## **Contents**

	uthor's note	v vi
List of figures and tables List of abbreviations		
1	Introduction	
	1. Introduction	2
	2. Definitions and methodology	4
	2.1. State policies towards the international mobility of capital	4
	2.2. State policies towards the international mobility of labour	8
	2.3. Data sources for the empirical analysis	13
	2.4. Notes on methodology and the argument in brief	15
	3. Outline of the study	18
2	Disclosing the Lacuna	
	1. The Middle East and the Gulf region: Just a case of geographical neglect?	21
	1.1. The non-West and the debate on Eurocentrism in IR/IPE	21
	1.2. IR/IPE, Eurocentrism and the Middle East	24
	2. Capital and its international mobility: A case of policy neglect	29
	2.1. Approaching FDI	30
	2.2. Approaching FDI policies	33
	3. International labour migration: A case of contentual neglect	35
	3.1. The approach of international migration within IR/IPE	35
	3.2. The approach of international migration across discipline	38
	4. Summary	42
3	Exploring Theoretical Perspectives	
	1. Realism, neorealism and the trajectory of state-centrism	45
	1.1. Historical background and theoretical propositions	45
	1.2. Realism and the international mobility of capital and labour	46
	1.2.1. TNCs, the regulation of FDI and the national interest	47
	1.2.2. International migration as a matter of national interest	
	and national security	49
	1.3. Realism and the Middle East	51
	1.4. Relevance and criticism	52

2. Neoliberal institutionalism, interdependence and non-state actors	56
2.1. Historical background and theoretical propositions	56
2.2. Neoliberal institutionalism and the international mobility of capital and labour	58
2.2.1. Increased international mobility of capital, interdependence	30
and the state	58
2.2.2. Neoliberal institutionalism and international migration	60
2.3. Neoliberal institutionalism and the Middle East	61
2.4. Relevance and criticism	64
Charting a Different Path: The Neo-Gramscian Perspective	
1. The route to critical theory	70
1.1. From problem-solving to critical theory	70
1.2. Gramscian concepts, hegemony and world orders	71
1.3. Hegemony and its elements and spheres of activity	73
2. Towards a neoliberal world order?	75
2.1. A new social force: Internationally mobile capital	76
2.2. Towards a temporary framework for the international mobility of labour	79
3. The Neo-Gramscian perspective and the approach of the non-West	81
3.1. The Neo-Gramscian approach of the non-West	81
3.2. Indications of Eurocentrism?	83
4. Concluding remarks	87
The Gulf Region in the Global Political Economy	
1. Historical implications of global connections for state, society and economy	90
1.1. Global trade, British dominance and changing economic	
and political structures	90
1.2. Oil and state-society relations	91
2. Commodity flows I: Situating the Gulf region in global trade	97
2.1. Historical importance of the region	97
2.2. Contemporary importance of the region	98
3. Commodity flows II: Oil as a »strategic commodity«	104
3.1. Importance and implications of oil for the global political economy	104
3.2. Oil and the Gulf region	104
4. Money flows: The Gulf region within the global financial system	108
4.1. Petrodollars, the debt crisis and American hegemony	108
4.2. Sovereign wealth funds from the Gulf: The new »white knights«?	110

6	State Policies Towards FDI: Between Progress and Stalemate		
	1. State-formation, political structure and decision-making process in the UAE	121	
	2. Oil dependence, diversification and the path towards		
	a market-oriented development	124	
	3. Trends in FDI to the Gulf region: The upsurge	133	
	4. State policies towards FDI: Between progress and stalemate	140	
	4.1. The move forwards: Favourable FDI policies	140	
	4.1.1. Creating spatial incentives for FDI: Free economic zones	142	
	4.1.2. Providing legal protection for FDI: Bilateral investment treaties	150	
	4.2. The stalemate: FDI policies as a field of struggle	153	
	4.2.1. Social forces pressuring for the removal of restrictions	154	
	4.2.2. Towards removing restrictions?	157	
	4.2.3. Nationally oriented social forces and the Federal National Council	159	
	5. Concluding remarks	163	
7	State Policies Towards International Labour Migration: Between Free Mobility and Replacement		
	1. History of and trends in international labour migration to the Gulf region	169	
	2. The regulation of labour migration in the Gulf sates	181	
	2.1. Legal framework of the kafala system	181	
	2.2. Temporary framework subordinating international labour mobility to capital	183	
	2.3. Facing pressures: From critique to change?	187	
	2.3.1. Working and living conditions of migrant workers	187	
	2.3.2. Limited rights of migrant workers to organise	189	
	2.3.3. Increased protests and strikes: Migrant workers as a social force	190	
	2.3.4. Scope and results of changes	193	
	2.4. The enduring presence of the kafala system	198	
	3. The nationalisation of the labour force: Towards replacing migrant labour?	201	
	3.1. The unemployment of nationals and the social basis of Emiratisation policies	201	
	3.2. The legal foundations of Emiratisation	204	
	3.3. Capital as a social force opposing Emiratisation	206	
	3.4. The result of Emiratisation policies: Just ineffective?	209	
	4. Concluding remarks	212	

## 8 Conclusion

1. Summary of the study	219
2. Theoretical and empirical considerations	220
2.1. Theoretical considerations	220
2.2. Empirical considerations	224
3. Recommendations for further research	231
ibliography	235