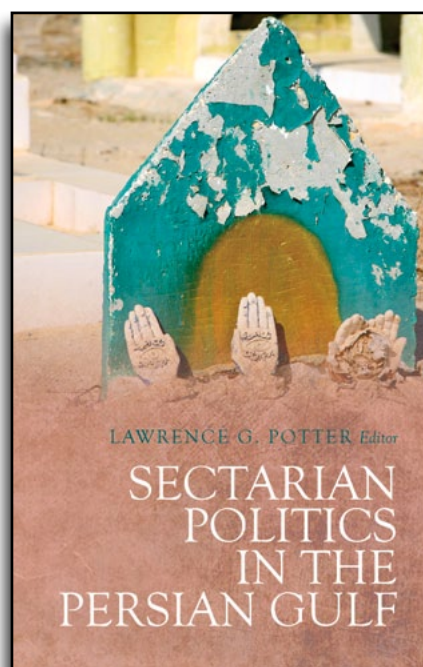
A plethora of economic, diplomatic, cultural and other highly pragmatic linkages are making the 'Asianisation' of Asia a reality. Davidson demonstrates in this book how the powerful connections that are being forged by the very eastern and western extremities of the continent are poised to become a central pillar of this process. Most notably, an important new relationship is developing between the six monarchies of the Persian Gulf and the three most industrialised Asian economies. What began as a simple, twentieth-century marriage of convenience based on hydrocarbon imports and exports has now evolved into a comprehensive, long-term mutual commitment that will not only continue to capitalise on the Persian Gulf's rich energy resources and Pacific Asia's massive energy needs, but will also seek to develop strong non-hydrocarbon bilateral trade, facilitate sovereign wealth investments in both directions, and provide lucrative opportunities for experienced Pacific Asian construction companies, and – in China's case – its vast labour force.

Sectarian Politics in the Persian Gulf

EDITED BY LAWRENCE G. POTTER

SUNNI-SHIA RELATIONS IN THE GCC COUNTRIES ARE ANALYSED
BY THE CONTRIBUTORS IN THE WAKE OF RECENT PROTESTS IN
BAHRAIN, SAUDI ARABIA AND ELSEWHERE

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Long a taboo topic, as well as one that has alarmed outside powers, sectarian conflict in the Middle East is on the rise. The contributors to this book examine sectarian politics in the Persian Gulf, including the GCC states, Yemen, Iran and Iraq, and consider the origins and consequences of sectarianism broadly construed, as it affects ethnic, tribal and religious groups. They also present a theoretical and comparative framework for understanding sectarianism, as well as country-specific chapters based on recent research in the area. Key issues that are scrutinised include the nature of sectarianism, how identity moves from a passive to an active state, and the mechanisms that trigger conflict. The strategies of governments such as rentier economies and the 'invention' of partisan national histories that encourage or manage sectarian differences are also highlighted, as is the role of outside powers in fostering sectarian strife. The volume also seeks to clarify whether movements such as the Islamic revival or the Arab Spring obscure the continued salience of religious and ethnic cleavages.

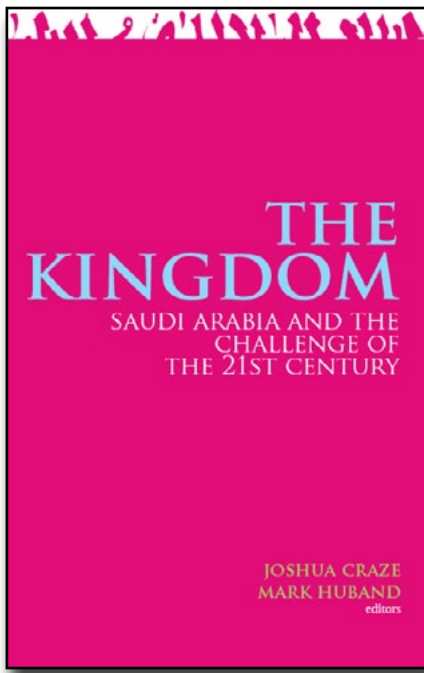
Lawrence G. Potter is Adjunct Associate Professor of International Affairs at Columbia University and Deputy Director of the Gulf/2000 Project. He holds a PhD in History and has edited six volumes on the Persian Gulf.

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The Kingdom

Saudi Arabia and the Challenge of the 21st Century

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'A collection of fascinating essays by distinguished academics and newspapermen takes the reader on a journey through identity, society, and the politics of one of the world's powerful surviving traditional monarchies.' — Dr Christopher Davidson, University of Durham

Joshua Craze is attached to the British Institute of Eastern Africa and is a contributing writer at SaudiDebate.com.

Mark Huband is an award-winning journalist who was formerly Middle East correspondent for the *Financial Times*. He is the author of several books including *Warriors Of The Prophet: The Struggle For Islam*.

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Saudi Arabia's current prominence in international relations is undisputed. Bringing together contributors from the worlds of business, politics, journalism and academia, *The Kingdom* provides much-needed context. In so doing, it unravels the contradictions and complexities of the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the West. Written by a fascinating and diverse group of authors, including such established figures as Madawi Al-Rasheed, Khalid Al-Dakhil, Badriyyah Al-Bishr, Saad Sowayan and Mona Eltahawy, the chapters range widely in their subject matter, from reformism under King Abdullah to Saudi Arabia's role as a regional power broker, thereby revealing the great breadth of issues preoccupying Saudis and others as they seek to build a modern state without compromising their powerful attachment to the religious, cultural and historical traditions which are the bedrock of Saudi society. The book is divided into four sections: Saudi domestic political issues, the Kingdom's role in regional affairs, studies of Saudi society, and cultural and religious life in the Kingdom.

Kingdom Without Borders

Saudi Arabia's Political, Religious and Media Frontiers

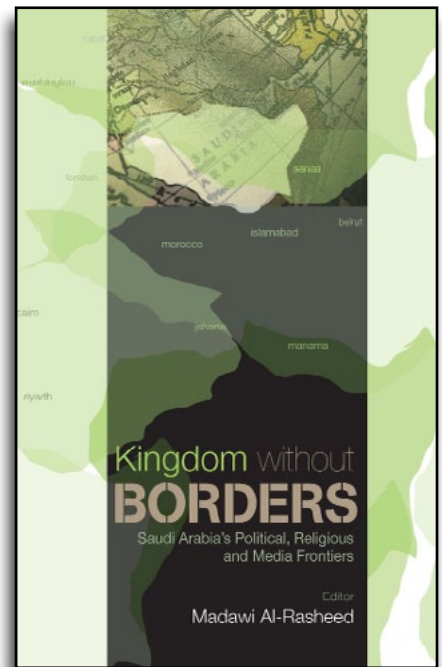
EDITED BY MADAWI AL-RASHEED

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This volume brings together established scholars from Europe, the US, the Middle East and Asia to map the historical roots and contemporary manifestations of Saudi expansionism. Combining both top-down and grass-roots analyses, contributors interrogate the reality and impact of Saudi transnational connections on local politics, religious affiliation and media genres. This exploration leads to a reassessment of the changing nature of state and society in Saudi Arabia in an age of globalisation.

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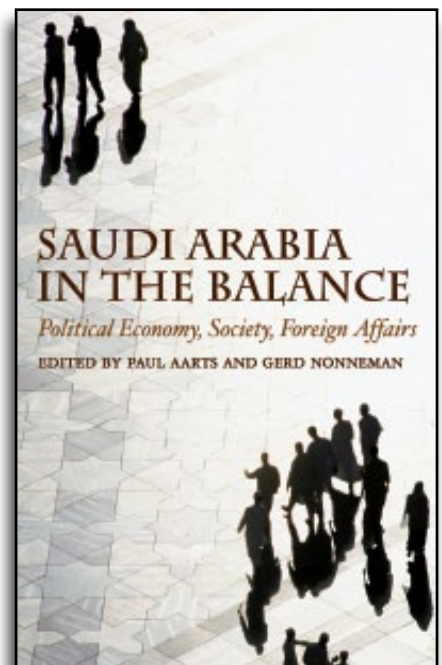
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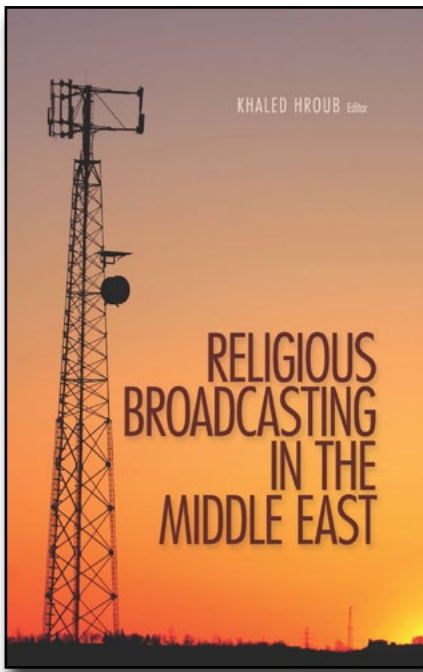
'A seminal volume. [...] Any educated reader will find this volume precious in understanding a country that is too often either criticised *a priori* or praised sycophantically.' — *International Affairs*

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Religious Broadcasting in the Middle East

EDITED BY KHALED HROUB

STUDIES THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS BROADCASTING IN THE
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MIDDLE EAST/MEDIA STUDIES

'Religious Broadcasting in the Middle East is a groundbreaking volume which will soon establish itself as a seminal text in Arab media and cultural studies. Its thirteen chapters cover a wide geography and contextualise religious broadcasting in the Middle East in a conjunctural and interdisciplinary fashion, providing critical, nuanced and empirically based analyses on the subject. This is a much awaited collection that no one specialising in the Middle East can afford to ignore.' — Tarik Sabry, Communication and Media Research Institute, Arab Media Centre, University of Westminster

Khaled Hroub is Director of the Arab Media Project at Cambridge University.

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During the decade prior to the Arab Spring dozens of Muslim, Christian and Jewish religious channels were established across the Middle East, advocating different forms of religiosity and shaping public perceptions through their transmission of discussion programmes, preaching, proselytisation pure and simple, and guidelines about how best to live a pious life. Most of these channels avoided direct engagement in politics to the extent that many of them would offer no daily news bulletin; only a few were highly politicised before the Arab Spring, amongst them Hamas' Al-Aqsa channel, Hizbullah's Al-Manar TV and Sunni/Shia channels in Iraq. Meanwhile, the rising influence and popularity of religious broadcasting was visible on mainstream news channels such as Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya and others; all have broadcast popular religious shows since their inception.

The highly charged political and religious ferment in the Middle East today has certainly been propitious for such broadcasters as they seek to convey their message. This has in turn reinforced the connection between the dominant 'religious atmosphere' and religious broadcasting. The post-Arab Spring climate has reinforced rising religiosity in the area, with Islamist parties emerging victorious in elections. In tandem with the dramatic change in a number of countries in the region, many religious broadcasting channels have been transformed into aggressively political outfits.

Based on monitoring and content-analysis of some of the region's most influential religious channels and programmes, the contributors to this book offer pioneering insights into this uncharted terrain, exploring the themes, discourses, appearances and the 'celebrities' of this still expanding phenomenon of religious broadcasting in the Middle East.

Political Liberalization in the Persian Gulf

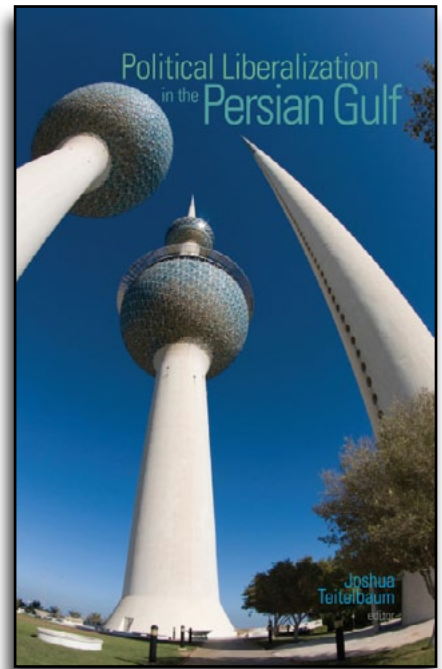
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The Persian (or Arab) Gulf countries produce about 30 per cent of the planet's oil, and keep in the ground around 55 per cent of its crude oil reserves, and so the stability of the region's autocratic regimes is vital to the world's economic and political future. Yet paradoxically, despite its reputation as the most traditional of regions, the Persian Gulf holds out great promise to those who support political liberalisation. But is this part of an inexorable drive toward democratisation – or simply a means for autocratic regimes to consolidate and legitimise their rule? This book sheds new light on this fascinating trend, revealing varying levels of commitment to reform across eight Gulf states as they respond to the challenges of increased wealth and education levels, a developing middle class, external actors, and competing social and political groups.

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Politics and Society in the Qaboos State

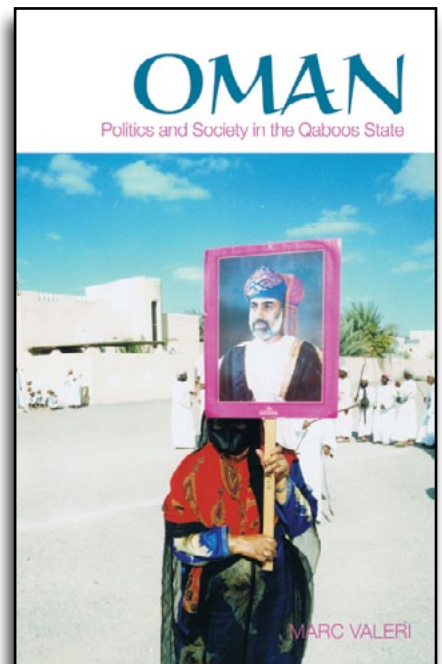
MARC VALERI

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This book seeks to understand the social and political mechanisms by which authoritarianism is perpetuated in post-colonial states such as Oman. It shows how one monarchical power has built and constantly renewed its basis to meet the internal and external challenges threatening its stability. Yet this book also raises the question of what happens when one part of this model, namely an oil-rent economy, falters, with half the population under fifteen years of age, and when the privileges enjoyed until recently may no longer be tenable. Valeri also sheds light on the strategies adopted and challenges faced by other Arab monarchies in the Persian Gulf, Morocco and Jordan.

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