

## *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

### *Syllabus*

## *The Arab Gulf states in the 21 century: crises conflicts and cohabitation - 58766*

*Last update 07-10-2024*

*HU Credits:* 2

*Degree/Cycle:* 1st degree (Bachelor)

*Responsible Department:* International Relations

*Academic year:* 0

*Semester:* 1st Semester

*Teaching Languages:* English

*Campus:* Mt. Scopus

*Course/Module Coordinator:* Dr. Shereen Hassan

*Coordinator Email:* [shereen.hassan@mail.huji.ac.il](mailto:shereen.hassan@mail.huji.ac.il)

*Coordinator Office Hours:* Tuesday 13:00-14:00

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Teaching Staff:

Dr. Shereen Hassan

Course/Module description:

*This course focuses on the relations between the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (the GCC) and their relations with the wider regional and international community in the wake of the Arab uprisings. It examines the internal conflicts that emerged among them, the potential threats to the survival of the GCC as a regional organization and the ways through which they sought to repair their ties in the face of perceived common threats.*

*The course introduces students to the political, economic and social order common among the Arab Gulf monarchies while also highlighting the different governing structures where they exist. The course then explores the watershed moment marked by the eruption of the Arab uprisings and the shifts it created both in the relations among GCC countries and in the relations of these countries and regional and international players.*

Course/Module aims:

Learning outcomes - On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

- With the conclusion of the course, student will*
- \* apply major IR theories to the study of the Arab Gulf states.*
  - \* analyse the strategies that small states use to cope with power disparities in asymmetric regional institutions*
  - \* Identify the forces that shape Gulf regional system.*
  - \* Develop critical assessment of the broader contextual issues that influence the development of the GCC countries such as political economy, security and diplomacy.*
  - \* Understand the dynamics within the GCC in the aftermath of the 2011 Arab uprisings.*

Attendance requirements(%):

80%

Teaching arrangement and method of instruction:

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### Course/Module Content:

*Class 1: the emergence of the modern Arab Gulf states: Nation-building and state formation*

*Class 2: The Gulf Cooperation Council in Theoretical Perspectives*

*Class 3: The challenge of asymmetry: Strategies for Survival and Influence*

*Class 4: The Arab uprisings: a double-standard approach?*

*Class 5: Protests and repression in the GCC region: the cases of Bahrain and Oman*

*Class 6: Celebrating modernity: The rise of the smaller GCC countries*

*Class 7: The GCC in Crisis: the disillusion of unity in a divided Gulf*

*Class 8: The illusion of human rights: the cases of women, immigrants and stateless people*

*Class 9: the transition to the post-oil era: challenges and opportunities*

*Class 10: the emergence of a new Saudi Arabi: cosmetic reforms or real change?*

*Class 11: Th GCC states and Iran: amity or enmity?*

*Class 12: The GCC states and Israel: a marriage of convenience?*

*Class 13: The GCC states in the US-Sino competition*

### Required Reading:

*Class topics and reading list*

*Class 1: the emergence of the modern Arab Gulf states: Nation-building and state formation 29/10/2024*

*\* Gause, Gregory F. "The Emergence of the Gulf Regional System." The international relations of the Persian Gulf. Cambridge University Press, 2010: 16-44.*

*\* Abbot, Lucy M. "The Emergence of the Gulf States" Ed. Rosemarie Said Zahlan. The Making of the Modern Gulf States: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman. Routledge, 1989: 12-23.*

*Davidson Christopher M. "State Formation and Economic Development." After the Sheikhs: The Coming Collapse of the Gulf Monarchies. Hurst, 2013: 17-48.*

*Weiner, Scott. "Introduction: A Systematic Inquiry into Kinship Politics." Kinship, State Formation and Governance in the Arab Gulf States. Edinburgh University Press, 2022.*

*Class 2: The Gulf Cooperation Council in Theoretical Perspectives 05/11/2024*

*\* Legrenzi, Matteo. "The Gulf Cooperation Council in Light of International Relations Theory." International Area Review 5.2 (2002): 21-37.*

*\* Battaloglu, Nesibe. "Alliances and Regionalism in the Middle East After Arab Uprisings: An Assessment of the Durability and Fragility of the Gulf Cooperation Council." Eds. Magdalena Karolak, and Nermin Allam. Gulf Cooperation Council Culture and Identities in the New Millennium: Resilience, Transformation, (re) Creation and Diffusion. Springer Nature, 2020: pp. 13-32.*

*Christie, John. History and Development of the Gulf Cooperation Council: A Brief Overview." ed. John A Sandwick. The Gulf Cooperation Council: Moderation and Stability in an Interdependent World. Routledge (2019): 7-20.*

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Grabowski, Wojciech. "The Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf: A Study of Arab Regionalism and Integration." *Application of International Relations Theories in Asia and Africa* (2019): 205-217.

*Class 3: The challenge of asymmetry: Strategies for Survival and Influence*  
12/11/2024

\* He, Kai. "Institutional Balancing and International Relations Theory: Economic Interdependence and Balance of Power Strategies in Southeast Asia." *European Journal of International Relations* 14.3 (2008): 489-518.

\* Rickli, Jean-Marc, and Khalid Almezaini. "Theories of Small States' Foreign and Security Policies and the Gulf States." *The Small Gulf States*. Routledge (2016): 8-30.

\* Mason, Robert. "Breaking the Mold of Small State Classification? The Broadening Influence of United Arab Emirates Foreign Policy through Effective Military and Bandwagoning Strategies." *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 24.1 (2018): 95-112.

Patrick, Neil. "The GCC: Gulf State Integration or Leadership. Cooperation?" *The Kuwait Programme on Development, Governance and Globalisation in the Gulf States* 9 (2011).

*Class 4: The Arab uprisings: a double-standard approach? 19/11/2024*

\* Isaac, Sally Khalifa. "Explaining the Patterns of the Gulf Monarchies' Assistance after the Arab Uprisings." *Mediterranean Politics* 19.3 (2014): 413-430.

\* Yom, Sean L. "Authoritarian Monarchies as an Epistemic Community Diffusion, Repression, and Survival During the Arab Spring." *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 10.1 (2014) 43-62.

Derichs, Claudia, and Thomas Demmelhuber. "Monarchies and Republics, State and Regime, Durability and Fragility in View of the Arab Spring." *Journal of Arabian Studies* 4.2 (2014): 180-194.

Ulrichsen, Kristian Coates. "The Rise and Decline of the Gulf Cooperation Council." *Routledge Handbook of Persian Gulf Politics*. Routledge, 2020: 416-430.

*Class 5: Protests and repression in the GCC region: the cases of Bahrain and Oman*  
26/11/2024

\* Al-Khawaja, Maryam. "Crackdown: The Harsh Realities of Nonviolent Protests in the Bahraini Civil Conflict." *Journal of International Affairs* (2014): 189-200.

\* Shehabi Al-a & marc-Owen jones. "Bahrain's Uprising: The Struggle for Democracy in the Gulf." Eds Al-a shehabi and Marc Owen Jones. *Bahrain's Uprising: Resistance and Repression in the Gulf*. Zed Books, 2015.

Worrall, James. "Protest and Reform: The Arab Spring in Oman." *Routledge Handbook of the Arab Spring*. Routledge, 2014. 518-528.

*Class 6: Celebrating modernity: The rise of the smaller GCC countries 03/12/2024*

\* Ulrichsen, Kristian Coates. *Qatar and the Arab Spring*. Oxford University Press 2014: 37-66.

\* Zaabi, Fatima, and Raed Awamleh. "Determinants of Soft Power: The Case of United Arab Emirates." *Future Governments*. Emerald Publishing Limited, 2019.

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Hertog, Steffen. "A Quest for Significance: Gulf Oil Monarchies' International 'Soft Power' Strategies and Their Local Urban Dimensions." *The New Arab Urban*. LSE (2017).

Class 7: The GCC in Crisis: the disillusion of unity in a divided Gulf 10/12/2024

\* Ulrichsen, Kristian Coates. "Perceptions and Divisions in Security and Defence Structures in Arab Gulf States." *Divided Gulf*. Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore, 2019. 19-36.

\* Davidson, Christopher M. "The UAE, Qatar, and the Question of Political Islam." *Divided Gulf*. Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore, 2019. 71-90.

al-Horr, Abdulaziz M., M. Evren Tok, and Tekla Gagoshidze. "Rethinking soft power in the post-blockade times: The case of Qatar." *Digest of Middle East Studies* 28.2 (2019): 329-350.

Bianco, Cinzia, and Gareth Stansfield. "The Intra-GCC Crises: Mapping GCC Fragmentation after 2011." *International Affairs* 94.3 (2018): 613-635.

Class 8: The illusion of human rights: the cases of women, immigrants and stateless people 17/12/2024

\* Alhajerj, Abdullah M. "The Bedoun: Kuwaitis without an Identity." *Middle Eastern Studies* 51.1 (2015): 17-27.

\* Donini, Antonio. "Social Suffering and Structural Violence: Nepali Workers in Qatar." *The ILO*, 100. Brill Nijhoff, 2019. 178-199.

\* Naguib, Rabia. "Epilogue—Epistemic Healing: Reclaiming Women's Empowerment in Islamic Sources." Ed. Rabia Naguib. *Women's Empowerment and Public Policy in the Arab Gulf States: exploring challenges and opportunities*. Singapore: Springer Nature. (2024): 201.

\* Al-Rasheed, Madawi. "The Long Drive to Prison: The Struggle of Saudi Women Activists." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 15.2 (2019): 247-250.

Sater, James. "Citizenship and Migration in Arab Gulf Monarchies." *Citizenship Studies* 18.3-4 (2014): 292-302.

Class 9: the transition to the post-oil era: challenges and opportunities 31/12/2024

\* Gray, Matthew. "A Theory of 'Late Rentierism' in the Arab States of the Gulf." *CIRS Occasional Papers* (2011)

\* Moritz, Jessie. "Rentier Political Economy in the Oil Monarchies." Ed. Mehran Kamrava. *Handbook of Persian Gulf Politics*. Routledge, 2020: 163-186.

Sim, Li-Chen. "Low-Carbon Energy in the Gulf: Upending the Rentier State?" *Energy Research & Social Science* 70 (2020): 101752.

Class 10: the emergence of a new Saudi Arabi: cosmetic reforms or real change? 07/01/2025

\* Stenslie, Stig. "Royal Succession in Saudi Arabia: The Rise of Mohammed bin Salman." *Routledge Handbook of Persian Gulf Politics*. Routledge, 2020. 357-365.

\* Al-Rasheed, Madawi. *The Son King: Reform and Repression in Saudi Arabia*. Oxford University Press, 2021: 139-180.

Ottaway, David. *Mohammed Bin Salman: The Icarus of Saudi Arabia?* Lynne Rienner

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*Publishers, Incorporated, 2021: 199-218.*

*Henne, Peter. Religious Appeals in Power Politics. Cornell University Press, 2023: 14-34.*

*Class 11: The GCC states and Iran: amity or enmity? 14/01/2025*

*\* Akbarzadeh, Shahram. "Iran and the Gulf Cooperation Council sheikhdoms 1." The Small Gulf States. Routledge, 2016. 89-106.*

*\* Bianco, Cinzia. "The GCC Monarchies: Perceptions of the Iranian Threat amid shifting Geopolitics." The International Spectator 55.2 (2020): 92-107.*

*Hunter, Shireen. "Iran's Policy Toward the Persian Gulf: Dynamics of Continuity and Change." Eds. Gawdat Bahgat, Anoushiravan Ehteshami, and Neil Quilliam. Security and Bilateral Issues between Iran and its Arab Neighbours. Springer International Publishing, 2017: 11-38.*

*Class 12: The GCC states and Israel: a marriage of convenience? 21/01/2025*

*\* Rabi, Uzi, and Chelsi Mueller. "The Gulf Arab States and Israel since 1967: from 'No Negotiation' to Tacit Cooperation." British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 44.4 (2017): 576-592.*

*\* Ferziger, Jonathan H., and Gawdat Bahgat. Israel's Growing Ties with the Gulf Arab States. Atlantic Council. 2020.*

*Barany, Zoltan. "The Gulf Monarchies and Israel: From Aversion to Pragmatism." The Middle East Journal 74.4 (2020): 559-578.*

*Quamar, Muddassir. "Changing Regional Geopolitics and the Foundations of a Rapprochement between Arab Gulf and Israel." Global Affairs 6.4-5 (2020): 593-608.*

*Barany, Zoltan. "The Gulf Monarchies and Israel: From Aversion to Pragmatism." The Middle East Journal 74.4 (2020): 559-578.*

*Class 13: The GCC states in the US-Sino competition 28/01/2025*

*\*Young, Karen E. "The Gulf's Eastward Turn: The Logic of Gulf-China Economic Ties." Journal of Arabian Studies 9.2 (2019): 236-252.*

*\*Yazdani, Enayatollah. "Sino-GCC Relations in the Age of China 'Go Global' Strategy." International Relations and Diplomacy 8.7 (2020): 298-320.*

*\*Dannreuther, Roland. Saudi Arabia and the UAE: Bandwagoning, Balancing, and Hedging. China, Russia, and the USA in the Middle East. Routledge. 2023: 117-130.*

*Huwaidin, Mohamed. "China and the Gulf region: From Strangers to Partners." Ed. Jonathan Fulton. Routledge Handbook on China-Middle East Relations. Routledge. 2021: 81-92.*

*Israsena-Pichitkanjanakul, Vorachai. "China's Foreign Policy in the Middle East and the Position of the GCC States." Eds. Mehran Haghiri and Luciano Zaccara China's Economic and Political Presence in the Middle East and South Asia. Routledge, 2022. 74-97.*

*Almujeem, Noura Saleh. "GCC Countries' Geoeconomic Significance to China's Geopolitical Ends." Review of Economics and Political Science 6.4 (2021): 348-363.*

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Additional Reading Material:

Grading Scheme:

Essay / Project / Final Assignment / Home Exam / Referat 85 %  
Active Participation / Team Assignment 5 %  
Submission assignments during the semester: Exercises / Essays / Audits / Reports  
/ Forum / Simulation / others 10 %

Additional information: