

Money, Markets, and Monarchies

Framed by a critical analysis of global capitalism, this book examines how the six states of the Gulf Cooperation Council are powerfully shaping the political economy of the wider Middle East. Through unprecedented and fine-grained empirical research – encompassing sectors such as agribusiness, real estate, finance, retail, telecommunications, and urban utilities – Adam Hanieh lays out the pivotal role of the Gulf in the affairs of other Arab states. This vital but little recognised feature of the Middle East’s political economy is essential to understanding contemporary regional dynamics, not least of which is the emergence of significant internal tensions within the Gulf itself.

Bringing fresh insights and a novel interdisciplinary approach to debates across political economy, critical geography, and Middle East studies, this book fills an important gap in how we understand the region and its place in the global order.

ADAM HANIEH is a Reader in Development Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. He holds a PhD in political science from York University, Canada, and his research examines the political economy of the Middle East, with a particular focus on the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council. His recent books include *Capitalism and Class in the Gulf Arab States* (2011), *Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East* (2013), and (co-edited with Abdulhadi Khalaf and Omar AlShehabi) *Transit States: Labour, Migration and Citizenship in the Gulf* (2014).

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*The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Political
Economy of the Contemporary Middle East*

Adam Hanieh

School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London



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Acknowledgements

The motivations for this book lie in my interest in processes of class and state formation across the six Gulf Arab monarchies: Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, and Bahrain. In some of my earlier work I had begun to tentatively explore the connection between these states and the political economy of the wider Middle East, but it was the massive wave of social protest that erupted in December 2010 that led me to attempt a more systematic conceptualisation of these intra-regional connections. Since that time, the Gulf states have emerged as chief protagonists in the political trajectories of the Middle East; at the same time, the spiralling conflicts across the entire area seem to mark a profound setback to the hopes, dreams, and aspirations that first brought millions onto the streets a few short years ago. All of this confirms the importance of seeing the past in the present. I have tried to keep a sense of these temporalities broadly in view – with the hope that the book may say something useful about how a better future might be reached.

Writing a book can appear as an intensely solitary experience, but I firmly believe that any intellectual endeavour is always a collective project – pushed forward in dialogue with a wide range of diverse interactions, conversations, and debates. I am extremely privileged to work in the Department of Development Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), where colleagues and students continue to make teaching and research such a pleasure. Many wonderful friends have discussed and debated the ideas in this book, helping in innumerable ways during the writing process and my trips to the region: Ala Jaradat, Alberto Toscano, Alessandra Mezzadri, Ali Cantay, Alfredo Saad-Filho, Ayed Abueqtaish, Brenna Bhandar, Burcu Erciyes, Catherine Cook, Christian Henderson, Dae-oup Chang, Gilbert Achcar, Greg Albo, Hanan Elmasu, Hazem Jamjoum, Laleh Khalili Leandro Vergara-Camus, Lori Allen, Mandy Turner, Mayssun Sukharieh, Mazen Masri, Mostafa Henaway, Nimer Sultany, Omar Shehabi, Paolo Novak, Paula Hevia, Parvathi Raman, Rashmi Varma, Robert Knox, Ryvka Barnard, Sahar Francis, Subir Sinha, Tienieke Dykstra, Yang-Ji Lee. I am

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