

COURTNEY FREER

EDUCATION

University of Oxford

Oxford, England

D.Phil. completed November 2015

Department: Politics

Dissertation: *Rentier Islamism: Muslim Brotherhood Affiliates in Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates.*

The George Washington University, The Elliott School of International Affairs

Washington, DC

M.A. *magna cum laude* 2010

Concentration: Middle East Studies

Specialization: International Security Studies

Princeton University

Princeton, NJ

A.B. *magna cum laude* 2008

Concentration: Near Eastern Studies

Certificate (Minor): Spanish Language and Culture

EXPERIENCE

Middle East Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science

London, England

Assistant Professorial Research Fellow, August 2020-present; *Research Fellow*, January 2018-August 2020; *Research Officer*, July 2015-January 2018

Worcester College, University of Oxford

Oxford, England

Tutor, April 2015-June 2015

Brookings Doha Center (BDC)

Doha, Qatar

Senior Research Assistant, May 2012-August 2012; *Research Assistant*, June 2010-May 2012

United States-Saudi Arabian Business Council

Vienna, VA

Research Intern, May 2009-June 2010

PUBLICATIONS

Books

- *Rentier Islamism: The Influence of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Gulf Monarchies*. Oxford University Press, May 2018.
- With Alanoud Alsharekh. *Tribalism and Political Power in the Gulf: State-Building and National Identity in the Middle East*. IB Tauris, forthcoming, 2020.
- *The Political Landscape of Kuwait: Parliament, Rentierism, and Society*. Forthcoming, Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

Journal Articles

- "Narratives of Nationalism in Culture and Heritage Production of the Arabian Peninsula: Bringing the State Back In," with Yasmine Kherfi, *Middle Eastern Studies* (July 2020).
- "State Religious Authorities in Rentier Economics and the Management of Independent Islamism," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 16 September 2020.
- "Clients or Challengers?: Tribal Constituents in Kuwait, Qatar, and the UAE," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, May 2019.
- "The Symbiosis of Sectarianism, Authoritarianism, and Rentierism in the Saudi State," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, vol. 19, no. 1, April 2019.
- "Exclusion-Moderation in the Gulf Context: Tracing the Development of Pragmatic Islamism in Kuwait," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 54, no. 1, January 2018.
- "Rentier Islamism in the Absence of Elections: The Political Role of Muslim Brotherhood Affiliates in Qatar and the UAE," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, August 2017.

Book Chapters

- "EU-GCC Parliamentary Relations: Multilateral Challenges, Bilateral Gains." *The EU and the GCC*, eds. Adel Abdel Ghaffar and Silvia Colombo, forthcoming.
- "Political Islam in the Arabian Peninsula," *Routledge Handbook of Persian Gulf Politics*, ed. Mehran Kamrava. Routledge, 2020.
- "Political Islam in Post-Arab Spring Kuwait: The Rise of Political Coalitions in an Age of Pragmatism." *Transformation of Political Islam in a Changing World Order*, ed. Mohammad Affan. Al-Sharq Forum, 2019.
- "Cross-Ideological Cooperation," with Luciano Zaccara and Hendrik Kraetzschmar, in *Islamists and Politics of the Arab Uprisings: Governance, Pluralisation and Contention*, eds. H. Kraetzschmar and P. Rivetti. Edinburgh University Press, 2018.
- "Kuwait." *Rethinking Political Islam*, eds. Shadi Hamid and William McCants, Oxford University Press, 2017.
- "Jordan." *The Middle East and North Africa 2018*, Routledge, 2018.

Book Reviews

- "Book Review: *The Caliphate of Man: Popular Sovereignty in Modern Islamic Thought* by Andrew F. March and *Violent Radical Movements in the Arab World: The Ideology and Politics of Non-State Actors* edited by Peter Sluglett and Victor Kattan." *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 56, no.4 (2020): 683-685.
- "Book Review – *The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria* by Dara Conduit," LSE Middle East Centre Blog, 6 March 2020.
- "Book Review: Islamism, Radicalism, and Popular Sovereignty," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 10 April 2020.
- "Book Review: *Practicing Islam in Egypt: Print Media and Islamic Revival* by Aaron Rock-Singer," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 3 September 2019.
- "Money, Markets, and Monarchies: The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Political Economy of the Contemporary Middle East by Adam Hanieh," *Omran*, vol. 7, no. 28 (Spring 2019).
- "Bedouins into Bourgeois: Remaking Citizens for Globalization by Calvert Jones," *Omran*, vol. 7, no. 28 (Spring 2019).
- "Book Review – Changing Saudi Arabia: Art, Culture, and Society in the Kingdom' by Sean Foley," LSE Middle East Centre Blog, April 2019.
- "Book Review – 'AngloArabia: Why Gulf Wealth Matters to Britain' by David Wearing," LSE Middle East Centre Blog, 20 November 2018.
- "Book Review: *Jihad & Co.: Black Markets and Islamist Power*," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 17 May 2018.
- "Book Review: Examining Religious Aspects of South Asian Migration to the Gulf," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 21 March 2018.
- "Book Review: Al-Qaeda 2.0," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 13 February 2018.
- "Book Review – Alison Pargeter's 'Return to the Shadows'," LSE Middle East Centre Blog, 12 December 2016.
- "Book Review: *Socio-Political Order and Security in the Arab World*," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 54, no. 3, 2018.
- "Book Reviews: Examining the Role of State Economic Policies on Social and Political Life," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 52, no. 6, June 2017.

Research Centre and Thinktank Pieces

- "Most Likely to Succeed? Potential Scenarios for Kuwaiti Succession." Castlereagh Associates, 31 March 2020.
- "Up for Debate: GCC Crisis." Middle East Institute, 29 May 2019.
- "Decrypting Sectarian Myths in Bahrain and Kuwait." Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI), 16 May 2019.
- "Religious Authorities in Wahhabi States." Issue Brief, Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy, 6 May 2019.
- "Challenges to Sunni Islamism in Bahrain Since 2011." Carnegie Middle East Center, 6 March 2019.
- "Mapping Religious Authority in Wahhabi States: An Examination of Qatar and Saudi Arabia." Center for the Middle East, Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy, March 2019.
- "Regional Implications of a US Muslim Brotherhood Ban." Al-Sharq Forum, 5 September 2018.
- Interview on *Rentier Islamism: The Influence of the Muslim Brotherhood in Gulf Monarchies*. Jadaliyya, 7 August 2018.
- "Kuwait's Post-Arab Spring Islamist Landscape: The End of Ideology?" Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy, August 2018.
- "The Future of Political Islam in the Middle East and North Africa under Changing Regional Order." Jadaliyya, 16 August 2018.
- "GCC and Russia Beyond Syria." Gulf International Forum, 21 February 2018.

- “After Big Election Win, What’s Next for Kuwait’s Opposition?” *Journal of Middle Eastern Politics and Policy*, Harvard Kennedy School, 8 December 2016
- “The Changing Islamist Landscape of the Gulf Arab States.” Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington (AGSIW), 21 November 2016.
- “Pessimism of the Kuwaiti Opposition in the Face of Upcoming Elections.” Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington (AGSIW), 7 October 2016.
- “From Co-optation to Crackdown: Gulf States’ Reactions to the Rise of the Muslim Brotherhood during the Arab Spring.” Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS), May 2016.
- “The Muslim Brotherhood’s Post Arab Spring Legacy in the Smaller Gulf States.” *Gulf Affairs*, Spring 2016.
- “Kuwait’s Oil Workers’ Strike: Domestic and Market Reactions.” Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington (AGSIW), 21 April 2016.
- “Rentier Islamism: The Role of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Gulf.” *LSE Middle East Centre Paper Series*, November 2015.
- “The Rise of Pragmatic Islamism in Kuwait’s Post-Arab Spring Opposition Movement.” The Brookings Institution, Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, Rethinking Political Islam Series, August 2015.
- With Shadi Hamid, “How Stable is Jordan?: King Abdullah’s Half-Hearted Reforms and the Challenge of the Arab Spring.” Brookings Doha Center Policy Briefing, November 2011.

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS AND INVITED TALKS

- “Persistence of Umma or Vestiges of Empire? Exploring Pathways of Ibadi Transnationalism from Oman,” Indian Ocean Conference, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar, 17 February 2020.
- “The Rentier State and Religious Sphere: Examining the Limits of Co-optation,” to be presented at the Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 2019.
- “Mapping Religious Authorities in Wahhabi States,” to be presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, 31 August 2019.
- “Re-drawing the Political Borders of the Gulf Cooperation Council: Foreign and Domestic Politics,” to be presented at the Nordic Society for Middle Eastern Studies Annual Meeting, Helsinki, Finland, 16 August 2019.
- “‘Political Islam’ Movements in the Post-Arab Uprisings Period,” Issam Fares Institute, Beirut, Lebanon, 4 July 2019.
- “Nationalism, Tribalism, and Heritage,” to be presented at the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES) Annual Meeting, University of Leeds, Leeds, 24 June 2019.
- “A Gulf Divided: The Anatomy of a Crisis,” Chatham House, 6 May 2019.
- “Islamist Movements and Politics of Religion,” POMEPS 10th Annual Conference, The George Washington University, Washington, DC, 24 May 2019.
- “Religious Authority in the Middle East: Implications for U.S. Policy,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, 19 March 2019.
- “Jurists and Educators in 1970s Kuwait.” Cold War Islamisms Workshop, Freie Universität Berlin, 15-16 March 2019.
- “Rentier Islamism: The Influence of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Gulf Monarchies,” Politics and International Relations Contemporary Middle East Series, The University of Edinburgh, 8 March 2019.
- “State Religious Authorities in Rentier Economies and the Management of Independent Islamism,” Princeton University Institute for Transregional Study for the Contemporary Middle East, 25-26 January 2019.
- “Political Islam in the Gulf States,” Brookings Doha Center, Doha, Qatar, 3 December 2018.
- “Social Transformations in the Gulf Countries and the Problem of Identity and Values: Examining the Role of Tribes in the 21st Century.” Gulf Studies Forum. Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. Doha, Qatar, 1 December 2018.
- “Transnational Muslim Brotherhood Networks in the Gulf,” Middle East Studies Association Annual (MESA) Meeting, San Antonio, Texas, November 2018.
- “Qatar’s Foreign Policy: Balancing New Alliances in a Contested Region,” Chatham House, 22 October 2018.
- “Hyper-Rentierism? Consultants, Visions, and the Social Contract in 2017,” at World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies (WOCMES) Meeting, Seville, July 2018.
- “The Interaction between Tribalism, Rentierism, and Elections” and “Examining the Rise of State-Sponsored Charity in Saudi Arabia and the UAE,” at British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES) Annual Meeting, King’s College London, June 2018.

- "The Place for Islamist Ideology in Post-Arab Spring Kuwait," Workshop on Pluralism and Inclusion in Kuwait, hosted by AlSalam Center for Strategic and Developmental Studies and Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy, Kuwait University, 6 May 2018.
- "GCC-Russia Relations: Looking beyond Syria and towards Investment," RAND Center for Middle East Public Policy and LSE Middle East Centre-RAND Workshop on Russian Strategy in the Middle East, London, 28 March 2018.
- "Crisis in the Gulf: Implications for (Geo)politics, Terrorism and Human Security in the Middle East and Beyond," The International Interest and Oxford Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies Forum (OxGAPS), Brussels, 8 March 2018.
- "The Muslim Brotherhood in the Gulf," Roundtable on Transformations of Political Islam, Al-Sharq Forum, Istanbul, 11 February 2018.
- "The Gulf Crisis," Middle East Centre Friday Seminar Series, St. Antony's College Middle East Centre, University of Oxford, Oxford, 19 January 2018.
- "From Co-operation to Crackdown: The Muslim Brotherhood and the Gulf," Center for International and Comparative Law, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, 27 November 2017.
- "Clients or Challengers?: Tribal Constituents in Kuwait, Qatar, and the UAE," Middle East Studies Association (MESA) Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., 18-21 November 2017.
- "An Economic Glance of the GCC States," Gulf Conference, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, Paris, 20 October 2017.
- "Electoral Tribalism in Kuwait: An Instrument of the State or a Civil Society Movement?," Gulf Research Meeting, Cambridge, U.K., 1-4 August 2017.
- "Instrumentalising Sectarianism and Preserving Authoritarianism in the Saudi State," British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES) Annual Conference, Edinburgh, 6 July 2017.
- "The Muslim Brotherhood and Qatar," Oxford Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies Forum (OxGAPS) GCC Crisis Summit, London, 29 June 2017.
- "Saudi Arabia in a Process of Transformation," Brussels Press Club, 3 May 2017.
- "Islamism across Borders: Exploring the Egyptian-Kuwaiti Connection," Gulf Studies Symposium, American University of Kuwait, 18 March 2017.
- "Vision 2030, Politics and Society," SOAS, 19 January 2017.
- "Islamists in the Gulf: Opposition or Allies?," King's College London, 29 November 2016.
- "Tribalism and Hydrocarbon Wealth: Examining Dynamics of the Rentier Bargain in Kuwait," Middle East Studies Association (MESA) Annual Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts, 19 November 2016.
- "A Widening Gulf? Assessing GCC-U.S. Relations in a Post-Arab Spring Middle East, British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES) Annual Conference, Lampeter, Wales, 13-15 July 2016.
- "All in the Family? Nationalism, State and the Monarchies in the GCC," presented at Nation and State in the Middle East, LSE Middle East Centre in Collaboration with CMES, Lund University and MENACS, Sussex University, 8 June 2016.
- "Social Policy and Social Welfare Decision-Making in the GCC States," UNICEF MENA Regional Management Team, 16 May 2016, Dead Sea, Jordan.
- "From Co-optation to Crackdown: Gulf States' Reactions to the Rise of the Muslim Brotherhood during the Arab Spring, Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS), 3-4 May 2016, Oxford.
- "Rentier Islamism: The Role of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Gulf," LSE Middle East Centre, 11 November 2015
- "Qabila in the 21st Century: Tribes as Civil Society in the Arabian Gulf," presented at Middle East Studies Association (MESA) Annual Meeting, Denver, Colorado, November 2015.
- "Contested Visions of Liberation: Kuwait as a Microcosm for Competing Islamisms," British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES) Annual Conference, 24-26 June 2015, London.
- "The Rise of Pragmatic Islamism in Kuwait's Post-Arab Spring Opposition Movement," Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, 19-20 June 2015.