



المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات
Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies

Strategic Studies Unit

Protracted Arab Civil Wars

Causes and Challenges

11-14 September 2021

Online Registration



[About the Conference](#) | [Timetable](#) | [Participants](#) | [Abstract](#)

About the Conference

The Arab region has experienced multiple civil wars before and after the 2011 Arab Spring. Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Oman, and Yemen have all witnessed multiple episodes of these wars, including enduring insurgencies. The levels of violence have shaped the political and social consciousness of the peoples of the region as well as around the world. Today, at least six Arab countries still suffer ongoing internal wars. The Arab region scored the highest armed conflict ratio per capita in the world.¹ The highest number of victims of armed conflict and political violence in the world still resides in the region.² Some scholars have argued that civil wars in the Arab region had impacted international security, more so than other comparable conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia or Latin America.³ Others have argued that civil wars in the region "resist the standard treatment model of mediation, third-party peacekeeping operations, and aid programs," given the fate(s) of third-party efforts to build functional and self-sustaining states following state collapse due to civil war, misrule, foreign political and military interventions, and/or invasions.⁴ Still worldwide, there are some thirty active civil wars, ranging from Afghanistan and Syria to Ukraine and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, with the average duration of conflict increasing – not decreasing – over the past twenty years.⁵

Most civil wars started in states with high levels of corruption, repression, and limited resources and capabilities. International and regional powers and their armed state actors have sometimes, but not always, become involved in these conflicts, with roles ranging from mediation and peace diplomacy to direct involvement in combat and sponsorship of a militia or an armed party(ies). Additionally, Arab, and also non-Arab, armed nonstate actors have been involved in several Arab civil wars. On the individual – as opposed to the collective – level, the Syrian civil war involved large numbers of foreign fighters; numbers that are unprecedented in the Arab region since the Arab Israeli war of 1948. That includes the Brigade-sized armed formations of the Turkistan Islamic Party, composed of Chinese Uyghur fighters. State-sponsored foreign private military contractors – ranging from Colombian ex-soldiers to Russian mercenaries – are also directly or

1 Since 1945 or their independence, 90 percent of all states in the Middle East and the Maghreb have witnessed at least one violent conflict. The comparable violence ratio worldwide is 64 percent. See for example: Frank Pfetsch & Christoph Rohloff, *National and International Conflicts, 1945-1995: New Empirical and Theoretical Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 77.

2 Scott Gates et al., "Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946-2014," *Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Conflict Trends*, (January 2016), p. 4; Kendra Dupuy & Siri Aas Rustand, "Trends in Armed Conflict, 1946-2017," *Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Conflict Trends*, (January 2016), p. 4.

3 Karl Eikenberry & Stephen Krasner, "Introduction to Civil Wars and Global Disorder: Threats and Opportunities," *Daedalus*, vol. 146, no. 4 (Winter 2017), pp. 12-13.

4 See for example: Richard Gowan & Stephen Stedman, "The International Regime for Treating Civil Wars: 1988-2017," *Daedalus*, vol. 147, no. 1 (Winter 2018), pp. 171-184.

5 James D. Fearon, "Civil War and the Current International System," *Daedalus*, vol. 146, no. 4 (Fall 2017), pp. 19-20.

indirectly involved in combat in Syria, Libya, Yemen and elsewhere. Expectedly, the ramifications of these wars have engendered humanitarian suffering, environmental damages, mass exodus, major internal displacement, and uncontrollable refugee spill-over.

Given these protracted and still under-researched dynamics, the Strategic Studies Unit of the Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS) is organizing its third conference entitled "Protracted Arab Civil Wars: Causes and Challenges" on 11-14 September 2021. During eight sessions, the conference participants – both scholars and practitioners – will examine the protraction of Arab civil wars, including causations; "exceptionalisms;" security, humanitarian and environmental ramifications; the impact of both female and foreign fighters' (participation); changing character of civil wars in terms of tactics and strategies; the role(s) of international and regional powers; the impact(s) of spoilers; and comparative non-Arab cases of ending civil wars and post-civil war management.

The protraction of Arab civil wars has prompted several timely research questions that will be addressed during the conference: Is there any exceptionalism in Arab civil wars, in terms of causes, duration, intensity, scale and scope? If yes, why? What are the strategic implications of protracted civil wars for regional and international security? How can external powers influence the trajectories of these civil wars? Can they improve governance in areas that have been afflicted by civil wars? What are the roles of armed nonstate actors as military, political and administrative nonstate entities? How will these wars and their aftermath affect humanitarian and environmental policies in the region and beyond? What are the prospects of total war termination, nonviolent conflict management and sustaining civil peace, stability, and reforms in the aftermath of these civil wars? Are there any lessons to be learned from non-Arab cases? All these questions and more will be addressed and discussed in the conference.

Following the "Protracted Arab Civil Wars: Causes and Challenges" conference, a selected number of papers may be published in an edited volume by the Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies in Arabic. An English version will also be published by a western university press. The volume will engage with the abovementioned research questions and their impact on the socio-political environments of the Arab World.

Timetable

Day 1, Saturday, 11 September 2021

[Register](#)



ID: 898 6672 8568

15:00 – 16:30	<p>Opening Session</p> <p>Chair: Omar Ashour</p> <p>Stathis Kalyvas Some Reflections on Arab Civil Wars</p> <p>Tamim al-Barghouti One War, Different Battles</p>
16:30 – 16:45	Break
16:45 – 18:45	<p>Panel One</p> <p>Protraction and "Exceptionalism": Causations, Complications and Cases</p> <p>Chair: Abdelwahab El-Affendi</p> <p>Sidahmed Goudjili Literature Gaps, "Exceptionalism" and Data Issues in Arab Civil Wars</p> <p>Hamid Eltigani Ali Causes of Protracted Sudanese Civil Wars</p> <p>Hani Awad & Majd Abuamer What Civil War is-and is Not: Lessons from the Arab World</p> <p>Abdullah Baaboud The Dhofar Insurgency: Causes and Ramifications</p>

- Timing of sessions based on Doha local time (GMT +3)

Day 2, Sunday, 12 September 2021

Register



ID: 894 8484 3626

15:00 – 16:30	<p>Panel Two</p> <p>Women at (Civil) War</p> <p>Chair: Mariam Al-Misnad</p> <p>Ora Szekely Unlikely Allies: Women, Privilege, and Participation in the Syrian Uprising</p> <p>Muhanad Seloom YPJ in Syrian Civil War: An Intersectional Inquiry into Kurdish Female Fighters</p> <p>Jessica Trisko Darden & Duenya Hassan Undoing the Caliphate: Women's Roles in ISIS and Repatriation Efforts</p>
16:30 – 16:45	Break
16:45 – 18:15	<p>Panel Three</p> <p>Roles of Regional Powers: Spoilers, Guarantors or Resolvers</p> <p>Chair: Rashid Hamad Al-Nuaimi</p> <p>Harith Hasan The Iranian Role in the Iraqi Conflicts</p> <p>Imad Mansour & William R. Thompson The Rivalry-Civil War Farrago in the MENA</p> <p>Emadeddin Badi The Russian and Turkish Interventions in the Libyan Civil War and the Ramifications</p>

Day 3, Monday, 13 September 2021

Register



ID: 828 7315 2763

15:00 – 17:00	<p>Panel Four</p> <p>"Foreigners" in Civil Wars</p> <p>Chair: Haider Saeed</p> <p>Thomas Juneau How War Transformed the Partnership between Iran and the Houthis?</p> <p>Thomas Hegghammer Will Arab Fighters Return to Afghanistan?</p> <p>Hamzeh al-Mustapha & Laila Alrefaai The Turkistan Islamic Party between Locality of Syrian "Jihad" and Geopolitical Conflicts</p> <p>Nicola Mathieson Tracing the Impact of Foreign Fighters: The Long-term Implications of the Soviet-Afghan and Afghan Civil War</p>
17:00 – 17:15	Break
17:15 – 18:45	<p>Panel Five</p> <p>The Changing Character of (Civil) War</p> <p>Chair: Marwan Kabalan</p> <p>Rex Brynen Military Innovation in the Arab Civil Wars: A Comparative and Historical Perspective</p> <p>Craig Whiteside Carving Out a Caliphate: The Islamic State's Revolutionary War Doctrine</p> <p>Brynjar Lia Jihadi Insurgencies and Proto-states: Origins, Evolution and Future Prospects</p>

Day 4, Tuesday, 14 September 2021

Register



ID: 848 9686 0431

13:00 – 15:00	<p>Panel Six</p> <p>Humanitarian and Environmental Implications of (Civil) Wars</p> <p>Chair: Abdulfatah Mohamed</p> <p>Moataz El Fegiry Time and Again: Humanitarian Consequences of International and Regional Geopolitics of Arab Civil Wars</p> <p>Mohammad Al-Saidi The Environmental Impacts of Arab Civil Wars: From Basic Supply Destruction to Weaponization</p> <p>Moosa Elayah Humanitarian and Environmental Data and Implications: The Case of Yemen</p> <p>Tomas Dumbrovsky Sharing and Trading Refugees: Syrian Civil War as New Impetus for Reconfiguring International Refugee Law</p>
15:00 – 15:15	Break
15:15 – 17:15	<p>Panel Seven</p> <p>Comparative Successes, Failures and Stalemates</p> <p>Chair: Ayat Hamadan</p> <p>David Darchiashvili From War to "Democracy": How Did the Georgian Civil War Transform?</p> <p>Luka Šterić From Civil War to Security Sector Reform: Assessing Serbia and the Western Balkans after the Yugoslav Civil Wars</p> <p>Ali Elwahishi The Libyan Civil War and the Challenges of Peace Prospects</p> <p>Mansour Lakhdari The Algerian Experience in Ending Civil War: Context and Consequences of the Security Crisis</p>
17:15 – 17:30	Concluding Remarks

Participants

Abstracts



Majd Abuamer

Researcher and Rapporteur of the Strategic Studies Unit at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, and the Editorial Secretary of *Omran* Journal for Social Sciences. He received a Master's degree in Political Science and International Relations from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. His research interests focus on democratic transition, social movements, the Arab state, and issues of identity and diaspora.

What Civil War is-and is Not: Lessons from the Arab World

Since the middle of the twentieth century, the world has been witnessing an era of intra-state wars. In addition to the battles raging east and west, there is a disagreement among researchers over the definition of these wars. This controversy has resulted in conceptual chaos; as the concept of civil war has often come to refer to, or become convoluted with, other concepts, such as sectarian war, ethnic war, separatist war, Insurgency, asymmetric war, irregular war, proxy war, organized political violence, among others. This in turn adds ambiguity to the concept, rendering it to mean everything and nothing at the same time; becoming a contested concept. On the premise that the study of armed conflicts within the borders of the Arab state may contribute to defining the concept, this paper examines 15 armed conflicts in nine Arab countries, seeking to propose a normative theoretical model that re-conceptualizes civil war as an armed conflict over the national state and within its sovereign borders. In this model, one of the parties is necessarily a state with weak legitimacy (or parts of it), and a Social Movement Organization(s) (SMO), that emerges as a result of: the failure of settlement between parties, the state's failure to eliminate the social movement or contain its political activism, and the SMO's failure to change the state.



Tamim al-Barghouti

Political scientist, diplomat and poet. He received his PhD in political science from Boston University, USA (2004), and has since taught at Georgetown University, the Free University in Berlin, and the American University in Cairo. He was also a fellow at the Berlin Institute for Advanced studies (2007-2008) and worked with and at the United Nations from 2005-2006 and 2011-2017 as: Special Assistant to the Deputy Secretary General, the Executive Secretary of the Economic and Social Commission for West Asia and Head of the Palestine Unit in the same Commission. He was the core team leader and lead author of the UNESCWA report *Injustice in the Arab World, and the Arab Development Outlook: Vision 2030* (2015). He has authored *Benign Nationalism* (2007) and *The Umma and The Dawla: The Nation State and the Arab Middle East* (2008), as well as "War, Peace, Civil War: A Pattern?," in *Palestine and the Palestinians in the 21st century* (2013), "The Post-Colonial State: The Impossible Compromise" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam and Politics* (2014), and "Cracking Cauldrons," in *Shifting Sands: the Unraveling of the Old Order in the Middle East* (2015).

One War, Different Battles

Recently, traditional, mainstream, statistical-behavioural approaches that categorize and seek out cross-cultural, and trans-continental patterns to understand and predict the outcome of political phenomena in the Arab world have often been far off the mark. This is so not due to any structural flaw in the methodology itself, but rather the fact that the units of analysis in the Arab world are deceiving; studying nation- state, supra-state global and regional systems, or even sub-state armed organizations, tends to ignore the cultural intricacies and organic interdependencies in the Arab Region. In this day and age, demography (youth bulge, urban-concentration, inner-city politics, etc.) and communication technology allow for public sentiment to turn into collective action without having to pass through a stage of central, party- or state-like pyramidal organization. This makes immersive knowledge of the regions' cultural norms and expressions of collective memory and sentiment, rather indispensable for us to understand, let alone predict, the outcome of political and military conflicts in the region.



Hamid Eltigani Ali

Associate Professor and Dean of the School of Public Administration and Development Economics at Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He obtained his PhD in Economics and Public Policy from the University of Texas-Austin in 2004 and was a researcher at US government Accountability Office (GAO), where he was a major contributor on various reports to US congressional committees. His primary research interests focus on peace economics, economic inequality, defence spending, natural resources, and conflict. He is the co-author/editor of a number of books, including: *Natural Resources, Inequality and Conflict* (2021); *Institutional Reforms, Governance, and Services Delivery in the Global South* (2021); *Darfur Political Economy: A Quest for Development* (2014); and *Defense Spending, Natural Resources, and Conflict* (2017).

Causes of Protracted Sudanese Civil Wars

Sudan has witnessed various conflicts since its independence in 1956: the civil war with South Sudan 1956–1972 and 1983–2004, and the Darfur conflict 2003–2018. The conflict with South Sudan ended with secession, but another regional conflict continues in the Blue Nile and Nuba Mountains. The underlying factors triggering and sustaining the conflict are complex and multifaceted. Historically, Sudan was created by imperial powers through the coercion of historical power centers (kingdoms) that predated modern Sudan. Identity and colonial economic motives accelerated historical grievances and resulted in the implosion of rebellion in areas that birthed historical kingdoms. The area of the Nubian kingdoms hosted a rebirth of the rebellion of eastern Sudan and the rise of Nubian Kush. The Funj Kingdom of Sinnar is represented by the rebellion in the area of the Blue Nile; the Tagali Kingdom is mirrored by the rebellion in the Nubian mountains and South Kordofan; the Keira Sultanate is reflected in Darfur rebellion, and the Shilluk kingdom corresponds to South Sudan. The paper addresses the causes of conflict for unified Sudan, which fought two civil wars, discussing factors such as economic inequality, marginalization, and exclusion.



Hamzeh al-Mustapha

PhD Candidate in Middle Eastern Politics at the University of Exeter, UK, and General Director of Syria TV. He holds a master's degree in political science and international relations from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, and previously worked as a researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He has published a number of peer-reviewed research papers and the book *The Virtual Public Sphere in the Syrian Revolution: Features, Orientations, and Mechanisms to Create Public Opinion* (2012).

The Turkistan Islamic Party between Locality of Syrian "Jihad" and Geopolitical Conflicts

Founded long before the Syrian Revolution, the Turkistan Islamic Party (TIP) and its Syrian branch became more active from around 2012 when "Katibat Syria" (Syrian Brigade) moved to Syria and transformed into a powerful Jihadi force during various battles against the Syrian regime. However, while the TIP was active within Syria, its main objective was to liberate "Eastern Turkistan" (i.e. Xinjiang) from the Chinese government. Its leadership has sworn allegiance to the Taliban since 1998, after transferring its leadership to Kabul, while in Syria, the party has engaged in Jihadi-Jihadi conflicts between the "Islamic State," Al Qaeda, and Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham (HTS), exchanging fighters among the rank-and-files and suffering defections in the leadership along ideological lines and changing loyalties. Recently, the bulk of TIP is alleged to be secretly loyal to HTS under Abu Mohammad al-Jolani's leadership and, as of 2020, the US no designates the party as a terrorist group. With this ideologically, politically, and militarily complicated synthesis, along with its impacts on state and non-state actors in Syria, in the region, and internationally, the TIP, and particularly its Syrian branch, represents a rich understudied case. This paper seeks to address this gap by tracing TIP's roots as a foreign faction in the Syrian war, investigating its operational expansion; and observing its combat tactics, factional alliances, and relationship with local communities. Finally, the paper foresees the potential roles and future of TIP in Syria and beyond in multiple contexts.



Laila Alrefaai

Master's student in Sociology at the Marmara University, Turkey. A specialist in religious affairs, she has published peer-reviewed research and reports about Syria, including: "The Sunni Religious Establishment of Damascus: When Unification Creates Division" (2020) with the Carnegie Middle East Center.

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Mohammad Al-Saidi

Assistant professor at the Department of International Affairs at Qatar University. He holds a PhD in economics from Heidelberg University, Germany. He has worked on projects and published papers on Yemen, the Gulf, East Africa, and Jordan on issues ranging from development and the environment to water resources management, and sustainability transitions.

The Environmental Impacts of Arab Civil Wars: From Basic Supply Destruction to Weaponization

Environmental factors have featured highly in academic debates about the root causes of local and national conflicts thorough the Middle East. For example, the Syrian war is often linked to climate variability, loss of agricultural livelihoods, and migration during the years prior to the current conflict. More broadly, studies linking environmental issues to conflicts stress the importance of considering the failures of past public policies in addressing the rising pressures on resources such as land and water. The ongoing Arab civil wars have also produced significant impacts on a wide range of environment-related sectors. This contribution examines such impacts by highflying key basic supply sectors for water, energy, and food. Using examples from Yemen and Syria, it illustrates immediate impacts on destruction, supply interruptions and weaponization. Furthermore, there are indirect impacts such as the deteriorating the health of humans and ecosystems as well as weakening public institutions. Using project cases, the contribution also discusses community adaptation and donor-led interventions to enhance the resilience of infrastructure to future conflicts. The Arab civil wars have demonstrated the remarkable adaptive capacities of communities and the need for new approaches that link humanitarian aid to long-term sustainable development.



Hani Awad

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and Editorial Manager of *Omran Journal for Social Sciences*. He received his PhD in International Development from the University of Oxford, United Kingdom and is the author of *Transformation of the Concept of Arab Nationalism* (2013) and *The Dilemma of Authoritarian Local Governance in Egypt* by Edinburgh University Press (Forthcoming, 2022). His most recent study "Understanding Hamas: Remarks on Three Different and Interrelated Theoretical Approaches," was published in *Siyasat Arabiya* (July 2020).

What Civil War is-and is Not: Lessons from the Arab World

Since the middle of the twentieth century, the world has been witnessing an era of intra-state wars. In addition to the battles raging east and west, there is a disagreement among researchers over the definition of these wars. This controversy has resulted in conceptual chaos; as the concept of civil war has often come to refer to, or become convoluted with, other concepts, such as sectarian war, ethnic war, separatist war, Insurgency, asymmetric war, irregular war, proxy war, organized political violence, among others. This in turn adds ambiguity to the concept, rendering it to mean everything and nothing at the same time; becoming a contested concept. On the premise that the study of armed conflicts within the borders of the Arab state may contribute to defining the concept, this paper examines 15 armed conflicts in nine Arab countries, seeking to propose a normative theoretical model that re-conceptualizes civil war as an armed conflict over the national state and within its sovereign borders. In this model, one of the parties is necessarily a state with weak legitimacy (or parts of it), and a Social Movement Organization(s) (SMO), that emerges as a result of: the failure of settlement between parties, the state's failure to eliminate the social movement or contain its political activism, and the SMO's failure to change the state.



Abdullah Baaboud

Visiting Fellow and Chair of the State of Qatar for Islamic Area Studies at the Faculty of International Research and Education at Waseda University, Tokyo. He is also an Adjunct Professor in the Gulf Studies Center at Qatar University. He holds a PhD in International Political Economy from the University of Cambridge, UK. He worked as the director of the Gulf Research Center at the University of Cambridge and the director of the Gulf Studies Center at Qatar University. His academic interests focus on the Gulf states and their economic and social development as well as their international relations.

The Dhofar Insurgency: Causes and Ramifications

The contemporary political history of Oman reveals the centrality of popular movements in shaping events and outcomes which led to a lasting impact on the country's current formation. The Dhofar Rebellion (1965-1976) played a role in the eventual creation of the modern Sultanate of Oman. What started initially as a small-scale tribal insurgency by the Dhofar Liberation Movement (DLF), against the Sultan Said bin Taimur transformed into a wider regional movement. The DLF was no longer simply content with liberating Dhofar or even Oman but rebranded itself as the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (PFLOAG) and became intent on spreading its political, social, and revolutionary ideology across the Arabian Gulf. While it was locally inspired, the insurgency became the longest running major armed struggle in the history of the Arabian Peninsula, the last classic colonial war in the region, and one of the most memorable milestones of the Cold War in the Middle East. Despite that local, regional and global dynamics played a major role in its transformation and finally contributed to its demise, it still became a bifurcation point in the history of the Sultanate of Oman.



Emadeddin Badi

Senior Analyst at the Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime's North Africa and Sahel Observatory as well as an Advisor for Libya at the Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance (DCAF). He is also a Non-resident Senior Fellow with the Middle East Program at the Atlantic Council. He holds a master's degree in Violence, Conflict and Development from the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and has worked as a Non-resident Scholar at the Counterterrorism and Extremism Program at the Middle East Institute and as a Policy Fellow at the European University Institute.

The Russian and Turkish Interventions in the Libyan Civil War and the Ramifications

Following the launch of Khalifa Haftar's offensive on Tripoli in April 2019, Russia and Turkey swooped into Libya in an unprecedented intervention, backing opposite factions. They have since sought to maximize their ability to advance their respective perceived strategic interests. Both Moscow and Ankara have primarily secured a leverage in the North African country in the military arena. Yet, despite their shared securitized approach to interventionism, both countries have adopted starkly distinct approaches to security assistance and developed vastly different models of cooperation (or lack thereof) with local "partners". This article will seek to elucidate ways in which Turkey and Ankara have modelled their respective blueprints for security assistance in Libya, with the broader aim of advancing their respective agendas.



Rex Brynen

Professor of Political Science at McGill University, Canada. He received his PhD from the University of Calgary, Canada. He also served as intelligence analyst, and as a consultant on conflict simulation and political-military wargaming to the Canadian Department of National Defence, the UK Ministry of Defence, NATO, and various other agencies and organizations. He authored, co-authored, and edited a dozen books on Middle East politics, security, and peacebuilding, including: *Challenges of the Developing World* (2019), *Palestinian Refugee Problem: The Search for a Resolution* (2013), *Beyond the Arab Spring: Authoritarianism & Democratization in the Arab World* (2012).

Military Innovation in the Arab Civil Wars: A Comparative and Historical Perspective

Some combatants in some Arab civil wars have adopted certain innovative tactical or operational methods of warfighting. Many of the methods that might be labelled as "innovative" can also be founded in other asymmetric conflicts, civil wars, or combat conducted in similar environments. This paper will identify the conditions under which military "innovation" has emerged in civil conflicts in the Arab world, distinguishing between tactics that are truly novel and those that represent a more common adaptation to particular conflict environments.



David Darchiashvili

Professor at the School of Arts and Sciences in Ilia State University, Georgia. He served as a member of the Georgian parliament between 2008 and 2016. He published a number of studies and book chapters, most recently co-authored with the Stephen Jones, and entitled "Georgia: Warlords, Generals and Politicians," published by *Oxford Research Encyclopaedias*.

From War to "Democracy": How Did the Georgian Civil War Transform?

Georgia remains a so-called hybrid regime not quite reaching the level of mature, consolidated democracies. Hence, old social and political cleavages, which have contributed to the ethnic and civil armed clashes since its independence declared in the beginning of the 90s, are yet to be eradicated. However, in 2016, Georgia entered an associated agreement with the EU. That would have been impossible without certain level of democratic polity built in the country and associated with that relative stability. The years 2020-2021 were marked with renewed confrontation between the government and the opposition, but the political crisis was and is managed by a) the general will of the society not to return to the chaotic 90s; b) the relative political neutrality of the Georgian armed forces; c) the mediating power and capacity of the EU and the US. Again, nothing is irreversible and there are still systemic agents in Georgia dragging the country down the slippery path of repression and conflict. However, certain internal and external factors, like an absence of the tradition of military dictatorships, as well as the geographical closeness of a democratic community of nations help to avoid the worst-case scenarios manifesting.



Jessica Trisko Darden

Assistant Professor of Political Science at Virginia Commonwealth University, US, and a Non-Resident Fellow on the Program on Extremism at George Washington University, US. She received her PhD from McGill University in Canada. Her research focuses on the intersection of international development and security and the relationship between foreign aid and political violence. She is the author of *Women as War Criminals: Gender, Agency, and Justice* (2020) and a co-author of *Insurgent Women: Female Combatants in Civil Wars* (2019), among other works.

Undoing the Caliphate: Women's Roles in ISIS and Repatriation Efforts

In 2014, the Islamic State group established a "caliphate" whose members shared one identity. The group's propaganda depicted a utopian society where markers of class, race, and nationality were erased. Within Islamic State ideology, women were situated as an integral part of the traditional family structure within which their main role was to raise and teach children. In practice, women's participation in the group extended well beyond the private sphere, with women serving as educators, propagandists, and enforcers of the Islamic State's interpretation of Shari'a law. Nevertheless, their private roles as wives and mothers have posed the greatest complication in efforts to repatriate and re-integrate women and children associated with the Islamic State. The special treatment of women in the citizenship and nationality laws of Middle East and North Africa means that women's involvement in the Islamic State has long term implications for statelessness in the region. We consider these long-term implications as well as their impact on familial relations.



Tomas Dumbrovsky

Visiting Assistant Professor in the Human Rights Program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies from Charles University Faculty of Law in Prague. He earned his PhD in constitutional theory from Yale Law School, US. He worked as the post-doctoral fellow at the European University Institute and Amsterdam University and was a visiting researcher at the University of Michigan Law School and at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law in Heidelberg. His research focuses on comparative constitutionalism, constitutional and democratic theory and European integration. His upcoming book *The European Republic: The Revolutionary Foundations of European Constitutionalism* reinterprets the origins of European integration.

Sharing and Trading Refugees: Syrian Civil War as New Impetus for Reconfiguring International Refugee Law

The Syrian civil war, in connection with other protracted conflicts in the Arab world, has caused the highest forced relocation of populations since the Second World War. It has overwhelmed bordering countries and humanitarian organizations and has led to the decline of humanitarian standards, regarding the living conditions of refugees, their right to asylum, and the observance of state obligations under international law. This development revived the interest in designing a refugee sharing scheme that would fulfil the twin goal of justice for refugees and justice between states. Building on works published at the turn of the century, scholars have identified further variables, institutional solutions, and developed the underlying ethics of such a solution. The paper will examine the various proposals in light of the ill-fated European sharing scheme and the empirical data produced by the Syrian refugee crisis. Any practical solution must combine quotas with a mechanism for their trading. At the same time, it must preserve the legal and ethical principles developed so far in international refugee law.



Moataz El Fegiry

Assistant Professor and Head of the Human Rights Program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He obtained his MA and PhD in Law from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, UK. He was a Senior Teaching Fellow at SOAS and the Executive Director of Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies. He represented key international human rights NGOs including the international centre for Transitional justice and International Foundation for the protection of Human Rights Defenders and was elected as the treasurer and member of the executive committee of the Euro Mediterranean Human Rights Network since 2006. His research interests focus on socio-legal studies, Islamic and Middle Eastern law, international human rights law, and comparative constitutional law. He is the author of *Islamic Law and Human Rights: The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt* (2016).

Time and Again: Humanitarian Consequences of International and Regional Geopolitics of Arab Civil Wars

A number of domestic conflicts with varying degrees of intensity and foreign influence have spread across the Arab region over the past decade. The human rights and humanitarian implications of these conflicts have been immense, with some considered among the world's worst humanitarian crises. Since the end of the cold war, the international community has repeatedly failed to protect civilians from heinous atrocities spread as a result of civil wars or the collapse and fragmentation of state power. The promise of 'never again' declared by key international actors including the United Nations after the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 has become empty rhetoric amid the repeated failures of the international community and the global human rights system to timely respond to domestic conflicts. This paper addresses this debate by focusing on the politics of civilian protection in the civil wars in Libya, Yemen and Syria. The involvement of multiple regional and international powers with competing political agendas has prolonged and generated multiple other disputes within these conflicts. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how this complex international and regional geopolitics of the three civil wars has not just exacerbated the humanitarian costs of these conflicts but also obstructed the means available to the international community to protect civilians and effectively respond to massive atrocities committed during these wars.



Moosa Elayah

Assistant Professor of the Public Administration program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies and the Editorial manager of the *Hikama* Journal of Public Administration and Public policy. He holds a PhD in International Development Administration and Peacebuilding from Leiden University in the Netherlands. He is a specialist in international development, peacebuilding, and conflict studies.

Humanitarian and Environmental Data and Implications: The Case of Yemen

Humanitarian Aid in Yemen is a significant source of funding for armed groups, and consequently it plays a huge part in allowing the war economy to thrive. Warring groups are often looting aid to distribute it based on partisanship and to sell it on the black market to finance the war effort. They have also tried to block aid in an attempt to gain control over the humanitarian campaign and receive a cut of the billions of dollars given in foreign assistance. In many cases aid is distributed through local NGOs that were established by these groups to attract international funds. Others were pre-politicised NGOs that channelled funds to specific regions or particular groups for political and military advantage. It is clear from my analysis in this paper that the ability of NGOs to use and deliver aid effectively to those who deserve it is very limited. NGO's actions can end up expanding the war economy rather than shielding the poor from the effects of war. Distrust in international bodies and in local and international NGOs has become extremely high among those affected by the war. The paper also presents data on the human, economic, and military implications of the wars in Yemen and other Arab countries through three main periods: the conventional wars (1962-2000); the war on terrorism (2001-2010); and the Arab Spring wars (2011-2019).



Ali Elwahishi

Assistant Professor at the Political Science Department in the University of Zawia, Libya. He obtained his PhD in International Relations and Comparative Politics from the University of Idaho, USA. His academic interests focus on international institutions, democratic transition, and Libya.

The Libyan Civil War and the Challenges of Peace Prospects

Libya witnessed a political transition in the context of the Arab Spring revolutions in 2011, which led to the overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi's regime. This was a step towards the possibility of building new political institutions that might contribute to the regional democratic transition processes. However, the conflicting Libyan political and military forces quickly disagreed on power in the east and west of the country, which opened the door wide to regional and international interference, fuelling, in turn, the conflict and creating a state of political and security instability, pulling the country into a civil war backed by regional and international parties with their own interests. Despite the continued efforts of the United Nations and European countries to bring peace between the conflicting Libyan parties, preventing attempts at dividing the country on a tribal and locative basis, bringing peace between conflicting Libyan parties, stressing the expulsion of mercenaries, ending the transitional phase, and holding parliamentary and presidential elections on 24 December 2021, there are still many challenges and obstacles to the prospects for peace and reconciliation, especially those presented by the parties benefiting from the current situation, whether domestically or abroad.



Sidahmed Goudjili

Assistant Professor at the Critical Security Studies program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He obtained his PhD in International Relations from the University of Algiers III. His research focuses on critical security studies, international relations theory, and state theories. He has written three books, including: *Conflict Over the Interpretation of War and Peace: Studies on Scientific Investigation in International Relations* (2019); *Critical Security Studies: New Approaches to Re-define Security* (2014); and *The Evolution of Security Studies and the Dilemma of Application in The Arab World* (2012). His many articles have appeared in numerous peer-reviewed journals.

Literature Gaps, "Exceptionalism" and Data Issues in Arab Civil Wars

This paper presents a macro analysis of the Arab civil wars between 1945-2020, by forming a new dataset which seeks to: (1) define the list of internal armed conflicts that are classified as civil wars; (2) present patterns and trends and comparing them to the relevant findings in the existing literature; and (3) explain the persistence and recurrence of this type of armed conflict. The paper conducts comparative analysis across cases and time and suggests a set of indications to measure the intensity of internal political violence and its causal and statistical link to the likelihood of an outbreak of a civil war, a lull in fighting, or a ceasefire. By applying a cross-regional analysis of the dataset, the paper also explores the validity of the "exceptionalism" hypothesis of the Arab civil wars and its applicability on the new wave of civil wars that erupted following the Arab Spring.



Harith Hasan

Non-resident Senior Fellow at the Malcolm H. Kerr Carnegie Middle East Center. He holds a PhD in political science from Sant'Anna School for Advanced Studies, Italy. He was a senior research fellow at the Central European University, and a Non-resident senior fellow at the Atlantic Council, a fellow at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Studies at Harvard University, and a post-doctoral fellow at Brandeis University. He has published articles, essays, and papers in both English and Arabic periodicals.

The Iranian Role in the Iraqi Conflicts

This paper addresses the role of Iran in internal Iraqi wars and conflicts, while focusing on the context in which Iran has been involved in Iraq since 2003 and on its strategic development towards Iraqi conflicts. In addition, it discusses the nature of alliances, networks, and the relationships that Iran has established with Iraqi armed groups and how those were adapted to the nature of the conflicts and opponents. The paper examines how the combination of military, ideological, political and economic factors shaped Tehran's relationship with armed groups in Iraq. It also discusses current military and paramilitary alliances in Iraq, especially through the dual, overlapping role of *Al-Hashd Al-Sha'bi* and *Fasail Al-Muqawama*, in addition to the nature and future prospects of the relationship of these groups to Iran.



Duenya Hassan

Project Manager at William & Mary's Global Research Institute where she supports research on identity-based protests and countering violent extremism. She received her BA of Government and Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies from William & Mary University, Williamsburg, Virginia. Her current research interests are gender, religion, and politics.

Undoing the Caliphate: Women's Roles in ISIS and Repatriation Efforts

In 2014, the Islamic State group established a "caliphate" whose members shared one identity. The group's propaganda depicted a utopian society where markers of class, race, and nationality were erased. Within Islamic State ideology, women were situated as an integral part of the traditional family structure within which their main role was to raise and teach children. In practice, women's participation in the group extended well beyond the private sphere, with women serving as educators, propagandists, and enforcers of the Islamic State's interpretation of Shari'a law. Nevertheless, their private roles as wives and mothers have posed the greatest complication in efforts to repatriate and re-integrate women and children associated with the Islamic State. The special treatment of women in the citizenship and nationality laws of Middle East and North Africa means that women's involvement in the Islamic State has long term implications for statelessness in the region. We consider these long-term implications as well as their impact on familial relations.



Thomas Hegghammer

Senior Research Fellow at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI) in Oslo. He is a political scientist and historian who specializes in the study of militant Islamist groups. His books include *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979* (2010), *Jihadi Culture: The Art and Social Practices of Militant Islamists* (2017), and *The Caravan: Abdallah Azzam and the Rise of Global Jihad* (2020).

Will Arab Fighters Return to Afghanistan?

The Taliban's recent capture of Kabul has raised concerns that Afghanistan may once again become a destination for jihadi foreign fighters and a safe haven for Al Qaeda. This paper discusses the likelihood of such a development considering the history of the Arab jihadi movement and the current situation in Afghanistan and the Middle East. It argues that, although the latest development is generally beneficial to transnational jihadism, a return to the pre-9/11 state of affairs is highly unlikely in the near future.



Thomas Juneau

Associate professor at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Ottawa, Canada, and a non-resident fellow with the Sana'a Centre for Strategic Studies. His research focuses mostly on the Middle East, particularly on Iran and Yemen. He is also interested in Canadian foreign and defence policy, the relationship between intelligence and policy, and international relations theory. He is the author of *Squandered Opportunity: Neoclassical Realism and Iranian Foreign Policy* (2015), editor of *Strategic Analysis in Support of International Policy-Making: Case Studies in Achieving Analytical Relevance* (2017), and co-editor of *Iranian Foreign Policy since 2001: Alone in the world* (2013).

How War Transformed the Partnership between Iran and the Houthis?

The war in Yemen has transformed the Iran-Houthi partnership. Iran has built significant influence in Yemen since 2015, but the Houthis are not simply an arm of its foreign policy: Iran has bandwagoned on Houthi successes as much as it has facilitated them. For Iran, supporting the Houthis is an appealing proposition: at a low cost, it has contributed to getting Saudi Arabia bogged down in a costly war. This article conducts an analysis of the causes and consequences of the quantitative and qualitative shifts in Iran's support for the Houthis. After laying out the strategic rationale for the expansion of the partnership, it explains how this has represented an important victory for Iran and how these developments mirror other trends in the evolution of the constellation of revisionist actors supported by Iran.



Stathis Kalyvas

Gladstone Professor of Government and fellow of All Souls College at Oxford, UK. Until 2018, he was the Arnold Wolfers Professor of Political Science at Yale University, US, where he founded and directed the Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence and co-directed the Hellenic Studies Program. His current research focuses on global trends in political violence and conflict. He has published over fifty scholarly articles in five languages, as well as several books and edited volumes in Greek. He is the author of *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe* (1996), *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (2006), *Modern Greece: What Everyone Needs to Know* (2015), the co-editor of *Order, Conflict, and Violence* (2008) and *the Oxford Handbook on Terrorism* (2019).

Some Reflections on Arab Civil Wars

To what extent are Arab civil wars different from civil wars in other areas of the world? Is there a case to be made about their exceptionalism and, if so, on what grounds exactly? I reflect on the proper geographic category to be used (Arab, MENA, Muslim), review some key features vis-à-vis existing theoretical and comparative accounts, including onset, duration, warfare, and outcome, and ask whether, ultimately, Arab civil wars tell us something about the way we understand and study civil wars more broadly.



Mansour Lakhdari

Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations in Ahmed bin Mohammed Military College, Qatar. He holds a PhD in political science and international relations from the University of Algiers. His research interests include international relations, strategic and security studies, political systems and civil-military relations. He has published several books and studies, including: *The Evolution of the "Terrorism Phenomenon" in Algeria: From the National to the Transnational Level* (2014), and *Algerian Security Policy: Determinants - Fields - Challenges* (2015).

The Algerian Experience in Ending Civil War: Context and Consequences of the Security Crisis

The 1990s in Algeria are associated with the civil war that left about a quarter of a million dead, vastly devastated the national economy, and destroyed the country's infrastructure. The Algerian civil war passed through several stages, starting with the adoption of a security centric approach. This in turn led to the adoption of the national reconciliation policy, intended as the political and legal culmination of the trajectory initiated by the state's Rahma law of 1995 and civil harmony act of 1999. These procedures were used by the government to bypass the initiatives proposed by other political actors, especially those expressed in the Sant'Egidio platform, conceived by the political opposition leaders in Algeria to formulate a political approach to ending the civil war. This study examines the way the civil war was ended, with a focus on the specificity of the Algerian experience, from two complementary analytical perspectives: civil-military relations and the legal-institutional approach, on the role and success of the military in designing the institutional framework to end the war.



Brynjar Lia

Professor of Middle East studies at the Department of Cultural Studies and Oriental Languages in the University of Oslo, Norway. He published a number of academic articles on Islamist and jihadi movements over the past twenty years. He is the author of many books, including *Architect of Global Jihad: The Life of Al Qaeda Strategist Abu Mus'ab al-Suri* (2007), *A Police Force without a State: A History of the Palestinian Security Forces in the West Bank and Gaza* (2005), and *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement, 1928-1942* (1998).

Jihadi Insurgencies and Proto-states: Origins, Evolution and Future Prospects

Since the beginning of the Arab Spring uprisings of 2010/11, there has been a proliferation of jihadi-led insurgencies and proto-states, greatly increasing the numerical and political-military strength of jihadi insurgent groups as well as their geographical distribution. The origin of jihadism goes much further back, and by exploring the origins and historical evolution of previous jihadi insurgencies and proto-states between the late 1980s and the present, this paper explores some of the key factors explaining the rise, proliferation and resilience of these types of ideological insurgent movements. The study argues that weakening state structures due to globalization, underdevelopment and ongoing armed conflicts wars cannot alone explain jihadi resilience. Actor-specific factors, such as their specific "human resources" management and their transnational universalist ideology are central factors in understanding how and under which circumstances jihadi insurgencies expand and contract.



Imad Mansour

Assistant Professor at the Critical Security Studies program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, and a Non-Resident Scholar at the Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C. He received his PhD from the Department of Political Science at McGill University, Canada. His research interests focus on foreign policy analysis, non-state actors, and MENA relationships with major powers, particularly China. He is the author of *Statecraft in the Middle East: Foreign Policy, Domestic Politics and Security* (2016), and co-editor of *Shocks and Rivalries in the Middle East and North Africa* (2020).

The Rivalry-Civil War Farrago in the MENA

We have a long tradition of separating domestic politics from international politics and vice versa. While there may be some analytical gains for preserving the separation for some topics, the analysis of civil war is not one of them. The internationalization of civil war has increased over time as has our analytical attention to this phenomenon. Gradually, it has become apparent that external interference in domestic warfare has become a substitute for conventional interstate combat. But, at the same time, it is difficult to assess this internationalization phenomena without also considering the foundation and evolution of domestic grievances. They appear to overlap considerably. To this end, we seek to integrate multiple existing theories that explain linkages between external rivalry and civil war onset and intervention for application to Middle Eastern and North African politics. Sometimes theoretical parsimony must be sacrificed to account for complex behaviour demonstrated in MENA intrastate/interstate warfare. The interaction between interstate rivalry and civil wars constitutes a hodgepodge of confusing relationships best summarized as a farrago. Nonetheless, that does not mean that we cannot devise relatively complex models of how it seems to work and then test the models in the real-world annals of grievance and coercion.



Nicola Mathieson

PhD Candidate in the Department of International Relations at the Coral Bell School, Australia. She specialises in the dynamics of civil war and insurgencies. Her work explores the role of foreign fighters and how prior conflict experience shapes their impact on conflicts. Her doctoral research traces the movement of foreign fighters from the Soviet-Afghan War and examines their consequences on global security.

Tracing the Impact of Foreign Fighters: The Long-term Implications of the Soviet-Afghan and Afghan Civil War

This paper presents the initial findings of research into the impact of veteran foreign fighters who participated in the Soviet-Afghan and Afghan Civil War (1979-1992) and went on to join subsequent armed groups. This paper utilises an original dataset of over 420 foreign fighters as well as 40 in depth profiles of foreign fighters that participated in over 60 different armed groups. It demonstrates how the capacity to impact armed groups increases with experience. I argue that although initial experience in conflict is important for foreign fighters, it must be accompanied by practical application in conflict in order to produce effective fighters. This paper provides an overview of this group of foreign fighters on skills, networks and group cohesion.



Muhanad Seloom

Assistant Professor at the Critical Security Studies program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies and Honorary Research Fellow at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter in the UK. He obtained his PhD in Ethno-Political Studies from the University of Exeter. He was the director of the Iraqi Centre for Strategic Studies, London (2016-2018). He has published numerous articles, research, and policy analyses. His upcoming book is titled *The Label Terrorist: Designation in Ethno-Nationalist Conflicts (PKK case study)*.

YPJ in Syrian Civil War: An Intersectional Inquiry into Kurdish Female Fighters

Research confirms that Kurdish women fighters on the frontline of the Syrian civil war are motivated by their own political aspirations. The role of Kurdish women fighters, compared to the role of men in the group, remains under-appreciated. To add complexity to the issue, some of the fighters are from Turkey, others from Iraq, or Iran, and there are still those from Syria. It is therefore evident that the category of "Kurdish fighter" or "Kurdish woman fighter" is multifaceted. To better understand the role of Kurdish women fighters in the Syrian civil war, this paper adopts the principle of intersectionality as the method of inquiry. In this way, the multiple interlocking identities (gender, ethnicity, religion, age, etc), and lived experiences of Kurdish women fighters will be fully appreciated in the search of the answer to the research question posed: what are the objectives and roles of YPJ Kurdish women fighters in the Syrian civil war?



Luka Šterić

Researcher at the Belgrade Center for Security Policy. He specialises in International Politics and Security, with a special interest in the Western Balkans region. He holds a Master's in Peace Studies from the University of Belgrade. In addition, he obtained a Master's degree in Global Studies after studying at the joint master's program in Germany, the US, and Poland.

From Civil War to Security Sector Reform: Assessing Serbia and the Western Balkans after the Yugoslav Civil Wars

It has been thirty years since the beginning of the civil war in Yugoslavia that resulted in the dissolution of the country and the creation of new nation states. In order to pacify the region, the European Union has offered full membership to all former Yugoslav republics, under the condition that these countries successfully conduct the process of democratization and liberalization under the terms of Brussels. However, the strategy of (re)building regional security and functional democracies through the allure of EU integration has shown serious limitations. After three decades, only two of the formal Yugoslav countries have joined the Union so far. With the continuous stalemate in the accession process and the increasing tide of Euroscepticism across the region, in several countries the process of democratization has been gridlocked or even reversed. Most notably, Bosnia and Herzegovina seems to be on the road to failed statehood, while Serbia is the epitome of a captured state. Moreover, the regional dynamic is still very complicated, with several hotspots such as Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina proving particularly worrisome for regional stability. Such developments lead to the question - how sustainable is the process of importing the democratization model from abroad to pacify and transform the region?



Ora Szekeley

Associate Professor of Political Science at Clark University, US. She holds a PhD in Political Science from McGill University, Canada. Her research focuses on nonstate military actors in the Middle East and the gender dynamics of armed conflict. She is the author of *The Politics of Militant Group Survival in the Middle East: Resources, Relationships, and Resistance* (2016), co-author of *Insurgent Women: Female Combatants in Civil Wars* (2019).

Unlikely Allies: Women, Privilege, and Participation in the Syrian Uprising

In its early months, the Syrian uprising included a diverse array of participants, including many from communities which the regime had previously assumed to be loyal. In this paper, I draw on interviews with women from communities whose involvement in the uprising defies at least some assumptions and stereotypes about "typical" regime opponents in Syria. By exploring the experiences and perspectives of those who – because of their sectarian identity, where they lived, or family ties to the military – had a great deal to lose by joining the opposition, I seek a better understanding of the grievances at the root of the 2011 Syrian uprising. Based both on original in-depth interviews with women affiliated with the opposition and the wider scholarship on the uprising in Syria, I identify key features of women's involvement, including both the specifically gendered grievances that drew many women to the opposition, as well as the advantages that some women felt their gender and sectarian identities gave them as organizers and activists.



William R. Thompson

Distinguished Professor and Donald A. Rogers Professor Emeritus at the Department of Political Science at Indiana University, Bloomington. His academic interests focus on international relations theory, conflict processes and international political economy. He is the author, co-author/editor of a number of books, including *Racing to the Top: How Energy Fuels Systemic Leadership in World Politics* (2019), *Shocks and Rivalries in the Middle East and North Africa* (2020), *Power Concentration in World Politics: The Political Economy of Systemic Leadership, Growth and Conflict* (2020), *Climate Change in the Middle East & North Africa: 15,000 Years of Crises, Setbacks, and Adaptation* (2021), and *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Military in Politics* (2022).

The Rivalry-Civil War Farrago in the MENA

We have a long tradition of separating domestic politics from international politics and vice versa. While there may be some analytical gains for preserving the separation for some topics, the analysis of civil war is not one of them. The internationalization of civil war has increased over time as has our analytical attention to this phenomenon. Gradually, it has become apparent that external interference in domestic warfare has become a substitute for conventional interstate combat. But, at the same time, it is difficult to assess this internationalization phenomena without also considering the foundation and evolution of domestic grievances. They appear to overlap considerably. To this end, we seek to integrate multiple existing theories that explain linkages between external rivalry and civil war onset and intervention for application to Middle Eastern and North African politics. Sometimes theoretical parsimony must be sacrificed to account for complex behaviour demonstrated in MENA intrastate/interstate warfare. The interaction between interstate rivalry and civil wars constitutes a hodgepodge of confusing relationships best summarized as a farrago. Nonetheless, that does not mean that we cannot devise relatively complex models of how it seems to work and then test the models in the real-world annals of grievance and coercion.



Craig Whiteside

Associate Professor at the US Naval War College resident program at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. He obtained his PhD in Political Science from Washington State University, US. He is a senior associate with the Center on Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island and a fellow at the George Washington University's Program on Extremism and a former US Army officer. Whiteside's current research focuses on the leadership succession and military doctrine of the Islamic State militant group, and he co-authored *The ISIS Reader: Milestone Texts of the Islamic State Movement* (2020).

Carving Out a Caliphate: The Islamic State's Revolutionary War Doctrine

The early Islamic State (of Iraq) is still underexamined, despite its achievements between 2007 and 2014. The group's efforts took place against the backdrop of a multi-faceted Arab civil war in Iraq and later Syria. This paper engages captured/leaked primary documents and conducts analyses of over 10,000 Islamic State reported attacks during this period to present a working knowledge of the group's revolutionary warfare doctrine as it fought a long campaign to exhaust its opponents and secure a political entity it named the caliphate. I present several findings about the group's warfare methods and how it is exporting these to affiliates (Arab and non-Arab) around the world with increasing and worrisome success.

Chairs

Abdelwahab Al-Affendi

Provost, Acting President, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies (DI). Previously served as Dean of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities at the Institute (2017-2020) and Head of the Politics and IR Program at DI (2015-2017). He acquired his PhD in Political Science (1989) from the University of Reading, UK and is the founder coordinator of the Democracy and Islam Program at the University of Westminster, UK (1998-2015). He has also worked as a pilot, London-based Sudanese diplomat, journalist and magazine editor in the UK and is the author of *Who Needs an Islamic State?* (1991), among other books and research published in peer-reviewed journals.

Mariam Al-Misnad

Executive Director of Administration and Finance Division at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. She received an Executive Master's degree in Strategic Planning and Business Administration from HEC University. She has served as Executive Director of the Orphans Care Center (Dreema), Protection and Social Rehabilitation Centre (AMAN), Regional Director of Communication and Awareness Campaigns within the "Education Above All" Foundation in 2013, and Director of Media and Communication of the Social Rehabilitation Center (AlAween) in 2011.

Rashid Hamad Al-Nuaimi

Director of the Qatar Armed Forces Strategic Studies Centre. He holds a PhD in International Relations. He has previously served in several positions, including the Director of the office of the Air Force Commander and Liaison Officer to the Gulf Cooperation Council in 2009. He has published many studies on security issues in the Arab Gulf States and contributed as a speaker in international conferences.

Omar Ashour

Associate Professor and Founding Director of the Critical Security Studies Programme (MCSS) at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies and the Strategic Studies Unit in the Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies. He previously taught at the University of Exeter (UK) for ten years (2008-2017) and McGill University (Canada) for two years (2006-2008) and served as a senior consultant for the United Nations on security sector reform, counter-terrorism, and violent radicalization (2009-2013; 2015). He is one of the three authors of the United Nations' Economic and Social Commission for West Asia's (UN-ESCWA) document on security sector reform during the transitional periods of

the "Arab Spring." (2013). He was a Research Fellow at the Brookings Institution (2010-2015) and an Associate Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London (2015-2017). He is the author of *The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements* (2009), *How ISIS Fights: Military Tactics in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Egypt* (2021), and editor of *Bullets to Ballots Collective De-Radicalisation of Armed Movements* (2021).

Ayat Hamadan

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and Editor-in-Chief of *Ostour* journal for historical studies. She received her PhD from the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter where she worked as a Teaching Assistant in the Department of Political Science and was also awarded a Visiting Researcher fellowship at the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford, UK.

Marwan Kabalan

Director of the Political Studies Unit at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, President of the Gulf Studies Forum, and Director of the Diplomatic Studies and International Cooperation Program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He has published several books and extensive research in Arabic and English on Foreign Policy and International Relations, including *Qatar's Foreign Policy: Strategy versus Geography* (2021).

Abdulfatah Mohamed

Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies in the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and a visiting Assistant Professor at the College of Islamic Studies in Hamad Bin Khalifa University, Qatar. He was a former Senior Advisor for The Minster of State for Foreign Affairs and an Independent Consultant for the United Nations and OIC.

Haider Saeed

Head of the Research department at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS), and editor-in-chief of the *Siyasaat Arabiya* Journal published by the ACRPS. He acquired his PhD from Baghdad's Al-Mustansiriyah University (2001). He writes on intellectual history, critical theory and politics. He contributed to the "National Report on Human Development in Iraq" in 2009 and 2014. He is the author of *The Politics of the Symbol: On the End of National Culture of Iraq* (2009), and *Literature and the Representation of the World* (2002).