

Curriculum Vitae of Dr. Steffen Hertog

Contact

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Qualifications

2002-2006	University of Oxford, St. Antony's College D.Phil. in Politics Topic: Segmented clientelism: the politics of economic reform in Saudi Arabia
2001-2002	School of Oriental and African Studies, London (SOAS) M.Sc. Theory and Method of Social Sciences (distinction in all four exam units)
2001	Research student at the University of Oxford, Trinity College (January-April)
1997-2001	University of Bonn M.A. in Political Science, Economics, and Law Distinction

Career History

2025-	Professor, Department of Government, London School of Economics
2013-	Associate Professor, Department of Government, London School of Economics
2012-	Senior Lecturer, Department of Government, London School of Economics
2010-12	Lecturer, Department of Government, London School of Economics
2008-2010	Kuwait Professor at the Chaire Moyen-Orient Méditerranée, Sciences Po, Paris Adjunct Assistant Professor at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Bologna Campus (spring term 2008)
2007-2010	Lecturer in Political Economy, School of Government and International Affairs, University of Durham (on leave after October 2008)
2006-2007	Post-doctoral Research Fellow, Princeton Environmental Institute Lecturer in Public and International Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School
2004-2006	Tutor and teaching assistant at the University of Oxford, Department of Politics and International Relations
2003-04	Plan Editor in the Saudi Ministry of Economy and Planning, Riyadh, with Gesellschaft fuer Technische Zusammenarbeit, GTZ (May 03 to July 04)

Publications, talks and other academic activities

(most important publications highlighted in bold)

Books and monographs

***Locked Out of Development: Insiders and Outsiders in Arab Capitalism* (Cambridge Elements, Cambridge University Press 2022)**

- listed as one of the best books of the year 2023 by Foreign Affairs
- translated into Persian in 2023

(with Diego Gambetta), *Engineers of Jihad: The Curious Connection Between Violent Extremism and Education* (Princeton University 2016)

- listed as one of the best books of the year 2016 by Foreign Affairs

(with Alissa Amico), *MENA SOEs: Engines of Development and Competitiveness?* (OECD 2013)

(edited with Giacomo Luciani and Marc Valeri), *Business Politics in the Middle East* (Hurst 2013)

(editor), *Labour Market, Unemployment, and Migration in the GCC* (Gerlach Press 2012)

***Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats: Oil and the State in Saudi Arabia* (Cornell University Press 2010)**

Academic journal articles:

When rentier patronage breaks down: the politics of citizen outsiders on Gulf oil states' labor markets, *Studies in Comparative International Development* (February 2025, online pre-publication)

(with Gudrun Ostby, Adrian Arellano and Thomas Hegghammer), Fifty Shades of Deprivation: Disaggregating Types of Economic Disadvantage in Studies of Terrorism, *International Studies Review*, conditional accept (November 2024, online pre-publication), lead author

(with Ferdinand Eibl) From Rents to Welfare: Why Are Some Oil-Rich States Generous to Their People?, *American Political Science Review* (September 2023, online pre-publication)

Taking Causal Heterogeneity Seriously: Implications for Case Choice and Case Study-Based Generalizations, *Sociological Methods and Research*, 52 (3). 1456–1492 (August 2023)

Segmented market economies in the Arab world: the political economy of insider-outsider divisions, *Socio-Economic Review*, 20 (3). 1211–1247 (July 2022)

(with Makio Yamada), editor of special issue of *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Revisiting rentierism: the changing political economy of resource-dependent states in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, 47 (1) (February 2020)

The 'rentier mentality', 30 years on: evidence from survey data. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 47 (1). 6-23 (January 2020)

(with Ferdinand Eibl and Dan Slater) War Makes the Regime: Regional Rebellions and Political Militarization Worldwide, *British Journal of Political Science*, 51 (3). 1002–1023 (July 2021)

Dangerous ideas: the force of ideology and personality in driving radicalization, *Critical Review*, 31 (1). 95-101 (April 2019)

Making wealth sharing more efficient in high-rent countries: the citizens' income, *Energy Transitions*, 1 (7). 1-14 (December 2017)

The Political Economy of Distribution in the Middle East, *International Development Policy*, 7 (1). (spring 2017)

State and private sector in the GCC after the Arab uprisings, *Journal of Arabian Studies*, 3 (2). 174-195 (December 2013)

Rentier militaries in the Gulf states: the price of coup-proofing, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 43:3 (November 2011)

The sociology of the Gulf rentier systems: societies of intermediaries, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52:2 (April 2010)

Defying the resource curse: explaining successful state-owned enterprises in rentier states, *World Politics* 62:2 (April 2010)

(updated and abridged version reprinted in Michael Roll (ed.), *The Politics of Public Sector Performance: Pockets of Effectiveness in Developing Countries*, Routledge 2014

(with Diego Gambetta), Why are there so many engineers among Islamic radicals?, *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* (European Journal of Sociology) 50:2 (August 2009)

(with Diego Gambetta) Tinker, tailor, engineer, jihadi: can university subjects reveal terrorists in the making?, *New Scientist*, 13 June 2009

Two-level negotiations in a fragmented system: Saudi Arabia's WTO accession, *Review of International Political Economy* 15:4 (October 2008)

Petromin: the slow death of statist oil development in Saudi Arabia, *Business History* 50:5 (autumn 2008)

Shaping the Saudi state: human agency's shifting role in rentier-state formation, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 39:4 (November 2007)

(reprinted in Kristian Coates-Ulrichsen (ed.), "Political Economy of Arab Gulf States" (Edward Elgar 2012)

The GCC and Arab economic integration: a new paradigm, *Middle East Policy* 14:1 (spring 2007)

Modernizing without democratizing? The introduction of formal politics in Saudi Arabia, *International Politics and Society*, 3/2006

Response to Simon Bromley, The United States, hegemonic strategies and world oil, *St. Antony's International Review*, special issue on the international politics of oil, May 2006

Saudi economic reforms and the structure of the state (in Arabic), *Araa Journal* (Dubai), January 2006

Editor of special issue of German Middle East politics journal *INAMO* on Saudi Arabia, summer 2005

with Stephane Lacroix, Dissidenz und Institutionalisierung: Die zweischneidige Modernisierung, *INAMO*, summer 2005 [about institutionalization of politics in Saudi Arabia]

Das unbequeme Dreieck: USA, Irak und Saudi Arabien, *INAMO*, spring 2003, pp. 20-24 [about Iraq-Saudi-US relations at the onset of the Iraq war]

Kooperation hinter den Kulissen: Die Doppelbödigkeit der amerikanisch-saudischen Allianz, *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, October 2002 [about US-Saudi relations after 9-11]

Saudi-Arabien: Greisenherrschaft auf Reformkurs?, *der ueberblick*, March 2001 [about political reform prospects in Saudi Arabia]

Kronjuwelen zu verkaufen? Saudi-Arabien und die OPEC, *INAMO*, February 2001 [about the Saudi strategy in OPEC and the Saudi gas initiative]

Papers in progress

The double dualism of Gulf labour markets: the emergence labour market outsiders among GCC citizens, *revise and resubmit* with *Studies in Comparative International Development*

(with Ferdinand Eibl) How oil enables anti-hegemonic populism in international relations

(with Ferdinand Eibl) What drives public goods spending in oil-rich dictatorships?

(with Peter Neumann and Shiraz Maher) The Islamic State and socio-economic theories of radicalization evidence from 4000 biographies

Book chapters

The political economy of reforms under Vision 2030, in John Sfakianakis (ed.), *The Saudi economy in the 21st century* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming)

(with Ferdinand Eibl and Shimaa Hattab), Political Economy and Development in the MENA region, in March Lynch, Jillian Schwedler, and Sean Yom (eds.) *The Political Science of the Middle East* (Oxford University Press 2022)

The Arabian oil state: infrastructural power and social segmentation, in Harry Verhoeven and Peter Lieven (eds.), *Beyond Liberal Order: States, Societies and Markets in the Global Indian Ocean* (Hurst 2021)

Is there an Arab Variety of Capitalism?, in Ishac Diwan, Adeel Malik, Izak Atiyas (eds.), *Crony Capitalism in the Middle East* (Oxford University Press 2019)

A Quest for Significance: Gulf Oil Monarchies' International "Soft Power" Strategies and Their Urban Dimensions, in Harvey Molotch and Davide Ponzini (eds.), *Learning from Gulf Cities* (NYU Press 2018)

Challenges to the Saudi distributional state in the age of austerity, in Madawi Al-Rasheed (ed.), *Salman's Legacy* (Hurst 2018)

The post-WWII consolidation of Gulf nation-states: particularities of oil-based nation-building, in JE Peterson (ed.), *The Gulf in History* (Bloomsbury Press 2016)

(with FA Bishara, B Haykel, S Hertog, C Holes, J Onley) The economic transformation of the Gulf, in JE Peterson (ed.), *The Gulf in History* (Bloomsbury Press 2016)

Back to the 70s? Saudi youth and the kingdom's political economy after the Arab uprisings, in Bjoern Olaf Utvik and Kjetil Selvik (eds.), *Oil States in the New Middle East: Uprisings and stability* (Routledge 2015)

National cohesion and the political economy of regions in post-WWII Saudi Arabia, in Bernard Haykel, Stephane Lacroix, Thomas Hegghammer (eds.), *The State of Saudi Arabia* (Cambridge UP 2015)

Business politics in the gulf, in Steven N. Durlauf and Lawrence E. Blume (eds.), *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics* (Palgrave 2014)

Redesigning the Distributional Bargain in the GCC, in Michael Hudson (ed.), *Gulf Politics and Economics in a Changing World* (World Scientific Publishing 2014)

The role of MENA business in policy-making and political transitions, in Steffen Hertog, Giacomo Luciani and Marc Valeri (eds.), *Business Politics in the Middle East* (Hurst/Columbia University Press 2013)

GCC Energy Sectors as 'Islands of Efficiency', in Emirates Center for Strategic Studies (ed.), *Global Energy Markets: Changes in the Strategic Landscape* (IB Tauris 2013)

Good, bad or both? The impact of oil on the Saudi political economy, in Mehran Kamrava (ed.), *The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf* (Hurst/Columbia University Press, 2012)

How the GCC did it: formal and informal governance of successful public enterprise in the Gulf, in Alissa Amico (ed.), *Turning the Page: Towards New Arrangements for State Ownership in the Middle East and North Africa* (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, March 2012)

Public industry as tool of rentier economy diversification: the GCC case, in Giacomo Luciani (ed.), *Resources Blessed: Diversification and the Gulf Development Model* (Gerlach Press 2012)

A comparative assessment of labor market nationalization policies in the GCC, in Steffen Hertog (editor), *Labour Market, Unemployment, and Migration in the GCC* (Gerlach Press 2012)

The evolution of rent recycling during two booms in the Gulf: business dynamism and societal stagnation, in Matteo Legrenzi and Besma Momani (eds.), *Shifting Geo-Economic Power of the Gulf: Oil, Finance and Institutions* (Asghate 2011)

Lean and mean: the new breed of state-owned enterprises in the Gulf monarchies, in Jean-Francois Seznec (ed.), *Industrialization in the Gulf: a Socioeconomic Revolution* (Routledge 2010)

Saudi Arabia's political demobilization in regional comparison: monarchical tortoise and republican hares, in Laura Guazzone and Daniela Pioppi (eds.), *The Arab State and Neo-Liberal Globalization* (Ithaca Press 2009)

The new corporatism in Saudi Arabia: limits of formal politics, in Giacomo Luciani/Abdelhadi Khalaf (eds.), *Constitutional Reforms and Political Participation in the Gulf* (Gulf Research Centre: March 2006)

Building the body politic: the emerging corporatism in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, *Chroniques du Yémen et de la Péninsule Arabe* 2005 (abridged version of above chapter)

Segmented clientelism: the political economy of Saudi economic reform efforts, in Paul Aarts and Gerd Nonneman (eds.), *Saudi Arabia in the Balance* (Hurst/NYUP 2005) [Arabic version published by Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut in 2009]

Policy and working papers, reports:

(with Strategy&) [*Potential and pitfalls in industrial policy: What works \(and what doesn't\) in state-led diversification*](#), policy report, Strategy& Middle East, December 2023

Reforming wealth distribution in Kuwait: estimating costs and impacts, refereed working paper for the London School of Economics' Kuwait Program, May 2020

The future of migrant work in the GCC, paper presented at Fifth Abu Dhabi Dialogue Among The Asian Labor Sending And Receiving Countries – Ministerial Consultation, October 2019

[*Can we Saudize the labor market without damaging the private sector?*](#), special report, King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, November 2018

Rent distribution, labour markets and development in high rent countries, refereed working paper for the London School of Economics' Kuwait Program, July 2016.

Late Populism: State Distributional Regimes and Economic Conflict after the Arab Uprisings, research note, Project on Middle East Political Science (Washington, D.C.), May 2016

Arab Gulf States: an Assessment of Nationalization Policies, working paper, [*Gulf Labour Markets and Migration*](#) programme, April 2014

The Private Sector and Reform in the Gulf Cooperation Council, refereed working paper for the London School of Economics' Kuwait Program, June 2013

(with Nathan Hodson), *Economic Policy in the ESCWA Region and its Impact on Employment*, UN-ESCWA, October 2012

The Gulf's two-speed reforms: bureaucratic fiefdoms and pockets of efficiency, *Middle East and North Africa Forecast*, Economist Intelligence Unit, December 2010

(with Giacomo Luciani), *Has Arab Business Ever Been, or Will it Be, a Player for Reform?*, policy paper for Arab Reform Initiative, October 2010

Benchmarking SME Policies in the GCC: a Survey of Challenges and Opportunities, research report for the EU-GCC Chamber Forum project, April 2010

(with Giacomo Luciani), *Energy and Sustainability Policies in the GCC*, refereed working paper for the London School of Economics' Kuwait Program, November 2009

(abridged version reprinted in David Held and Kristian Ulrichsen (eds.) *The Transformation of the Gulf: Politics, Economics and the Global Order* (Routledge 2011))

The GCC economies and the crash: short-term weaknesses, long-term strengths, *MEI Perspectives*, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore, April 2009

EU-GCC Relations in the Era of the Second Oil Boom, Centre for Applied Policy Research Working Paper in the series "EU and the Middle East", December 2007

Renewing an old geo-economic axis: Asia and the GCC, *Gulf Research Bulletin*, No. 1, Gulf Research Center, January 2007

Perspectives of Economic Integration in the Arab countries, study for the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the European Parliament, September 2006

Shorter pieces:

(with Yahya Anouti and Dima Sayess) [Industrial policy done right](#), MEED, December 2023

[Insiders and outsiders: the political economy of Arab labour markets](#), ERF Forum blog, July 2023

[The end of the old social contract in the Gulf](#) – and what could replace it, *LSE Middle East Centre blog*, March 2023

[Arab states' rigid economies are a ticking time bomb](#), *Foreign Policy*, March 2023

The emergence of labor market outsiders among GCC citizens, [POMEPS Studies 45](#), January 2022

[The case for an Arabian Universal Basic Income](#), *Project Syndicate*, December 2020

[Why the GCC's economic diversification challenges are unique](#), *LSE Middle East Centre blog*, August 2020

[In the spotlight: demands on Saudi Aramco are increasing](#), *Oxford Energy Forum*, issue 18, June 2019. 42-46

What would the Saudi economy have to look like to be “post-rentier”?, [POMEPS Studies 33: The Politics of Rentier States in the Gulf](#), September 2018

[Mohammed bin Salman Isn't Wonky Enough](#), *Foreign Policy*, March 2018

Subsidies and the political economy of wealth-sharing in the MENA, *Oxford Energy Forum* 108, March 2017, 5-9

[The GCC's national employment challenge](#), *Monkey Cage*, 31 July 2014

Labor in the Gulf: to nationalize or not to nationalize, *Aspenia*, no. 61-62, January 2014

Saudi Aramco as a national development agent: recent shifts, *Policy Brief*, Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center, August 2013

GCC Macro-Outlook: Great in the Mid-Term, but What about the Long Run?, *Gulf Research Center Analysis*, March 2013
(reprinted in *Middle East Times*)

Financial markets in GCC countries: recent crises and structural weaknesses, *Policy Brief*, Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center, December 2012

[The costs of counter-revolution in the GCC](#), *Foreign Policy*, Middle East Channel, May 2011
(updated version reprinted in “Dossier du CERI”, September 2011)

(with Dag Detter), [A new social contract: the Arab public sector after the revolution](#), *Foreign Policy*, Middle East Channel, April 2011
(shorter version reprinted in Jordan Times and Daily Star)

Small is beautiful – or is it? Challenges for small and medium family companies in the GCC, in *Tharawat – the Arabian Publication for Family Businesses*, Volume 10 (April 2011)

A rentier social contract: The Saudi political economy since 1979, in Middle East Institute (ed.), *The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1979-2009: Evolution of a Pivotal State*, MEI Viewpoints Special Edition (Washington DC 2009)

Newspaper articles and op-eds i.a. in New York Times, Bloomberg Views, Reuters, Monkey Cage/Washington Post, Foreign Affairs, The Conversation, Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Neue Zuercher Zeitung, Daily Star, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, Al-Majalla

Papers presented at conferences and workshops:

The double dualism of Gulf labour markets: the emergence labour market outsiders among GCC citizens, ILR Review/POMEPS virtual workshop, Cornell University, April 2021

Is there a “rentier mentality”? Evidence from survey data, workshop on Changing State-Society Relations in Gulf Rentier States, The Institute for the Transregional Study for the Contemporary Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia, Princeton University, January 2019

Which Aspects of Islamic Religion Can Facilitate Violent Radicalism?, workshop on religious fundamentalism and violence, WZB Berlin, June 2018

What would the Saudi economy have to look like to be “post-rentier”?, Workshop on the Politics of Oil and the Changing Rentier State, Project on Middle East Political Science, George Washington University, June 2018

The Arabian oil state: infrastructural power and social segmentation, workshop on the state in the Indian Ocean system, Georgetown Qatar, March 2018 (remote participation)

Is there an Arab Variety of Capitalism?, workshop on Innovations in Comparative Capitalism: The State of the Field, University of Utah Department of Political Science, September 2017 (remote participation)

Challenges to the Saudi distributional state in the age of austerity, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore, December 2016

When are oil dictators nice to their people? (with Ferdinand Eibl), Nuffield political economy seminar, Oxford, January 2016

Petro-populist states in the international system, SOAS politics faculty seminar, London, February 2014

The post-WWII consolidation of Gulf nation-states: particularities of oil-based nation-building, Gulf in History workshop of the Tajir Trust, Ashridge, January 2014

Diversified but marginal: the politics of the GCC private sector, international workshop on state-business relations in the GCC, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, August 2013

SOEs as engines of development? Presented at OECD conference on MENA state-owned enterprises, Istanbul, July 2013

Back to the 70s? Saudi youth and the kingdom's political economy after the Arab uprisings, Gulf Research Unit / Center for Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Oslo, May 2013

Back to the 70s: Saudi Arabia's political economy after the Arab uprisings, Rahmaniyyah Foundation seminar, Riyadh, January 2013

Intended and unintended consequences of rent distribution in the GCC, British Society for Middle Eastern Studies annual conference, London, March 2012

Redesigning the distributional bargain in the GCC, workshop on the transformation of rentier states, Gulf Research Meeting, Cambridge (UK), July 2011

Rentier states without rentiers? Redesigning the distributional bargain in the Gulf, "Whither the Gulf" conference, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore, May 2011

Good, bad or both? The impact of oil on the Saudi political economy, Gulf political economy workshop, Georgetown Qatar, December 2010

Labour nationalization in the GCC: interventionist vs. market-driven approaches, workshop on nationalization of the workforce in the GCC countries, NYU Abu Dhabi, November 2010

Public industry as tool of rentier economy diversification: the GCC case, Gulf Research Center/JISR research workshop, Dubai, June 2010

How special is the Saudi political economy?, Gulf political economy workshop, Georgetown Qatar, January 2010

Winners, losers, and winners who think they are losers: the political economy of regional development in post-WWII Saudi Arabia, Princeton workshop on the state of Saudi Arabia, Princeton University, November 2009

SME support policies in the Gulf, presented at Gulf Research Center/JISR research workshop, Qatar, October 2009

Comparing systems of bureaucratic power in Syria and Saudi Arabia, Sciences Po workshop on authoritarian renewal in Syria, Paris, June 2009

Obstacles to labour market nationalization in the Gulf, Gulf Research Center/JISR research workshop, Dubai, February 2009

Two booms and one bust: how state-business linkages in Saudi Arabia have changed since 1970, Rahmaniyyah Foundation seminar, Ghat Sudair, Saudi Arabia, January 2009

Patterns of political mobilization in Saudi Arabia in regional comparison, workshop on dynamics of change in the Arab world: globalisation and the re-structuring of state power, Swedish Institute for International Affairs, Stockholm, September 2008

Islands of efficiency in the Saudi state: the case of public companies, Saudi Arabia workshop co-organized by Princeton and Sciences Po, Menton (France), June 2008

Lean and mean: the new breed of state-owned enterprises in the Gulf, annual symposium of the Centre for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, March 2008

Converts in radical Islamic movements: holier than thou?, poster presented at workshop on mimicry in civil wars, College de France, Paris, December 2007

The sociology of the Saudi rentier system: a society of intermediaries, annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Montreal, November 2007

Engineers of jihad, NATO-ESF workshop on Identity, Loyalty and Security, Casablanca, October 2007

Petromin: the slow death of statist oil development in Saudi Arabia, the Mediterranean Meeting of the European University Institute, Florence, March 2007

Changing patterns of political mobilization in Saudi Arabia, workshop on dynamics of change in the Arab world: globalisation and the re-structuring of state power, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome, February 2007

Building the Saudi state: a revisionist account, annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Boston, November 2006

(with Prof. Diego Gambetta) Engineers of Jihad: why are there are so many engineers among Islamic extremists?, workshop on in prime movers in civil wars, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, August 2006

Economic policy-making in a segmented rentier state, Midwestern Political Science Association annual conference, Chicago, April 2006

Labour policy in the Gulf: unintended consequences of over-regulation in rentier societies, the Mediterranean Meeting of the European University Institute, Florence, March 2006

Building the body politic: the emerging corporatism in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, Mediterranean Meeting of the European University Institute, Florence, March 2005

Making economic policy in Saudi Arabia, workshop on political change in the Gulf monarchies, Sciences Po/CERI, Paris, January 2005

Saudi Arabia and economic globalization: buffer functions of a rentier state, workshop on resistance to globalization in the Middle East, Graduate Institute of International Studies (HEI), Geneva, November 2004

Segmented clientelism: the political economy of Saudi economic reform efforts, workshop on political change in Saudi Arabia, ISIM, Leiden (Netherlands), April 2004

Panels and workshops organized:

The political economy of wealth distribution in the Gulf, LSE Kuwait Programme, May 2021

The political economy of energy subsidies in the Middle East, workshop, LSE Middle East Centre/Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, March 2017

Varieties of rentierism? Explaining differences in public goods provision among oil-rich states, workshop, LSE, September 2016 (organized with Ferdinand Eibl)

The Political Economy of Labour Markets and Migration in the Gulf, Kuwait City (through the LSE Middle East Centre), March 2016

Varieties of rentierism? Oil and human development outcomes in MENA and sub-Saharan Africa, workshop, LSE, October 2015 (organized with Ferdinand Eibl)

The rentier state at 25: dismissed, revised, upheld?, Gulf Research Meeting, Cambridge (UK), July 2013 (workshop organizer and chair, together with Giacomo Luciani)

Challenges to the GCC social contract in the wake of the Arab revolutions, British Society for Middle Eastern Studies annual conference, London, March 2012 (panel organizer)

State-owned enterprises: taking stock of progress and challenges, Hawkamah-OECD conference on the growth of corporate governance in MENA, Muscat, November 2010 (chair)

Population, labour markets and identity in the Gulf, workshop, GRC Gulf Research Meeting, Cambridge (UK), July 2010 (workshop organizer and chair, together with Dr. Roula Dashti)

Family businesses in economic policy-making, workshop, Arab German Family Business Summit, Bahrain, October 2009 (organizer, presenter and moderator)

Authoritarian renewal in Syria, one-day research workshop at Sciences Po Paris (supported by the Nuffield Foundation), June 2009 (organizer and editor of set of papers submitted for review as special issue for International Journal of Middle East Studies)

Is the Gulf becoming a new hub in a multipolar world?, panel, Sciences Po Eurogolfe conference, Venice, October 2008 (organizer and chair)

The sociology of Saudi politics: new insights from field research, panel, annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Montreal, November 2007 (organizer and presenter)

Saudi Arabia: energy, politics and society, workshop, Princeton Environmental Institute/Department of Near Eastern Studies/Transregional Institute, May 2007 (main organizer together with Dr. Greg Bell from the Princeton Transregional Institute)

State-business relations in the Middle East, workshop, Mediterranean Meeting of the European University Institute, Florence, March 2006 (organizer and presenter)

Invited lectures outside my home institutions:

"Locked out of Development" book talks at Columbia University, Princeton University, JHU-SAIS, CSIS (Washington), KCL, Bath, Oxford and Tuebingen, throughout 2023

Insiders and outsiders in Arab political economies, lecture in a series organized by the World Bank MENA chief economist's office (virtual), World Bank, Washington DC, October 2021

Insiders and outsiders in Arab political economies, lecture at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (virtual), August 2021

Challenges to SOE governance in the MENA region, lecture given to the National, Economic, Social and Environmental Council of Algeria (virtual), July 2021

State intervention, market segmentation and low trust – an Arab “Variety of Capitalism”? (keynote lecture), 9th AMEPPA Global Conference on Public Policy and Administration (virtual), Qatar University, December 2020

Great Expectations or Nothing to Lose? Socio-economic Correlates of Joining the Islamic State; given at the Kennedy School at Harvard (January 2019), MIT Security Studies Program (September 2019), King’s College Department of Political Economy (October 2019)

Petro-populism: the foreign policy of oil-rich populist regimes, Watson Institute, Brown University, September 2019

A Quest for Significance: Gulf Oil Monarchies’ International “Soft Power” Strategies and Their Urban Dimensions, Dartmouth College, January 2019

Great expectations or nothing to lose? Socio-economic correlates of joining the Islamic State, Middle East Initiative, Harvard Kennedy School, January 2019

Saudi Arabia after Khashoggi, Council on Foreign Relations (NY), January 2019

What would a non-oil Gulf economy look like?, King Faisal Centre for Islamic Research and Studies, Riyadh, November 2018

Can we Saudiize the labor market without damaging the private sector?, King Faisal Centre for Islamic Research and Studies, Riyadh, December 2017

Challenges to the Saudi distributional state in the age of austerity, Center for Near and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Marburg, November 2017

Saudi Arabia in the age of austerity, Paris School of Economics, October 2017

(with Ferdinand Eibl), Why are some oil dictators nice to their people, Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, October 2017

Engineers of Jihad, JHU-SAIS Bologna, April 2017

Saudi Arabia in the age of austerity, Center on Global Energy Policy, Columbia University, March 2017

Why do some resource-rich goods states provide public goods and others do not? Blavatnik School, University of Oxford, February 2017

Arab capitalism in comparative perspective, Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Edinburgh, October 2016

Why are some oil dictators nice to their people?, Department of Sociology, University Berne, September 2016

Why are Gulf rulers so generous to their populations? Historical reasons and current consequences, King Faisal Centre for Research and Studies, Riyadh, May 2016

Engineers of Jihad, Middle East Centre, Oxford, May 2016

Engineers of Jihad, Chatham House, London, May 2016

Wealth distribution and economic reform in the GCC, Kuwait Economic Society, Kuwait City, March 2016

Is there an Arab Variety of Capitalism, Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, King's College London, March 2016

Public sector governance in Kuwait – the political economy of reform, Kuwait Economic Society, Kuwait City, October 2013

The developmental role of public enterprise in the GCC, Saudi Association of Energy Economists, October 2013

State-business relations after the Arab Spring, Chatham House, September 2013

Job creation for nationals in UAE and Abu Dhabi: overcoming market segmentation, UAE University, Abu Dhabi, January 2013

Diversified but marginal: the GCC private sector as an economic and political force, American University of Kuwait, September 2012

Involving Kuwaitis in the private labor market, Kuwait Economic Society, Kuwait City, September 2012

How applicable are OECD corporate governance guidelines to state-owned enterprises in MENA?, Fourth meeting of the OECD Taskforce on Corporate Governance of MENA SOEs, April 2012, Kuwait

Renewables in the GCC in the face of global economic crises: institutional and regulatory challenges, dinner presentation to Saudi Aramco corporate audience, London, January 2012

Prelude to Revolution: how Arab republics tried, and failed, to turn themselves into monarchies, SOAS, January 2012

GCC energy sectors as 'islands of efficiency': pivots of industrialization and economic internationalization, ECSSR 17th Annual Energy Conference, Abu Dhabi, November 2011

"Saudi Arabia: Buying its Way Out of the Crisis?", Global Policy Institute, London, July 2011

Rentier states without rentiers? Redesigning the distributional bargain in the Gulf, "Whither the Gulf" conference, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore, May 2011

Defying the resource curse: rent recycling and Saudi Arabia's islands of efficiency, Ca' Foscari University, Venice, April 2011

“Gulfization” of private employment and the emergence of informal labour markets in the GCC, World Bank (Washington DC), March 2011

The Saudi state and the current crisis, Middle East Center, Harvard, March 2011

Saudi Arabia and the current crisis, Carnegie Endowment, Washington DC, March 2011

Invited book talks about Princes, Brokers and Bureaucrats at the School of Oriental and African Studies, George Washington University, St. Antony’s College/Oxford, 2010 and 2011

SME development in the GCC: a survey of challenges and opportunities, presentation at 30th anniversary conference of the Federation of GCC Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Doha, April 2010

Gulf governments’ reactions to the economic crisis, keynote speech, Middle East Alternative Investments Summit, Dubai, March 2010

The political economy of institutional reform in Saudi Arabia, Dubai School of Government, March 2010

Political and economic challenges to SME development in the Gulf, Kuwait Chamber of Commerce and Industry, October 2009

The political economy of two crises in the Gulf, Kuwait University, College of Business, October 2009

Engineers of Jihad, RAND Corporation, Washington DC, September 2009

Engineers of Jihad, Carnegie Endowment, Washington DC, September 2009

The politics of Gulf oil booms and busts, Middle East Institute, Washington DC, September 2009

The political economy of rent recycling during two booms in the Gulf, Center for International Governance Innovation, Waterloo/Ontario, August 2009

Fiscal policy and business growth in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia since the first oil boom, Kuwait Chamber of Commerce and Industry, March 2009

Sustainable development and state capacity in the Gulf, London School of Economics, December 2008

History and the resource curse – how the evolution of the Saudi bureaucracy challenges rentier state theories, Yale University, Sociology Department, January 2008

Stability prospects in Saudi Arabia, National Defense University, Washington DC, June 2007

Gulf monarchies in transition: democratic reform or authoritarian modernization?, Middle East Center, University of Pennsylvania, March 2007

Oil – commodity or weapon?, St. Antony’s International Review symposium on the international politics of oil, Oxford, May 2006

The historical roots of the Saudi political economy – a revisionist account, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, January 2006

Voluntary captivity in the Gulf – foreign labour and the sponsorship system, University College London, November 2005 (Conference on Captivity – From Babylon to Guantanamo Bay)

Princes, fiefdoms and bureaucrats – a history of the Saudi state, Saudi-British Society, London October 2005

The enclave nature of economic reform on the Arabian Peninsula, Sciences Po Eurogolfe Forum, Abu Dhabi, April 2004

Manuscript reviews for:

American Journal of Political Science, American Journal of Sociology, American Political Science Review, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Governance, International Journal of Middle East Studies, The International Spectator, International Sociology, Journal of Development Studies, Journal of Intervention and State-Building, Journal of Political Science and Sociology, Political Science Quarterly, Psychotherapy Research, Rationality and Society, World Politics

Cambridge University Press

Manchester University Press

Oxford University Press

Cornell University Press

Palgrave Macmillan

Yale University Press

Media appearances:

i.a. Economist, Newsweek, Wall Street Journal, New York Times, New York Times Magazine, Science, Financial Times, Slate, Atlantic Monthly, Foreign Policy, National Interest, Observer, Guardian, Independent, National Post, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Sueddeutsche Zeitung, The National (Abu Dhabi), Times of India, BBC, C-SPAN, Reuters, Bloomberg

Courses taught

Introduction to political systems and methods in political science (tutor), University of Bonn (1998-1999)

Middle East politics (teaching assistant), third year PPE undergraduate, Oxford (2004-05)

Political change in the Gulf monarchies, second year MPA course, Woodrow Wilson School/Princeton (2006-07)

Middle East in the global economy, third year undergraduate, Durham (2007-08)

Introduction to Middle East politics, first year undergraduate, Durham (2007-08)

States, companies and commodities in the changing international political economy, third year undergraduate, Durham (2007-08)

Research methods and dissertation production, MA level course, Durham (2007-08)

Political economy of the Middle East, Johns Hopkins University Bologna, MA level course (spring 2008)

Politics of the Gulf monarchies, first year undergraduate, Sciences Po (2008-09, 2009-10)

Political economy of the Middle East, second year undergraduate, Sciences Po (2008-09, 2009-10)

Political economy of the Middle East, second year MA level course, Sciences Po (2008-09, 2009-10)

States and Markets, MSc level course, LSE, 2010-12

Comparative Politics, MSc level course, LSE, 2010-

Qualitative Methods in the Study of Politics, research student course, LSE, 2010-

Political economy of the developing world, undergraduate course, LSE, 2012-

Various executive education courses at the Paris School of International Affairs, French Institute of Petroleum, Saudi Aramco, Abu Dhabi Department of Economic Development, Vienna University of Economics and Business

Administrative and other roles at university

Associate Fellow, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation, King's College London, 2019-

Chair of the dissertation prize committee, *Association for Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies*, 2018-

Member of the departmental steering and strategy group, Department of Government, LSE, 2013-18

Member of the PhD committee, Department of Government, LSE, 2012-

Comparative politics MSc admissions officer, Department of Government, LSE, 2011-12

Organizer of comparative politics lecture series, workshop and seminar series, Department of Government, LSE, 2011-

Member of the management committee of the LSE Middle East Centre, 2011-

Member of the management committee of the LSE Kuwait Program, 2014-

Director, MENA comparative political economy program, LSE Middle East Centre, 2014-

Member of the advisory council of the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI) at Sciences Po Paris, 2014-

Academic director, Kuwait Program, Sciences Po Paris (2008-10)

Consultancy and policy work

Primary expertise: GCC labour market and public sector reform issues

Regular participation in Foreign and Commonwealth Office seminars and ambassadorial briefings

Senior advisor in policy research project on the potential introduction of a minimum wage in a major GCC economy, 2023

International Labour Organization, lead researcher for project on migrant worker sponsorship reform in Qatar, 2018-19

Member of the advisory panel for the UAE's federal Education and Human Resources Council, 2018-

Foreign and Commonwealth Office, author of study on public-private partnership in the GCC region, 2016

Gesellschaft fuer Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ): senior expert for a client project on SME finance in a major GCC economy, 2015-2016

GCC Council of Ministers of Labour, in-depth report on improving internal labour mobility for foreign workers in the GCC, 2014-15

OECD, lead researcher in project on the economic impact of state-owned enterprises in MENA, 2012-2013

World Bank, consultant for various projects related to labour market policy and long-term economic planning in Qatar, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and UAE, working with a variety of government agencies, 2011-

Kuwait: Ministry of Finance (contributed to mid-term strategic review of Kuwait's economic policies), 2013-14

Qatar, Ministry of Development Planning (consultant for mid-term review of 2011-2016 national development strategy), 2013

Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Economy and Planning (main author and coordinator of comprehensive report about Saudi labor policies), 2013-14

Saudi Arabia, Ministry of Labor (evaluation of "Nitaqat" Saudization system, behavioural research on Saudi labor market, 2013-)

Saudi Arabia, Supreme Economic Council (review of policies, mandate and organization of Saudi Arabian General Investment Authority, 2014)

UAE: Ministry of Labor (lead author on research reports on labor admissions, labor fees and subsidies)

OECD, member of the MENA-OECD Task Force on Corporate Governance of SOEs, 2010-

ESCWA, lead author for report on impact of ESCWA macro-economic developments and economic policies on the region's labour markets, July 2011 to January 2012

Arab Reform Initiative, coordinator of research project on the role of the Arab private sector in reform processes (with Giacomo Luciani and Marc Valeri), 2008-2011

European Commission/Gulf Research Center: various studies on Gulf economic development, 2008-2010

- Impact of fiscal policy on growth patterns in various business sectors in GCC countries
- Comparative study on labour market nationalization policies in the GCC
- Study on institutional conditions for successful state-owned enterprises in rentier economies, with particular focus on the Gulf

Gesellschaft fuer technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ): expert author for labour market study in preparation of the 9th national Five Year Development Plan in the Saudi Ministry of Economy and Planning, Riyadh, 2008/09

Bertelsmann Foundation: study on the German EU presidency's approach towards the Gulf, June 2007

European Parliament: study about the future of Arab economic integration and the EU's role in the process, August/September 2006; testimony to the foreign affairs committee of the Parliament in Strasbourg on 24 October 2006

Gesellschaft fuer technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ): Plan Editor in the core planning team in charge of preparing the 8th national Five Year Development Plan in the Saudi Ministry of Economy and Planning,

Riyadh, April 2003 to July 2004 (editing of all draft plan chapters, drafting of several plan chapters, including manpower, agriculture, education)

Further qualifications

ESRC spring school on time series analysis, Oxford, March 2008

Essex summer school 2009: statistical courses on theories of regression, programming in STATA, panel data for comparative research and maximum likelihood estimation

Arabic language training:

Landesspracheninstitut (Bochum, Germany), 8 weeks, 2000

2nd year MPhil Arabic courses in Oxford, 2002-03

private courses in Damascus, 9 weeks, summer 2006; 8 weeks, summer 2008

Yemen Language Center, Sana'a, summer course 2007 (highest level), 5 weeks

Grants

Suntory and Toyota International Centres for Economics and Related Disciplines (STICERD), LSE, grant for survey research with Dr Thoraya El-Rayyes on the political economy of labour market dualism in the Arab world, 2022-24 (5000 GBP)

Research Council of Norway, grant for "Socioeconomics of Islamist Radicalization in the West" (SOCIR) project (Co-PI with Thomas Hegghammer at FFI and Gudrun Ostby at PRIO), 2020-2024 (10 million NOK (about 800,000 GBP), of which half will go to LSE)

Kuwait Programme, LSE, grant for research project on wealth distribution in the GCC monarchies, 2018-2019 (40,000 GBP)

Kuwait Programme, LSE Middle East Centre, grant for a Middle East political economy research program 2014-2017 (260,000 GBP)

Nuffield Foundation, maintenance grant for field research in Syria and subsequent research workshop, 2008/2009 (7200 GBP)

Economic Research Forum (Cairo), small research grant for paper on "Varieties of Capitalism" in the Middle East, 2014/15 (10,000 USD)

Memberships

American Political Science Association (APSA)

British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES)

Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics (SASE)

Languages

German - native speaker

English - fluent in speaking and writing

Arabic - advanced speaking and writing skills

French - advanced in speaking and writing

References

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