The State Studies Quarterly (2026), 12(47), 221-247
doi: 10.22054/tssq.2026.78845.1507

SPECIAL ISSUE ARTICLE

Coalition of Government Elites and Economic Development Strategies of the United Arab Emirates

Mahboobeh Bashiri[1] and Somaye Hamidi[2]

[1] M.A. Student, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Literature and Humanities, University of Birjand, Birjand, Iran.
[2] Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Literature and Humanities, University of Birjand, Birjand, Iran
Corresponding author: Somaye Hamidi; Email: Somaye.hamidi@birjand.ac.ir

(Received: 15/03/2024 - Accepted: 06/10/2024)

Extended Abstract

Introduction

The United Arab Emirates (UAE), as one of the Persian Gulf countries, has succeeded in positioning itself at the forefront of transformation and development despite possessing a non-democratic political system and a traditional authoritarian system of governance. By adopting distinctive development strategies, the country has achieved remarkable economic progress. Against this background, the central research question of the present study is: How have the governing elites in the United Arab Emirates contributed to the realization of economic development?

This study is based on the hypothesis that the governing elites of the United Arab Emirates have played a decisive role in promoting economic development by forming a cohesive governing elite coalition, adopting diverse fiscal, trade, and investment policies, and ensuring the rapid implementation of government decisions. These measures have significantly contributed to improving the country's economic development indicators and sustaining economic growth.

How to Cite: Bashiri, M., & Hamidi, S. (2026). Coalition of Government Elites and Economic Development Strategies of the United Arab Emirates. State Studies, 12(47), 221-247. https://doi.org/10.22054/tssq.2026.78845.1507

This research is conducted within the theoretical framework of Peter Evans's Developmental State Theory. Evans emphasizes the role of an efficient bureaucracy and development-oriented elites in the process of development and argues that successful states create the institutional capacity required for industrial and economic development through institutional cohesion and close linkages with society. His principal argument is that certain states, by relying on development-oriented elites, facilitate collective action and create the conditions necessary for development through strategic investment in infrastructure. Within this framework, the governing elite coalition constitutes one of the principal determinants of the success of developmental states.

The existing literature indicates that numerous studies have examined the role of the state in economic development. Evans (2004) and Kohli (2004), among others, emphasize the importance of state capacity and development-oriented elites in the development process. Likewise, studies on the United Arab Emirates (e.g., Al-Khatib et al., 2021; and Ulrichsen, 2012) have primarily focused on economic growth, economic diversification, and human development indicators. Nevertheless, relatively few studies have directly examined the role of the governing elite coalition within Evans's theoretical framework in relation to the UAE's development policies. The present study seeks to fill this gap in the existing literature.

Methodology

This study adopts a descriptive–analytical research method. The data were collected from library resources, scholarly articles, policy documents issued by the UAE government, and international statistical reports published by the World Bank and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The theoretical framework of the study is based on Peter Evans's Developmental State Theory, with particular emphasis on the concept of embedded autonomy. Within this framework, the roles of state institutions, bureaucratic coherence, and the governing elite coalition in the process of economic development are examined.

Findings and Discussion

Within the theoretical framework adopted in this study, economic development is defined as a multidimensional process that extends beyond the quantitative growth of gross domestic product (GDP). It encompasses structural transformation of the economy, increased productivity, improved resource allocation, enhanced employment, and the strengthening of the state's institutional capacity. In this context, the state, as the central actor in the development process, plays a decisive role in directing development through macroeconomic policymaking, economic regulation, and the establishment of institutional infrastructure. According to Developmental State Theory, an efficient bureaucracy, institutional cohesion, and the presence of development-oriented elites constitute the principal prerequisites for achieving sustainable economic growth.

According to Peter Evans's analytical framework, the developmental state is characterized by embedded autonomy. This concept refers to the state's ability to maintain institutional autonomy from particularistic interests while simultaneously establishing strong structural and institutional linkages with society and the private sector. This model is realized through four complementary state roles (custodian, demiurge, midwife, and husbandry), which collectively facilitate industrial and economic development.

The findings of the study indicate that the United Arab Emirates possesses the principal characteristics of a developmental state. Prior to the 1950s, the country's economy was based on a limited subsistence structure. However, following the discovery of oil and the establishment of the federation in 1971, the country entered a period of rapid economic transformation. In subsequent stages, the government's overarching development strategy focused on economic diversification, reducing dependence on oil revenues, and strengthening the non-oil sectors of the economy. Analysis of macroeconomic indicators demonstrates that, over recent decades, the United Arab Emirates has achieved significant growth in gross domestic product, foreign direct investment (FDI), and human development indicators.

The findings further indicate that the economic development of the United Arab Emirates is the direct outcome of the formation and continuity of a cohesive governing elite coalition within the country's federal monarchical system. By combining traditional sources of legitimacy rooted in tribal structures with modern institutions of governance, the UAE government has succeeded in establishing a high degree of socio-political stability. The governance structure of the United Arab Emirates combines centralized authority at the federal level with the relative autonomy of the individual emirates. This institutional arrangement has facilitated rapid decision-making, centralized policymaking, and the coordinated implementation of development programs.

The coalition among the governing elites of the principal emirates, particularly Abu Dhabi and Dubai, has played a significant role in maintaining political stability and ensuring the continuity of development policies. The development strategies adopted by the governing elites have been formulated and implemented within the framework of the country's national vision documents. These strategic frameworks aim to enhance global competitiveness, diversify the national economy, expand non-oil exports, and strengthen an innovation-driven economy. They have also contributed to improving coordination between state institutions and the private sector. The UAE government has implemented a coordinated package of development policies in various fields, including: Fiscal policies; Monetary policies; Trade policies; Investment policies and Privatization policies. Finally, the development of advanced technologies, artificial intelligence (AI), e-government, and the knowledge-based economy has also played an important role in the structural transformation of the country's economy.

Conclusion

Overall, the experience of the United Arab Emirates demonstrates that, in developing countries, a coalition of development-oriented governing elites can play a pivotal role in accelerating structural transformation and achieving sustainable economic growth. This finding supports Peter Evans's argument that a developmental state must simultaneously possess two essential characteristics: an efficient bureaucracy and governing elites that pursue developmental objectives through close engagement with society.

From the perspective of Peter Evans's theoretical framework, the United Arab Emirates exhibits the principal characteristics of a developmental state. The country's governing elites, which have achieved high rates of economic growth and successful structural transformation, have created the institutional capacity required for national development through the formation of a cohesive coalition of development-oriented leaders and the establishment of strategic relationships with citizens and the business sector.

Accordingly, the experience of the United Arab Emirates indicates that institutional capacity, coherent policymaking, and the strategic orientation of governing elites have collectively enabled the state to realize rapid economic development. The findings of this study therefore support Evans's proposition that development is not determined solely by economic resources; rather, it depends fundamentally on the state's institutional capabilities, bureaucratic effectiveness, and the capacity of development-oriented elites to formulate and implement coherent long-term development strategies.

Keywords: Elite coalition, United Arab Emirates, Evans, economic development, development strategies.

Introduction

Development is a universal ideal intrinsically linked to the material and psychological advancement of human beings through understanding, learning about, and harnessing the natural world. Conceptually, it is a balanced and integrated process encompassing both material (infrastructural and technological) and non-material (interpretive and spiritual) dimensions of growth (Kelvani Nitel et al., 2018: 75). This balance results in both quantitative and qualitative transformations across social, economic, and political structures. The concept was first introduced by Truman in 1945, in the aftermath of World War II, specifically targeting Third World nations (Afshar et al., 2016: 25). Since then, national planning processes at both micro and macro levels have been structured around the goal of achieving development. Numerous approaches and models have been proposed by social scientists, and from the 1980s onward, the development trajectories of certain countries became evident, demonstrating sustained progress over one or two decades. Notably, since the mid-twentieth century, several Persian Gulf states and Arab hereditary systems, despite maintaining traditional, authoritarian, and non-democratic political systems, have pursued developmental paths in economic, human, and social domains comparable to those of Western democratic nations, achieving prominent global rankings.

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) stands out among these nations, having positioned itself at the forefront of transformation and development through strategic and visionary leadership. This study investigates how the governing elite in the UAE has contributed to the rise of economic development indicators. Development theorists, such as Peter Evans, have proposed frameworks for achieving development based on successful historical experiences. Using a comparative institutional approach, Evans identifies the "capable bureaucratic state" (or developmental state) as the primary engine of development. His core argument is that certain states, led by development-oriented elites, can facilitate collective action and create essential conditions for growth through foundational infrastructure investment. Drawing on Evans' theory and emphasizing the role of development-seeking elites within developmental states, this study argues that the governing elite in the UAE has formed alliances around developmental objectives, enabling them to adopt and implement rapid decisions that have significantly advanced economic development and its associated indicators.

Literature Review

Although development has been extensively studied, the following studies specifically identify a strong state and influential ruling elites as the primary drivers of national development:

In *State and Economic Development: The Political Economy of Development in Iran and Developmental States* (2020), Mohammad Taghi Delforoz examines the role of the state in promoting economic development through the analytical framework of Adrian Leftwich's developmental state theory. After distinguishing between developmental and non-developmental states, he analyzes the economic development experiences of South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Singapore. He then evaluates the political regimes and institutional characteristics that contributed to their developmental success and compares these features with Iran's political and institutional structure to assess its capacity to function as a developmental state.

Aghaei and Akbarian (2011), in an article entitled *The Political Economy of Multinational Corporations and the Developmental State*, identify development and economic development as central policy objectives for governments. After defining the concepts of development and economic development, they examine the principal strategies for achieving national economic development.

Peter Evans (2001), in his work *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*, conducts a comparative study of states, examining four roles of the state in the industrial development process: custodian, demiurge, midwifery, and husbandry. He identifies the existence of an efficient bureaucracy and development-oriented elites as fundamental reasons for achieving development.

Atul Kohli (2004), in *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*, seeks to explain why some developing countries have industrialized more rapidly and successfully than others. The findings emphasize the state's decisive role in promoting or hindering industrialization.

Furthermore, specific research concerning development in the United Arab Emirates includes the following:

Shirzadi (2015), *in Factors of Human Development in the United Arab Emirates*, first examines the evolution of the concept of development and human development theory, along with the methodologies used to rank countries based on the Human Development Index (HDI). Subsequently, the study analyzes major political transformations as well as current economic and human development trends in the UAE.

El Khatib et al. (2021), in *Challenges of Design and Implementation of Program Governance*, evaluate the scenario of implementing program governance within UAE governmental institutions. The study broadly asserts that governmental institutions must adopt precise programmatic approaches to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of the services they provide.

Kristian Coates Ulrichsen (2012), in *Small States with a Big Role: Qatar and the United Arab Emirates* in the Wake of the Arab Spring, examines how Qatar and the UAE overcame the structural constraints of the international system. He argues that the emergence of a new generation of political leaders was the principal factor behind their growing regional and international influence. The study also identifies the key drivers of development in both countries. Although the existing literature acknowledges the state's role in promoting development, none of the reviewed studies examines the role and strategies of governing elites in the UAE's economic development through Peter Evans's theoretical framework.

Although the existing literature acknowledges the state's role in promoting development, none of the reviewed studies examines the role and strategies of governing elites in the UAE's economic development through the theoretical framework of Peter Evans. This study addresses that gap by analyzing the UAE's development trajectory and investigating how governing elites have shaped the country's economic development from the perspective of Evans' developmental state theory.

Theoretical Foundations

Economic Development

Debates on development emerged in the 1940s, concurrent with the establishment of the structuralist school of economic development in Latin America, led by influential Argentine and Brazilian economists such as Raúl Prebisch and Celso Monteiro Furtado (Shirzadi, 2015: 120). Economic development is the process through which a society advances to higher levels of economic progress by undergoing a series of fundamental transformations in its economic, social, cultural, and political structures (Javadi Arjmand et al., 2019: 123). In general, the objectives of economic development include enhancing productivity, promoting income equality and equity, expanding access to public services and productive inputs, achieving high levels of employment, ensuring the sustainable management of renewable natural and material resources, and encouraging broad and effective public participation in the development process (Aghaei & Akbarian, 2011: 7). In the process of economic development, the state acts as the main foundation of the development framework. It plays a crucial role in creating the proper conditions for the effective functioning of other institutions and in promoting continuous and constructive interactions among them. Through effective economic interventions, the state enhances public participation in planning and decision-making while improving market efficiency. Given its central role in shaping physical capital, promoting education, and providing essential infrastructure for achieving desired growth and development, empirical estimates of state performance underscore this institution's significant impact on per capita output (Javadi Arjmand et al., 2019: 137). Influenced by the experience of the East Asian economic miracle, a group of development scholars concluded that achieving development requires the presence of a developmental state.

Situated within the institutionalist framework and grounded in a society's political and social context, the theory of the developmental state offers a pathway to national economic development (Moezi & Vosoughi, 2018: 35). Consequently, it is the state, and the scope of its authority, that establishes the necessary conditions for such development.

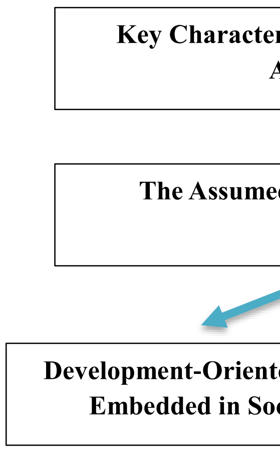
The Developmental State in Peter Evans's View

In recent decades, scholars such as Peter Evans, Johnson, Acemoglu, Robinson, and Leftwich have significantly conceptualized the theory of developmental states. Adopting a comparative approach, Evans explores the roots, mechanisms, and functions of these states. By analysing the political and economic trajectories of various countries, he identifies points of convergence and divergence to isolate the foundational factors of developmentalism (Lahoutian, 2016: 68). Evans argues that the state must assume a pivotal role across all societal sectors, ensuring the conditions for economic growth while mobilizing sufficient capital for national industrialization - attributes he identifies as the hallmarks of the developmental state (Burnell & Wyk, 2008: 93). He concludes:

"State intervention is a given; what must be addressed is the type of intervention, not its extent… the forms of state intervention depend on the forms of the state itself" (Evans, 2001: 45).

In his seminal work *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*, Evans offers the theory of embedded autonomy, developed through a comparative analysis of states undergoing industrialization. Resulting from the fusion of internal organizational coherence and close societal linkages, embedded autonomy fosters structural economic transformation, provided the state manages its internal constraints. It maintains a pragmatic stance toward the global economy (Lahoutian, 2016: 68). Evans contends that the state can influence industrial development through four key roles: custodian, demiurge, midwifery, and husbandry. (Evans, 2001:47). The first two refer to the conventional roles of the state as a regulator and a producer, and the interaction between state organizations and private entrepreneurial groups corresponds to its roles of midwifery and husbandry (Abbasi & Mahmoudi, 2019:114). Development will occur if the state, equipped with a coherent bureaucracy, acts as a demiurge in the economy while assuming only the roles of midwifery and husbandry toward the private sector (Afshar et al., 2016: 31). According to Evans, the presence of development-oriented elites, along with a coherent and efficient economic bureaucracy, constitutes a key characteristic of the developmental state (Shirzadi, 2015:123). This study examines the UAE's economic development level and the strategies employed by the governing elite, based on Evans's views about development-oriented elites fostering progress.

Figure 1: Evans's Developmental State Model



Economic Development of the UAE

The economy of the UAE has undergone several stages of growth and development. Until the end of the 1950s, it was characterized by limited natural and human resources (Tawfik Al Sadik, 2001: 202). During this period, before the discovery of oil, a simple subsistence economy prevailed. However, with the formation of the federation on 2 December 1971 and the establishment of its formal economic, social, and political institutions, the first decade of the UAE’s development began with a substantial increase in oil production and exports. The enormous oil revenues generated by the dramatic rise in oil prices in 1973 (Shihab, 2001: 249) enabled the UAE government to secure the capital required to implement the "once-and-for-all" strategy for building social and economic infrastructure. As a result, the country achieved significant economic successes. This was reflected in a strong economic structure characterized by high standards of living and income for both citizens and foreign residents alike, as well as in modern infrastructure and rapidly expanding advanced services in land, air, and maritime transport, communications, and water, electricity, and industrial sewage networks. The extent of the country's economic development can be observed by analyzing some indicators such as gross domestic product (GDP) (Table 1) and its components or sources, among others (Saad Omaira, 2001: 4).

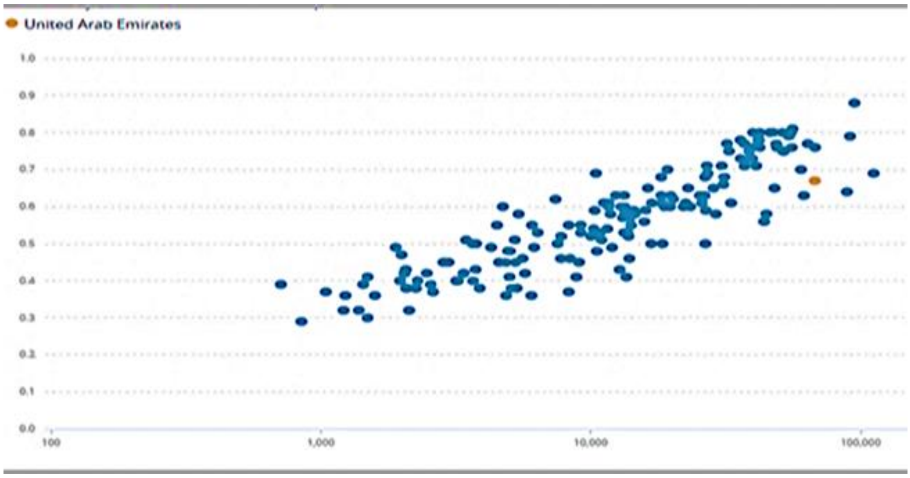
Table 1. the UAE GDP (USD)

2022	2020	2018	2016	2012	2008	2004	2000	Year / Country
507.53	349.47	427.05	369.26	384.61	315.47	147.82	104.34	The UAE

Source:https://data.worldbank.org/country/united-arab-emirates?view=chart

The data presented Table 1 indicate a significant surge in GDP growth in 2022 compared to previous years. Between 2016 and 2019, GDP fluctuated between 1.2 and 3.4 percent, driven primarily by non-oil exports. In 2020, the economy contracted by 6.1 percent due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which caused a 36 percent decline in oil and gas exports as a result of decreased global demand. By 2021, the inflation rate had fallen to -2.1 percent. Forecasts from the Central Bank indicate that the economy fully recovered from the effects of the pandemic by 2022 (Iran Chamber Research Center, 2022:19). Additionally, Figure 2 shows the United Arab Emirates' position in the world regarding the Human Capital Index.

Figure 2. Human Capital Index (HCI) of the UAE



Source:https://data.worldbank.org/country/united-arab-emirates?view=chart

Although the seven emirates exhibit significant heterogeneity, each plays a distinct role in the nation's development. Abu Dhabi dominates due to its vast petroleum reserves, holding the overwhelming share of the country's oil wealth. Dubai is renowned for its robust commercial and economic dynamism, while Sharjah is distinguished by its cultural contributions. Ras Al Khaimah also holds strategic importance, notably as the seat of the Crown Prince (Abdollahi, 2010:110). Despite these internal disparities, the UAE has pursued a cohesive strategy of economic diversification, resulting in the steady expansion of its non-oil sector. Consequently, the UAE ranks second among GCC countries in GDP value, third in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, and fifth globally in trade freedom (Shirzadi, 2015: 130). By October 2020, IMF data placed the UAE 35th worldwide, with a GDP of approximately $354 billion. Furthermore, the volume of international trade and the presence of global corporate entities underscore the UAE's emerging status as a regional economic hub (Zibaei, 2020: 319). Thus, an analysis of key economic indicators confirms that the UAE has successfully positioned itself among the world's prosperous nations through sustained structural reforms.

Coalition of Governing Elites in the UAE

Like other oil-producing monarchies, the UAE has successfully cultivated legitimacy among the broader population, particularly within tribal communities. By developing institutional frameworks and governance patterns that mitigate vulnerability to mass uprisings and domestic instability, these states have maintained political resilience. In such systems, authority is rooted in sacred tradition, commanding obedience through personal loyalty to a ruler whose position is reinforced by customary norms. In Middle Eastern oil monarchies, traditional authority has long been underpinned by broad tribal social and political support. Despite increasing urbanization and modernization, tribal identity and values retain their primacy in contemporary political dynamics. Although the monarchy has become increasingly institutionalized, reducing direct interaction with tribes, the essence of tribalism remains deeply embedded within the ruling family. Consequently, institutions such as shura and majlis continue to function as symbolic tribal mechanisms within state governance. In the UAE, tribal groups are integrated into the state institutional framework, with their roles formally codified in legislation. Since the integration of these tribes into the state apparatus is not yet complete, all oil monarchies, including the UAE, have implemented measures to foster and strengthen clientelistic relationships with their tribal leaders and members. They do this by providing governmental services such as education, healthcare, subsidized food, housing, and employment opportunities. The national agenda of the UAE is outlined in the Vision 2021 document, which articulates aspirations related to citizenship, entrepreneurial spirit, educational advancement, and a knowledge-based economy driven by innovation, research, science, and technology. At present, the UAE government has taken extensive steps toward realizing this vision, which fundamentally promotes economic development (Nowduri & Srinivas, 2019: 264). Evans emphasizes the central role of the state in the development of transitional societies. He argues that some states promote long-term entrepreneurial perspectives among private-sector elites, facilitate collective action, and invest in fundamental infrastructure and education (Shirzadi, 2015: 123). The development strategy of the UAE is broadly consistent with this perspective. Accordingly, the country has developed one of the strongest public sectors in the world. The country's political capacity demonstrates that its political leaders have successfully linked governance capacity with legitimacy, highlighting that the UAE benefits from sufficient resources and political will to govern effectively (Sahu, 2021: 261). The governing elites in the UAE employ financial capital and supportive policies to preserve dominance and legitimacy in their relationship with society (Kamrava, 1999: 166). Consequently, the ruling and royal families of the UAE, while maintaining autonomy in decision-making, continue to engage with various groups within their society.

Correspondence Between the Features of the Developmental State in Evans's View and the UAE

A defining characteristic of the state in the UAE is its ambitious vision for national development and its commitment to achieving high-quality economic, social, and environmental outcomes. This has been accomplished through a governmental apparatus that operates transparently and is supported, within a framework of systematic performance, by competent social services and efficient, innovative mechanisms for the delivery of public services. In what follows, the features of the state in the UAE are examined in light of Evans's view concerning the existence of an efficient bureaucracy and development-oriented elites rooted in society.

An Efficient State Bureaucracy

From Evans's perspective, successful industrial transformation requires a state bureaucracy that is anchored in national interests and autonomous from business stakeholders in decision-making, yet remains engaged with them to comprehend the practical demands of industrialization (Lahoutian, 2016: 68). The UAE was established in 1971 under the leadership of the late Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan as President and the late Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum as Vice President (VNRs/High-Level Political Forum, 2018: 10). In November 2004, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan passed away, and in a smooth transfer of power, his son, Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan succeeded him. He had been Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi for more than thirty years.

In February 2006, a new Council of Ministers was formed through the reorganization of various ministries and the establishment of several new ones. In December 2006, as the first step toward gradual governmental reform, the first elections were held for half of the members of the Federal National Consultative Council (FNC). The UAE government has demonstrated its support for the legal powers of the FNC. Each of the seven emirates has its own government operating alongside the federal government. Abu Dhabi, the largest and most populous emirate, has its own central governing body, the Executive Council, headed by the Crown Prince. The eastern and western regions and Das Island are administered by the Ruler's Representative. Municipalities are responsible for the administration of the principal cities, each of which has its own municipal council. The National Consultative Council functions in a manner similar to that of the Federal National Council. Local departments perform various administrative duties. A similar system of municipalities and departments exists in the other emirates. Owing to its size, population, oil and gas wealth, and portfolio of overseas assets, Abu Dhabi has been, and remains, the dominant political emirate (United States Library of Congress, 2007:21–22). The UAE is governed by federal and local state authorities across all seven emirates, and the Constitution defines their powers and roles.

Although each emirate has enjoyed considerable autonomy in shaping its own development trajectory by using the UAE's national vision, Vision 2021, as a model for future planning (VNRs/High-Level Political Forum, 2018:10), federal and local government authorities generally implement policies, strategies, and standards established at the federal level in coordination with one another. Thus, a centralized bureaucratic system prevails in the country.

Autonomy of Development-Oriented Elites Embedded in Society

In countries outside the West that have achieved development, decision-making for national advancement has been undertaken by political and intellectual elites (Khorramshad & Nejatpour, 2013:141). In developmental states, development-seeking elites, together with many nationalists, pursue rapid capital accumulation with firm determination and, through their targeted investment, gain access to developmental infrastructure and new markets (Emamjomehzadeh et al., 2016: 13). These elites, who constitute a small group of the country's leaders, have come together on the basis of nationalist orientations, strong determination to advance development, commitment to economic growth and transformation, and confidence in their own capacity to pursue developmental objectives (Harati & Ziraki Heidari, 2018: 268). Through appropriate institution-building aimed at achieving their goals by means of economic development, they confront both external and internal threats (Delforoz, 2020: 62). All of them are committed to developmental goals and remain connected to one another within coalitions and alliances that are constantly evolving.

Preserving the cohesion of the elite-supporting coalition has been crucial for the continuity of such states. At the apex of these systems has been the intimacy and interconnectedness of their civil, military, and political bureaucratic components. Development-oriented elites are not unified entities; rather, they are often shifting coalitions with diverse interests (Leftwich, 1995, :405). Leaders and elites came to realize that, in order to preserve the state and their ideals and objectives, they had to establish institutional, political, and economic infrastructures, and that this was possible only through the formation of formal or informal coalitions.

Only under such conditions can a country's resources and capabilities be consistently directed toward national development over time. They also reduce the likelihood that governments will be destabilized by frequent changes in plans and priorities. A fundamental aspect of leadership in program management is maintaining a clear focus on program objectives to ensure effective implementation. Because every new program requires substantial resources, effective program management helps state institutions improve both the efficiency and the effectiveness of the services they deliver and the projects they implement (El Khatib et al., 2021:580). In the UAE, political, legislative, and executive powers are divided between the federal government and the emirates, although the ruler of Abu Dhabi is recognized as the formal head. As President of the UAE, he supported development through planning and action on the basis of the country as a single political unit. His paradigm rested on an exchange between Abu Dhabi's oil wealth and the transfer of the rulers' personal powers to the federal government. This paradigm contributed to the consolidation and strengthening of the federation politically, socially, and economically (Tawfik Al Sadik, 2001:208). Accordingly, the leaders of the new state had to adopt a form of identity politics capable of creating subjective bonds among the member emirates and their citizens. The identity policy adopted in the UAE over the past fifty years may be examined in terms of two periods: ummah-centricity and nationalism.

The pursuit of the ummah-oriented policy corresponded to the reign of Sheikh Zayed, while the turn toward a state-led nation-building policy began and became consolidated during the period of Sheikh Khalifa and the de facto rule of Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed (Kazemi & Mahboubi, 2022: 160). Ultimately, with the completion of the coalition-building process among the ruling elites, the state may be regarded as the most fundamental pillar of the development trajectory in the UAE.

Strategies of Development-Oriented Elites in the UAE

Evans considers the promotion of economic transformation and the guarantee of minimum welfare to be among the duties of the state in the contemporary world (Evans, 2001:36). Accordingly, the UAE Council of Ministers outlined the main directions of development in June 1974 as follows:

- Transforming the productive structure of the economy, optimizing its capacity, diversifying its activities, and maximizing export revenues;
- Focusing on the expansion and exploitation of natural resources, promoting and supporting production, and reducing reliance on import growth;
- Adopting capital-intensive projects in order to reduce labor demand;
- Developing infrastructure in a manner compatible with the requirements of producing goods and services without obstacles and bottlenecks (Tawfik Al Sadik, 2001:209).

Furthermore, the government’s general economic policies are based on the principle of achieving welfare for citizens through the optimal use of available economic and financial resources. Therefore, an overall socio-economic development strategy is implemented and continuously revised and updated in accordance with internal, regional, and international developments and the overall economic interests of the state (Saad Omaira, 2001:11). The general strategies, existing procedures, and bilateral agreements of the country are structured within a set of macro-documents and development plans.

One of these underlying documents is the Vision 2030. Moreover, the most important measure taken by the UAE leadership in macro-economic policies is the diversification of the country’s rentier economy within the framework of the Vision 2021 document, which was approved by Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, Vice President and Prime Minister of the UAE and Ruler of Dubai, at the concluding cabinet session in 2010. The overall objective of this document is a change in status and transformation into a prominent and significant country in terms of economy and trade. This document seeks to reduce the role of hydrocarbon resources in the country’s economy by lifting restrictions on the private sector, international trade, and capital movement; among the most important of these are free-market economic policies and the diversification of the country’s sources of income (Zibaee, 2020:319).

Furthermore, the UAE has adopted two pivotal long-term strategies: UAE Centennial 2071 and the National Agenda 2021. These frameworks prioritize a knowledge-based economy by boosting production, enhancing the competitiveness of domestic firms, and attracting investment in high-tech sectors. Additionally, these strategic documents emphasize legal modernization, including improved regulatory compliance, comprehensive legal reforms to streamline the economic environment, and the removal of foreign ownership restrictions across various sectors.

The implementation of these strategies has significantly enhanced the UAE's standing in key international indices, including Ease of Doing Business, financial competitiveness, and foreign investment attractiveness (Research Center of the Iran Chamber of Commerce, 2022:19). Complementing these strategic initiatives, the UAE continues to apply a robust framework of macroeconomic policies, most notably in the realms of fiscal, monetary, trade, investment, and privatization sectors (Saad Omaira, 2001:11).

Fiscal Policies

The significance of fiscal policy lies in its direct impact on economic activity and the broader trajectory of socio-economic development. It facilitates the achievement of strategic economic objectives through the management of public expenditures and government revenues. Primarily, fiscal policy aims to balance public revenues and expenditures (Saad Omaira, 2001:12). In the context of economic development, national spending is increasingly directed toward investment sectors, thereby driving diversification and structural transformation (Aghaei & Akbarian, 2011:5). While oil remains the primary source of revenue, the UAE is actively pursuing economic diversification.

Estimates indicate that the oil and gas sector accounts for between one-third and one-half of the GDP, while constituting a significantly larger share of government revenues (Nyarko, 2010, :6). Despite efforts to boost non-oil revenues through customs duties and various taxes, oil income still comprises a major portion of the state's budget. However, by implementing an intensified strategy to diversify non-oil economic activities, the UAE increased the non-oil share of its GDP by 10 percent between 2012 and 2018, marking a significant shift in the country's economic structure (Ghosh, 2019:200). Complementing this domestic shift, Abu Dhabi has prioritized free trade agreements with key partners such as China, India, Australia, and New Zealand.

Furthermore, over the past decade, UAE companies have expanded their operations into tourism, aviation, and energy projects across several African nations, including Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and Namibia. Another critical component of the UAE's diversification strategy involves attracting foreign investment.

According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), UAE outward foreign direct investment (OFDI) showed a steady annual increase of approximately $1 billion, reaching $16 billion by 2019. This performance ranked the UAE as the 19th largest foreign investor globally. Conversely, in terms of inward investment, the UAE ranked first in the region in 2019, attracting $14 billion, equivalent to half of the total FDI inflows to the Middle East, thereby surpassing Turkey and establishing itself as the regional hub for foreign capital (UNCTAD, 2020: 6,10). In sum, diversifying the economy and integrating it into international financial markets have created a resilient buffer against the adverse effects of oil price volatility (Zibaee, 2020: 320). These structural transformations were enabled by policy reforms that facilitated FDI flows and by channeling investments into non-oil sectors. Notably, GDP growth has been driven initially by energy-intensive industries such as petrochemicals, fertilizers, cement, and aluminum, and subsequently by tourism, trade, and industrial production (Yousef, 2004: 105). As a result of these strategic initiatives, the UAE has emerged as an economic leader in the Middle East and a pivotal node in the global business network.

Monetary Policies

The government maintains an open and stable monetary and credit framework. The primary objective of this policy is to maintain the strength and stability of the dirham's exchange rate against major foreign currencies. This is achieved through a credit policy designed to meet local demand for liquidity and hard currency, thereby stimulating economic activity and encouraging private investment across various sectors. Furthermore, monetary policy aims to regulate and enhance the efficiency of the banking sector by establishing laws and regulations governing reserve ratios, interest rates, and credit conditions (Saad Omaira, 2001: 12). The banking sector constitutes the cornerstone of the country's financial system and encompasses both conventional and Islamic finance institutions. The government holds significant ownership stakes in the UAE's three largest banks, ensuring strategic oversight, while UAE banks generally enjoy seamless access to the international banking network. The Central Bank of the UAE plays a pivotal role in maintaining economic stability. In addition to issuing risk management standards and regulatory criteria, it has implemented robust frameworks to protect consumer rights (Research Center of the Iran Chamber of Commerce, 2022: 25). Consequently, these measures have fostered a developed and efficient banking system capable of maintaining equilibrium in national markets through the regulation of domestic liquidity, all while remaining closely coordinated with the advanced global banking system.

Trade Policies

Since the establishment of the UAE, an open trade policy has been adopted. The formulation of trade policy in the country is the responsibility of the Ministry of Economy, which carries out this task in cooperation with other ministries and local governments and in consultation with the business community. Since 2020, the UAE ministry has had three ministers rather than one: one responsible for economic affairs, one minister of state for entrepreneurship and small and medium-sized enterprises, and one responsible for foreign trade. All international trade policymaking in the UAE falls under the authority of the third minister, namely the minister responsible for foreign trade. The principal guide and policy framework in the field of foreign trade is Vision 2021.

In the UAE, an important part of the decision-making process in foreign trade is undertaken by the private sector, which is linked to the government through the Federation of UAE Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Research Center of the Iran Chamber of Commerce, 2022: 8). By imposing very low customs duties, which do not exceed 4 percent, the government pursues a policy of foreign trade liberalization. Likewise, no technical, quantitative, or tariff barriers are imposed on national non-oil exports. In fact, the objective is to develop these exports through a policy of diversifying sources of income and reducing dependence on oil exports.

Given the global tendency toward the opening of international markets and the removal of quantitative, technical, and tariff barriers in trade among countries with the aim of liberalizing world trade, the government joined the World Trade Organization in March 1996. As an active player in the new world system, and in accordance with the requirements of WTO membership, the government submitted the customs and legal commitments that had to be granted to various economic sectors with regard to goods and services (Saad Omaira, 2001: 13). The state supports a rules-based multilateral trading system and affirms this through participation in WTO negotiations and in the Joint Statement Initiative on e-commerce trade facilitation and investment.

Since 2016, it has accepted membership in the protocols related to the Trade Facilitation Agreement, and since 2017, it has also been a member of the protocols related to the Amending TRIPS. Abu Dhabi is also a member of the Information Technology Agreement. The UAE is a member of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council and the Pan-Arab Free Trade Area. The Persian Gulf Cooperation Council has free trade agreements with Singapore and the European Free Trade Association. Since 2021, the UAE has also placed on its agenda negotiations with eight countries (India, the United Kingdom, Turkey, South Korea, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Israel, and Kenya) for the conclusion of trade agreements.

Within the framework of the UAE's trade policy, various developments have taken place in the customs field. In the UAE, the Federal Customs Authority oversees general customs policies and their implementation. However, the customs administrations of each emirate may independently enact rules, provided that these do not conflict with the common customs rules. Since 2020, the Federal Customs Authority has established the UAE Customs Gateway project and designated it as a national single customs window for trade in goods, including rules of origin, tariff classification, and customs valuation, in a manner consistent with the Unified Guide of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council (Research Center of the Iran Chamber of Commerce, 2022: 20–21). As a result of various policy measures in the field of trade, the UAE government has made a substantial contribution to the development of this sector.

Investment Policies

The UAE has demonstrated remarkable performance in the investment sector. Studies indicate that a diversified economy, underpinned by a broad range of profitable sectors, possesses a greater capacity to generate new opportunities for growth and employment, ensure economic stability, and foster sustainable development. Crucially, such diversification relies on robust public-private cooperation, with the private sector serving as the primary engine of growth and sustainability (Radwan Said, 2019: 24). Aligning with its broader economic policy to diversify income sources and the production base, the government has adopted an investment framework that actively encourages private-sector participation and strengthens developmental initiatives. Furthermore, it attracts foreign direct investment (FDI) by offering various facilities, incentives, and regulatory exemptions. However, it is worth noting that while these incentives are substantial, they have historically been implemented through a decentralized approach rather than a single, unified strategic document specifically dedicated to attracting foreign investment.

Furthermore, as part of its investment policy, the government implemented the Economic Offset Program, a pioneering initiative designed to facilitate the transfer of advanced technology and specialized knowledge to strengthen the industrial and service sectors. Significant steps were also taken to deepen financial markets; the Dubai Financial Market opened in March 2000, followed by the Abu Dhabi Securities Exchange in November 2000, with both exchanges becoming electronically linked in August 2001 (Saad Omaira, 2001: 15). In recent years, the UAE has adopted further strategic measures to attract foreign investors, most notably the expansion of free trade zones that permit 100 percent foreign ownership. The country has undertaken fundamental revisions to its legal framework, particularly the Commercial Companies Law. These reforms allow foreign investors to hold full ownership in most economic sectors, excluding only those deemed strategically sensitive. Additionally, the new legal framework has abolished the mandatory requirement for foreign companies to appoint a local agent, thereby streamlining market entry for international businesses (Research Center of the Iran Chamber of Commerce, 2022: 20). Another governmental activity in this field has been the establishment of agencies that provide services to exporting merchants, including cooperation in financing for certain specific markets, provision of information on general foreign markets, export management, and similar operational matters. In 2017, the UAE also established a federal export agency that provides services to merchants, such as trade credit insurance, confirmation of letters of credit, and other guarantees and insurance required for exports. Since 2019, the Abu Dhabi Exports Office has also provided specific credit facilities to companies.

In line with global electronic and technological developments, investment policy in the UAE is currently focused on the development of information technology in various economic activities, such as launching the e-government project in 2000, establishing Dubai Internet City, and seeking to develop e-commerce and attract several major information-technology companies, including Microsoft, Oracle, and Apple Macintosh, to make Dubai their operational center in the Middle East (Saad Omaira, 200115). The UAE is a regional leader in pursuing the latest technologies and modern innovations in the Middle East. Through its recent appointment of a Minister of Artificial Intelligence, it has surpassed many developed countries in this field (Halaweh, 2018: 269). With the advancement of digital technologies, the UAE government quickly recognized the benefits of technology in improving access to and delivery of information and services to the public. This led to the establishment of a fully equipped national data center, followed by the creation of a secure national data network and the provision of smart identification cards for citizens and residents (Shamsieva, 2021: 112). In this way, through the use of artificial intelligence, the government possesses an instrument of social control. End users must have trust in the government. Many people believe that the government constantly surrounds citizens and intrudes into their private lives. This lack of trust in the government, in relation to technologies, may undermine the willingness to use these digital technologies (Jasimuddin et al., 2017: 10). At present, 40 percent of the UAE's population uses digital government services more than once a week, and e-commerce in the UAE is growing rapidly and playing an important role in the increasing volume of sales, while traditional retailing in the country is in decline (Shamsieva, 2021: 122).

Among the key long-term drivers of the UAE's competitiveness, which are also major factors in the development of the Persian Gulf region, are knowledge, education, the environment, and entrepreneurial skills. The education system is highly important in the knowledge economy, since it can instill attitudes toward change and learning skills. Education is clearly linked to workforce skills and is therefore important for employment. Technology is also a strategic driver of growth and competition. Technological change, in particular, is a vital element in increasing productivity and economic growth, and entrepreneurial skills are another essential element in the development of the knowledge economy.

One of the important measures that must be taken to support entrepreneurship is the creation of an economic environment in which a business culture is welcomed, and in which attitudes toward responsibility and risk are also viewed positively (Schiliro, 2013: 9). Accordingly, various programs have been implemented to create an attractive business environment, support national industries and domestic growth, acquire technology, stimulate innovation, and introduce the UAE as an investment destination.

It should be noted that tourism is an economic pillar for the UAE, and the country is actively positioning itself in the tourism market as a destination for man-made wonders. In recent years, significant progress has been made in expanding tourism offerings and developing medical tourism in the country, particularly in the most developed tourism emirates, such as Dubai and Abu Dhabi. In terms of medical tourism, Dubai's focus is mainly on cosmetic surgery, health checkups, orthopedic surgery, ophthalmology, dentistry, dermatology, and fertility treatments (Bulatovic & Iankova, 2021: 2). Thus, by investing in the various fields mentioned above, the government has not only generated economic and social development for the country but has also controlled political demands and tensions and brought society under its management.

Privatization

Recognizing the pivotal role of the private sector in socio-economic development, the UAE government has committed to transferring ownership of certain state-led development projects to private entities and citizens. There is a strong positive correlation between domestic credit to the private sector and economic diversification. Specifically, the share of domestic credit to the private sector in GDP exhibits both short-term and long-term relationships with the economic diversification index, indicating that enhanced access to credit significantly drives diversification efforts (Radwan Said, 2019: 23). In practice, this policy has facilitated the successful privatization of key industrial assets formerly held by the General Industry Corporation and restructured Abu Dhabi's water and electricity sectors. To further achieve the objectives of its privatization strategy, the government has systematically reduced its direct participation in large-scale development projects, thereby creating space for major private enterprises such as Abu Dhabi Shipbuilding, Al Khazna Insurance, and Emaar Properties to thrive (Saad Omaira, 2001:15). By fostering a robust private sector, the UAE not only diversifies its production base but also generates substantial employment opportunities for its population (Radwan Said, 2019: 24). Consequently, privatization has served as a critical mechanism through which the ruling elites have facilitated broader economic transformation and structural change.

Conclusion

Through efficient management, developmental states overcome the obstacles inherent in social development. By employing strategic planning and diverse policy approaches, they play a pivotal role in fostering comprehensive societal growth. In his comparative-institutional approach to development, Peter Evans posits that a state is truly developmental if it possesses two simultaneous characteristics: first, it must possess an efficient bureaucracy; and second, its state elites must pursue developmental goals by relying on society. Drawing on Evans's framework to address this study's research question, we conclude that the UAE's ruling elites have fostered the necessary capacity for national development by forming purposeful, development-oriented coalitions and establishing strategic relationships with citizens and businesses. This approach has enabled them to achieve high growth and successful structural transformation. Within the framework of the country's national vision documents, they have provided various strategies and policies aimed at diversifying the nation's non-oil economy.

In this regard, it should be noted that the UAE's federal monarchical system of government requires strong political leadership and administrative capacity. This centralized system has enabled the government to make decisive political decisions and exercise effective executive authority. It has also strengthened coordination and cooperation among different levels of government in implementing macroeconomic policies and development programs. The country's general policy framework is set out in a series of long-term national visions and strategic documents. These include Vision 2021, approved by Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum in 2010; Vision 2030; the National Task for Non-Oil Export Development document, issued in June 2021; and several other long-term development strategies. Alongside these strategic documents, the UAE has implemented a range of general economic policies, most notably in the areas of fiscal, monetary, trade, investment, and privatization. Fiscal policy has focused on rationalizing public expenditure, reforming the fiscal system, diversifying the production base, and increasing non-oil public revenues. These measures have encouraged substantial investment by Emirati companies in tourism, aviation, and oil-related industries. The government has also adopted an open monetary and credit policy. Trade policy is administered by the Ministry of Economy in cooperation with other ministries, local governments, and the business community. The ministry seeks to create a business-friendly environment, promote investment, and modernize the country's regulatory framework. In addition, the UAE is a member of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and the Pan-Arab Free Trade Area. It also supports a rules-based multilateral trading system, the expansion of e-commerce, and increased international investment.

The UAE has demonstrated a remarkable performance in attracting investment. As part of its broader strategy to diversify both revenue sources and the production base, the government has adopted a comprehensive investment policy. This policy provides investors with a wide range of incentives, exemptions, and other forms of support. It also encourages private-sector investment and strengthens the sector's role in promoting economic development. In addition, the government has introduced several initiatives to enhance the country's investment climate. These include the launch of the e-government project in 2000, the establishment of Internet City, and efforts to expand e-commerce and attract leading global technology companies, such as Microsoft, Oracle, and Apple. Together, these initiatives have reinforced the UAE's position as a regional hub for technology and innovation. The government's privatization policy has likewise focused on expanding private-sector participation by transferring ownership of selected development projects to citizens and private investors. Through these institutional capacities, strategic policy orientation, and effective policymaking, the UAE government has played a leading role in driving the country's rapid economic development.

References

Abbasi, I., & Mahmoudi, A. (2019). The position and roles of the government in the third development program of the Islamic Republic of Iran from the perspective of new institutionalism. *Political and International Approaches, 11*(1), 107–131. [In Persian].

Abdulahi, H. (2011). *Globalization of the economy and economic development of the United Arab Emirates from 1971 to 2007* [Master's thesis, University of Tehran, Faculty of Law and Political Sciences]. [In Persian].

Afshar, Z. A., Kavossi, I., & Jafari, R. (2016). Comparative comparison of successful and unsuccessful development in transition countries. *Challenges of the World, 2*(1), 23–50. [In Persian].

Aghaei, D., & Akbarian, A. (2011). Political economy of multinational companies and development-oriented government. *Journal of the Faculty of Law and Political Science, 41*(1), 1–20. [In Persian].

Bulatovic, I., & Iankova, K. (2021). Barriers to medical tourism development in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 18*, 1365. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18031365

Burnell, P., & Randell, W. (2008). *Third world issues* (A. Saei & S. Mirtrabi, Trans.). Qoms. [In Persian].

Delfrooz, M. T. (2020). *Government and economic development: The political economy of development in Iran and developmental governments*. Agah, 62. [In Persian].

El Khatib, M., Al Qurashi, F., & Al Brieki, S. (2021). Challenges of design and implementation of program governance. *American Journal of Industrial and Business Management, 11*, 566–581. https://doi.org/10.4236/ajibm.115036.

Evans, P. (2001). *Development or plunder: The role of the government in industrial transformation* (A. Zandbaf & A. Mokhber, Trans.). Tarh-e No. [In Persian].

Ghosh, T. P. (2019). Economic diversification and the state of oil dependency of UAE stock returns: An analysis of ADX indices 2014–2019. *Accounting and Finance Research, 8*(4). http://afr.sciedupress.com

Halaweh, M. (2018). Viewpoint: Artificial intelligence government (Gov. 3.0): The UAE leading model. *Journal of Artificial Intelligence Research, 62*, 269–272.

Harati, M. J., & Ziraki Heydari, A. (2018). The “curse of resources” and the failure of the “development-oriented state” model in the oil-rich states of the Middle East. *World Politics, 7*(3), 263–289. [In Persian].

Imam Jumehzadeh, J., Shahram Niya, A. M., & Safarian Garmekhani, R. (2016). A model of good governance: A cooperative society and an efficient government in development management. *Political Science, 12*(36), 7–40. [In Persian].

Iran Chamber Research Center. (2021). *Trade policy of the United Arab Emirates*. Macroeconomic Management and Future Studies Report. [In Persian].

Jasimuddin, S., Mishra, N., & Almuraqab, N. (2017). Modelling the factors that influence the acceptance of digital technologies in e-government services in the UAE. *Production Planning & Control*. http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/09537287.

Javadi Arjmand, M. J., Mokaramipour, M. B., & Naqdi Nejad, A. (2019). Governance and economic development in Iran. *Strategic Research Quarterly of the Islamic Revolution, 2*(6), 137. [In Persian].

Kamrava, M. (1999). Structural analysis of non-democratic states and political liberalization in the Middle East (M. T. Delfrooz, Trans.). *Middle Eastern Studies, 6*(4), 166. [In Persian].

Kazemi, H., & Mahboubi, M. (2022). Development and evolution of state-led nation-building in the United Arab Emirates. *Political and International Approaches, 14*(1), 199–216. [In Persian].

Kohli, A. (2004). *State-directed development: Political power and industrialization in the global periphery*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511754371

Kelvani Nitel, S., Momen Nejad, M., & Naqash, S. (2018). Globalization of politics and its effect on the process of political development in Iran. *Research of Nations, 4*(38), 67–88. [In Persian].

Khorramshad, M. B., & Nejatpour, M. (2015). The liberal developmentalist current and development after the Islamic Revolution, with an emphasis on the state. *Government Studies, 1*(4), 119–156. [In Persian].

Lahotian, A. (2016). Developmentalist government and its future in the process of globalization. *Science and Technology Policy, 6*(4), 65–76. [In Persian].

Leftwich, A. (1995). Bringing politics back in: Towards a model of the developmental state. *The Journal of Development Studies, 31*(3), 400–427.

Moezi, A., & Vathoqi, S. (2018). The relationship between “security” and “development” in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. *Global Politics, 7*(2), 27–54. [In Persian].

Nowduri, S. (2019). A comparative study between learning organizational framework and UAE government initiatives. *Archives of Business Research, 7*(12), 257–266.

Nyarko, Y. (2010). *The United Arab Emirates: Some lessons in economic development* (WIDER Working Paper No. 2010/11). United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research. http://hdl.handle.net/10419/54154

Radwan Said, R. (2019). A quantitative assessment of the role of the private sector in economic diversification in UAE. *Research in Applied Economics, 11*(4), 24. http://rae.macrothink.org

Sahu, M. (2021). Public policy measures for COVID-19 crisis management: Lessons from the UAE. *Fulbright Review of Economics and Policy, 1*(2), 246–265. https://www.emerald.com/insight/2635-0173.htm

Schilirò, D. (2013). *Diversification and development of the UAE's economy* (MPRA Paper No. 47089). https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/47089/

Shamsieva, W. (2021). To the question about the phenomenon of the smart government of the UAE public administration and public service. *Public Administration and Public Service*, (2), 112–122. https://doi.org/10.52123/1994-2370-2021-251

Shihab, M. (2001). United Arab Emirates: A new perspective. In I. Al Abed & P. Hellyer (Eds.), *United Arab Emirates: A new perspective.* Printed at Bookcraft (p. 249).

Shirzadi, R. (2015). Factors of human development in the United Arab Emirates. *Contemporary Political Essays, 6*(2), 119–138. [In Persian].

Tawfik Al Sadik, A. (2001). Evolution and performance of the UAE economy 1972–1998. In I. Al Abed & P. Hellyer (Eds.), *United Arab Emirates: A new perspective*. Printed at Bookcraft (p. 208-209).

Ulrichsen, K. C. (2012). *Small states with a big role: Qatar and the United Arab Emirates in the wake of the Arab Spring* (HH Sheikh Nasser Al-Mohammad Al-Sabah Publication Series, No. 3). Durham University.

United Nations High-Level Political Forum. (2018). *United Arab Emirates and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development: Excellence in implementation: Executive summary*. National Committee on Sustainable Development Goals.

United States Library of Congress, Federal Research Division. (2007). *Country profile: United Arab Emirates (UAE)*. https://www.refworld.org/docid/46f9135ed.html

Yousef, T. M. (2004). Development, growth and policy reform in the Middle East and North Africa since 1950. *Journal of Economic Perspectives, 18*(3), 91–116.

Zibaei, M. (2019). Emerging middle powers in the New Middle East: United Arab Emirates and Qatar. *Foreign Relations, 12*(2), 309–336. [In Persian].