

School: Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy B.A

Nationalism and Islam in the Middle East

Lecturer:

Prof. Shaul Mishal smishal@idc.ac.il

Teaching Assistant:

Mr. Omri Brinner Omri.Brinner@post.idc.ac.il

Course No.: Course Type: Weekly Hours: Credit: 4597 Lecture 2

Course Requirements: Group Code: Language:

Final Paper 212459702 English

Course Description

The course provides a comprehensive examination of Islamic trends and national movements in the contemporary Middle East. It focuses on the major ideologies and their influences on the geopolitics of the region and socio-political developments. The course will present conceptual frameworks to follow visions, environments, preferences and a variety of strategies and actions of states and non-state actors, movements and organizations that play a significant role in shaping Arab politics and societies.

Sessions are held once a week on Thursday, 11:30-13:00. Attendance is mandatory as classes overlap only in part with material from the assigned readings. Students are allowed to miss up to three classes during the semester. One cannot expect the readings to provide an adequate substitute for class participation and discussion.

The first seven meetings will cover **key issues and concepts** to improve our modes of thinking and understanding of Islam and Nationalism with regard to Middle East politics and societies. Towards the mid semester, the course will focus on six separate Arab parties while applying our **analytical tools**, **conceptual framework and background knowledge** developed earlier in the course. The course will divide into **six discussion groups**. Students will be assigned to one of the following Arab actors: Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Jordan, and the Palestinians. All group members must attend during their group presentation.



Students will be graded based on a midterm exam (30%) and final paper and presentation (70%).

Midterm Exam – 30%. The midterm will examine your understanding of core issues, nationalism and Islam in the Middle East based on the reading materials of the first seven sessions of the course. The exam will be in a multiple-choice format and will consist of ten questions, from which you will need to answer eight. The exam will be a take-home exam and is due on May 19, session 9. The exam will appear on the Moodle on May 18.

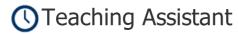
Final Paper and presentation – 70% (on an individual basis). Each group will present a case study on a Middle Eastern party (Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Jordan or Palestinians) based on the four parameters of the VSAR model and other conceptual frameworks. The presentation and the paper should be coherent, well-developed and analytical rather than descriptive. For the presentation, each student will be responsible for specific aspects of the case study (one or more of the four parameters: Vision, Space, Agenda, Resources). For the paper, each student will submit a 5-page paper based on his/her discussion topics for the presentation. The final paper is due on July 30.



Learning Outcomes







Omri Brinner



Reading List

Readings: The readings for each week are listed below and can be found in the course Moodle. Since the sessions are intended partially to provide a forum for discussion of assigned readings, one should make a point of completing mandatory requirements and reflecting about the week's reading before each session. It is highly recommended to follow the current events in the Middle East relating to the Arab Muslim world as published in international and regional sites and newspapers.

Electronic sources for continuous updating throughout the course:

http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/; www.aljazeera.com; https://www.foreignaffairs.com/; http://foreignpolicy.com/; www.al-monitor.com; http://www.jadaliyya.com/ www.cfr.org; https://www.brookings.edu/center/brookings-dohacenter/; https://www.crisisgroup.org/; Omri's blog: Oriented – A Guide to the Middle East

Course Schedule:

Weeks 1-3: Core Issues and Key Concepts

Shaul Mishal & Eliran Bar-El, "The Communal Dimension of the Arab Spring", The Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies (JSAMES) – *This article contains the conceptual framework for this course.*

Tareq Y. Ismael & Jacqueline S. Ismael, Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East: Continuity and Change, Routledge, 2012, chs.1-2.

Sami Zubeida, 'The Arab spring' in historical perspective', Open Democracy, 21 Oct 2011.

Optional:

Anders C. Härdig, "Beyond the Arab revolts: conceptualizing civil society in the Middle East and North Africa", Democratization, Vol. 22, No. 6, 2015, pp. 1131-1153.

Shaul Mishal & Nadav Morag, "Political Expectations and Cultural Perceptions in the Arab-Israeli Peace Negotiations", Political Psychology, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2002, pp. 325-353.

Marc Lynch (ed.), The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East, Columbia University

Harris Hyun-soo Kim and Chaeyoon Lim, "From virtual space to public space: The role of online political activism in protest participation during the Arab Spring", International Journal of Comparative Sociology, pp.1-26.

"The communal dimensions of the post-Arab Spring in the Middle East", interview with Prof. Shaul Mishal, The MacMillan Report, 2017 (26 mins). https://macmillanreport.yale.edu/videos/shaul-mishal-talks-about-communal-<u>dimensions-post-arab-spring-middle-east</u>

"How Facebook Changed the World: The Arab Spring", BBC (15 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lnPR90dJ3Gk

"Geopolitical analysis for 2019: Middle East", CaspianReport (11:46 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?y=dpbAHiWrwmc

"The Middle East's cold war, explained", Vox (10:18 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=veMFCFvOwFI&feature=voutu.be

Weeks 4-5: Arab Nationalism

Roger Owen, State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East, Routledge, 2005, 3rd edition, ch.4, pp. 56-72 (Arab nationalism, Aran unity and the practice of intra-Arab state relations).

Sami Zubaida, Beyond Islam, I.B. Tauris, 2011, ch.6, pp. 175-199.

Richard Tapper, "Tribalism in Middle Eastern States: A Twenty-first Century Anachronism?", LSE Middle East Centre, 13 June 2018 http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2018/07/11/tribalism-in-middle-eastern-states-a-twenty-first-century-anachronism/

Optional:

Owen Bennett-Jones, "How Should We Think About the Caliphate?", London Review of Books, Vol. 36, No. 14, Jul 17, 2014. https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v36/n14/owen-bennett-jones/how-should-we-think-about-the-caliphate

Amy Chua, "Tribal World", Foreign Affairs, June 14, 2018.

Micheline Ishay, "Human rights amidst despair in the Levant and the West", Philosophy and Social Criticism, 2020, pp.1-11.

Bassam Tibi (1990), Arab Nationalism, St. Martin's Press, 1990, 2nd edition, pp. 1-26, 199-207.

Video Material

"Tribalism Driving Reconstruction of the Mid-East", TheMediaLine (6:38 mins). http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i61gnnel8Qs

"Navigating Libya's tribal maze", Al Jazeera English (2:30 mins). http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oSWNdmi0Rps

Weeks 6-7: Islam

Tareq Y. Ismael & Jacqueline S. Ismael, Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East: Continuity and Change, Routledge, 2012, ch.3 (The Legacy of Islam: Continuity and change).

Emmanuel Sivan, "The Clash within Islam", Survival, Vol. 45, No. 1, Spring 2003, pp. 25-44.

Khalil al-Anani, Inside the Muslim Brotherhood: Religion, Identity and Politics, Oxford University Press, 2016, ch.2 (Debating Islamism and Theorizing the Brotherhood).

Bassam Tibi, Arab Nationalism: Between Islam and the Nation-State, Palgrave Macmillan, 1997, 3rd edition, ch.12 (The Revival of Political Islam: Between Islam and Arab Nationalism).

Optional:

Council on Foreign Relations, The Sunni-Shia Divide, 2016. <a href="https://www.cfr.org/interactives/sunni-shia-divide#!/sunni

Aini Linjakumpu, Political Islam in the Global World, Ithaca Press, 2008, ch.2 (The Muslim Brotherhood: Protest and Politics).

Peter Mandaville & Shadi Hamid, ''The Rise of Islamic Soft Power'', Foreign Affairs, December 7, 2018. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2018-12-07/rise-islamic-soft-power

Khalil al-Anani, "The Power of the Jama'a: The Role of Hasan Al-Banna in Constructing the Muslim Brotherhood's Collective Identity", Sociology of Islam, Vol. 1, 2013, pp. 41–63.

John Calvert, Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism, Columbia University Press, 2010.

Shadi Hamid & Rashid Dar, "Islamism, Salafism, and jihadism: A primer", Brookings, July 15, 2016. https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2016/07/15/islamism-salafism-and-jihadism-a-primer/

Patricia Crone, "Jihad: Idea and History", Open Democracy, 1 May 2007. https://www.opendemocracy.net/faith-europe_islam/jihad_4579.jsp

Colin P. Clarke & Assaf Moghadam, "Mapping Today's Jihadi Landscape and Threat", Foreign Policy Research Institute, Summer 2018.

Graeme Wood, "What ISIS's Leader Really Wants", The New Republic, Sep 1st, 2014. https://newrepublic.com/article/119259/isis-history-islamic-states-new-caliphate-syria-and-iraq

Video Material

The History of Islam Parts 1-8 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oxwyvd-MJ5Y

"Islam - Empire of Faith", PBS (2:40 hrs, watch only the first part, Prophet Muhammad and the Rise of Islam, until 53:55). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PF6VPZsHDZQ

"The 5 Pillars of Islam", TrueTube (9 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jb8Yk8LaUoc

"The Islamic Call To Prayer - What Is the Adhan?", The Nusaybah Project (8:37 mins). http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cDVX-SKESuc

"What is Hajj? The Pilgrimage of Muslims", Niagara Foundation, USA (8:14 mins). hwk0zl7Y9Yc

The Caliph, parts 1 & 2, Al Jazeera English (48:54 mins & 48:43 mins). Part 1: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SuplOE5JB4M

Group Discussions

Week 8: Egypt – Nationalism & Islam

 $Egypt, Council \ on \ For eign \ Relations \ \underline{https://www.cfr.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/egypt}$

Korany & El-Mahdi (eds.), Arab Spring in Egypt: Revolution and Beyond, American University in Cairo Press, 2014, ch.13, pp. 283-294.

Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 35, 2005, pp. 373-395.

Pomeps Briefings No. 13 (The Project of Middle East Political Science), Arab Uprisings: Morsi's Egypt, 20 August, 2012. https://pomeps.org/2012/08/21/arab-uprisings-morsis-egypt/

International Crisis Group Report No. 101, "Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (I): Egypt Victorious?", February 2011. https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/egypt/popular-protest-north-africa-and-middle-east-i-egypt-victorious

International Crisis Group, Policy Briefing No. 35, "Marching in Circles: Egypt's Dangerous Second Transition", August 2013. https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/egypt/marching-circles-egypt-s-dangerous-second-transition

Wael Haddara, "Egypt Narratives: A Brief Critique of the Reasons Advanced to Justify the Egyptian Military Coup of July 2013", The Cordoba Foundation, Egypt Briefing, 27 July, 2013.

Stephane Lacroix, "Sheiks and Politicians: Inside the New Egyptian Salafism", Brookings Doha Center, June 2012.

Khalil al-Anani, Inside the Muslim Brotherhood: Religion, Identity and Politics, Oxford University Press, 2016, ch.10.

BBC News. Egypt under Sisi, 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12307411.

Ofir Winter and Assaf Shiloah, "Egypt's Identity during the el-Sisi Era: Profile of the "New Egyptian", Strategic Assessment, Vol. 21, No. 4, January 2019. https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/wintershiloah.pdf.

Steven A. Cook, "Sisi Isn't Mubarak. He's Much Worse", Foreign Policy, 19 December 2018, https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/12/19/sisi-isnt-mubarak-hes-much-worse/.

Video Material

"Egypt in rare protests, Egyptians demand President el-Sisi's removal", Al Jazeera English (5:22 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pMTMr9bq7BY

"The Rise of Egypt's Abdel Fattah el-Sisi", NowThis World (8:11 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4EG241L-dAs

Week 9: Syria - Nationalism & Islam

Syria, Council on Foreign Relations https://www.cfr.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/syria

Zachary Laub, "Syria's War: The Descent Into Horror", Council on Foreign Relations, October 2019. https://www.cfr.org/article/syrias-civil-war

Eyal Zisser, Commanding Syria: Bashar al-Asad and the First Years in Power, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007 chs. 1-3.

Yassin al-Haj Salih & Hassan Abbas, "Syria's Revolution: Society, Power, Ideology", Perspectives, Heinrich Boll Stiftung, February 2012, pp. 7-19.

Jonathan Spyer, "The Syrian Opposition Before and After the Outbreak of the 2011 Uprising", MERIA Journal, Vol. 15, No. 03, September 2011.

International Crisis Group, Middle East Report No. 143, "Syria's Metastasising Conflicts", June 2013.

Margaret Suter, "Running out of water: Conflict and water scarcity in Yemen and Syria", Atlantic Council, September 2017. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/running-out-of-water-conflict-and-water-scarcity-in-yemen-and-syria/

Peter H. Gleick, "Water, Drought, Climate Change, and Conflict in Syria", Weather, Climate, and Society, Vol. 6, July 2014, pp. 331-340. https://journals.ametsoc.org/doi/pdf/10.1175/WCAS-D-13-00059.1

Samuel Northrup, "The Growing Power of Water in Syria", The Washington Institute, September 2017. https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/fikraforum/view/the-growing-power-of-water-in-syria

Thomas Pierret, "External support and the Syrian insurgency", Foreign Policy, 9 August 2013. https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/08/09/external-support-and-the-syrian-insurgency/

Patrick Cockburn, "ISIS Consolidates", London Review of Books, 21 August 2014. https://www.lrb.co.uk/v36/n16/patrick-cockburn/isis-consolidates

Dmitri Trenin, "Putin's Plan for Syria: How Russia Wants to End the War" Foreign Affairs, Dec. 13, 2017. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2017-12-13/putins-plan-syria

Janine di Giovanni, ''There's a Right Way to End Syria's War: The New Special Envoy Must Not Allow Russia to Protect Assad'', Foreign Affairs, Nov. 14, 2018. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2018-11-14/theres-right-way-end-syrias-war

Aaron Zelin, 'Al-Qaeda in Syria: A closer look at ISIS (Part I)' Policy Watch 2137, 10 September 2013. https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/al-qaeda-in-syria-a-closer-look-at-isis-part-i

Aaron Zelin, 'Al-Qaeda in Syria: A closer look at ISIS (Part II)' Policy Watch 2138, 11 September 2013. https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/al-qaeda-in-syria-a-closer-look-at-isis-part-ii

Haian Dukhan, "The Syrian Civil War: What Role do Tribal Loyalties Play?", LSE Middle East Centre, 2018. http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2018/07/13/the-syrian-civil-war-what-role-do-tribal-loyalties-play/

"Syria Situation Report: January 30 - February 18, 2021", Institute for the Study of War. http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Syria%20SITREP%20JAN-FEB%202021.pdf

Video Material

"Syria: Seven years of war explained", BBC (5:45 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CoL0L DbuQQ&has verified=1

"Syria's war: Who is fighting and why", Vox (7 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JFpanWNgfQY

Week 10: Saudi Arabia – Islam & Nationalism

Saudi Arabia, Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.cfr.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/saudi-arabia

Toby Matthiesen, "Saudi Royal Family Politics and the Arab Spring", Foreign Policy, January 2013. https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/01/14/saudi-royal-family-politics-and-the-arab-spring/

 $\label{lem:madawi} Madawi al-Rasheed, "Why the US can't Control MBS", Foreign Affairs, Nov. 5, 2018. \\ $\underline{\text{https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/saudi-arabia/2018-11-05/why-us-cant-control-mbs} $$ $\frac{1}{2018-11-05/why-us-cant-control-mbs} $$$

Christopher Clary & Mara E. Karlin "Saudi Arabia's Reform Gamble", Survival, 2011, 53:5.

Frederic Wehrey, "The Forgotten Uprising in Eastern Saudi Arabia", SADA, June 2013. https://carnegieendowment.org/2013/06/14/forgotten-uprising-in-eastern-saudi-arabia-pub-52093

Ibrahim Hatlani, "Of Identities and Institutions", SADA, May 2013. https://carnegieendowment.org/sada/51865

Christopher Blanchard, Saudi Arabia: Background and US Relations, November 2019. https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33533.pdf

Yoel Guzansky, "Immortal Monarchies? Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, and the Arab Spring", INSS, Strategic Assessment, Vol. 17:2, July 2014. http://www.inss.org.il/publication/immortal-monarchies-saudi-arabia-the-gulf-states-and-the-arab-spring/

Yoel Guzansky, "A Game of Thrones: Royal Succession in Saudi Arabia", INSS, Strategic Assessment, Vol. 17:4, January 2015.

Jane Kinninmont, "Vision 2030 and Saudi Arabia's Social Contract: Austerity and Transformation", Chatham House, Middle East and North Africa Programme, July 2017.

https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2017-07-20-vision-2030-saudi-kinninmont.pdf

Alhussein, Eman. Saudi First: How Hyper-nationalism is Transforming Saudi Arabia. European Council on Foreign Relations, June 2019. https://ecfr.eu/publication/saudi_first_how_hyper_nationalism is_transforming_saudi_arabia/

Buddhika Jayamaha, Kevin S. Petit, Jahara Matisek, William Reno, Matthew A. Rose and Molly Jahn, "The Great Saudi-Iranian Proxy Game", Middle East Quarterly, Fall 2019 https://www.meforum.org/59294/the-great-saudi-iranian-proxy-game

"The Qatar Blockade Is Over, but the Gulf Crisis Lives On", Foreign Policy, January 27, 2021.

https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/01/27/qatar-blockade-gcc-divisions-turkey-libya-palestine/? utm_source=PostUp&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=29615&utm_term=Editors%20Picks%20OC&? tpcc=29615

"Qatar, wealthy, worried, and isolated", Le Monde Diplomatique, Nov. 2018. https://mondediplo.com/2018/11/03qatar

"Picking up the pieces: The path to Gulf reconciliation", Brookings, January 20, 2021. https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/picking-up-the-pieces-the-path-to-gulf-reconciliation/

"Resolving the Gulf Crisis outside the Gulf', Crisis Group, January 26, 2021. https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/resolving-gulf-crisis-outside-gulf

Video Material

"Saudi Arabia's Ambitious Plan to Transform Its Economy", Woodrow Wilson Center (11:09 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sWLKdcYobKs

"The Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia", FRONTLINE (1:55 hrs). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5IBa88VkM6g

"Qatar: Gulf crisis one year on - What's next for Qatar?", Al Jazeera English (57:50 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RIIh1d43VJc

"Yemen: A History of Conflict", Foreign Policy association (26:46 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lnPpXM7hSXk

"Bahrain | Shouting in the dark", Al Jazeera English (50:55 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xaTKDMYOBOU

Week 11: United Arab Emirates (UAE) – Nationalism & Islam

United Arab Emirates, Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.cfr.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/united-arab-emirates

Michael Q. Morton, Keepers of the Golden Shore: A History of the United Arab Emirates. Reaktion Books, 2016. Chapters 3 (optional), 7, 9 and 10.

Rory Miller and Harry Verhoeven, "Overcoming smallness: Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and strategic realignment in the Gulf", International Politics, volume 57, pages1–20(2020). https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41311-019-00180-0

"Mohammed bin Zayed's Dark Vision of the Middle East's Future", New York Times, July 14, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/09/magazine/united-arab-emirates-mohammed-bin-zayed.html

"The UAE's Disruptive Policy in Libya", Insight Turkey, Nov. 27, 2020. https://www.insightturkey.com/articles/the-uaes-disruptive-policy-in-libya

"Will 200 Rich Arab Men Save the World from the Climate Crisis?", Haaretz, February 11, 2020. https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium.HIGHLIGHT.MAGAZINE-will-200-rich-arab-men-save-the-world-from-the-climate-crisis-1.9532636

Video Material

"What does the UAE want with a Yemeni island?", Al Jazeera English (24:25 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WxqgmpE8e-g

Why did the UAE enter the war in Yemen and why did they withdraw from it, in "The UAE don't want to be associated with the Yemen humanitarian crisis", France24 English (9:53 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S8E6SvNAxeU

Week 12: Jordan – Islam & Nationalism

Jordan, Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.cfr.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/jordan

Onn Winckler, "From Small Sheikhdom to Over-Population", in P.R. Kumaraswamy (ed.), The Palgrave Handbook of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp.29-47.

Curtis R. Ryan, Jordan and the Arab Uprisings: Regime Survival and Politics Beyond the State, Columbia University Press, 2018.

Mohammed Torki Bani Salameh, Reform in Jordan: Reality and Aspirations, World Affairs, Vol. 180, No. 4, February, 2017

David Schenker, "In Jordan, Problems and Politics Are Local", Foreign Affairs, Apr. 23, 2015.

Curtis R. Ryan, Political Opposition and Reform Coalitions in Jordan, British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 38, No. 3, 2011, pp. 367-390.

Imad El-Anis, "Political Economy", in P.R. Kumaraswamy (ed.), The Palgrave Handbook of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp.117-134.

Asher Susser, Jordan: Preserving Domestic Order in a Setting of Regional Turmoil, Crown Center for Middle East

Studies, Brandies University, March 2008, No.27.

Jillian Schwedler, The Political Geography of Protest in Neoliberal Jordan, Middle East Critique, Vol. 21, No. 3, 2012, pp. 259-270.

Hussam Hussein, Alberto Natta, Abed Al Kareem Yehya and Baha Hamadna, "Syrian Refugees, Water Scarcity, and Dynamic Policies: How Do the New Refugee Discourses Impact Water Governance Debates in Lebanon and Jordan?" Water, Vol. 12, No. 325.

Faisal Odeh Al-Rfouh, "Foreign Policy Under King Abdullah II", in P.R. Kumaraswamy (ed.), The Palgrave Handbook of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp.373-392.

Meron Medzini, "A Century of Israel-Jordan Relations", in P.R. Kumaraswamy (ed.), The Palgrave Handbook of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp.407-420.

Hayat Alvi, "National Security Priorities", in P.R. Kumaraswamy (ed.), The Palgrave Handbook of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp.463-475.

Mohammed Bani Salameh and Ayman Hayajneh, "How Jordan Can Cope:

The End of the Syrian Civil War", Middle East Quarterly, Summer 2019, https://www.meforum.org/58683/end-syrian-civil-war-jordan

André Bank, Thomas Richter and Anna Sunik, " Durable, Yet Different: Monarchies in the Arab

Spring", Journal of Arabian Studies, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 163-179.

Video Material

"How can Jordan solve its economic crisis?", Counting the Cost, Al Jazeera English (25 mins) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wRKs3FxknT4

"Jordan's Angry Tribes", People and Power, Al Jazeera English (25 mins). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z8AoMqDjtjo

"Is Jordan running out of water?", BBC News (421 mins) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kWnid7QA19I

13. Palestinians- Nationalism & Islam

Palestinian Territories, Council on Foreign Relations. https://www.cfr.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/palestinian-territories

Robert Barron, "Palestinian Politics Timeline: Since the 2006 Election", United States Institute of Peace, June 2019, https://www.usip.org/publications/2019/06/palestinian-politics-timeline-2006-election

Nigel Parsons, The Politics of the Palestinian Authority, Routledge, 2005, ch.2, pp. 15-69.

Shaul Mishal, The PLO under Arafat, Yale UP, 1986, ch.1-2.

Shaul Mishal & Avraham Sela, The Palestinian Hamas, Columbia, 2006, Preface, Introduction, ch.1-2, 6.

Sara Roy, Hamas and Civil Society in Gaza, Princeton UP, 2011, chs. 4 & 7.

Beverley Milton-Edwards, "The Concept of Jihad and the Palestinian Islamic Movement: A Comparison of Ideas and Techniques", British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 19, No. 1, 1992, pp. 48-53.

Ido Zelkovitz, "The Intra-Palestinian Reconciliation Process and the Arab Spring", Mitvim, June 2013.

Nathan Thrall, Hamas's Chances, London Review of Books, Vol. 36, No. 16, Aug 21, 2014. https://www.lrb.co.uk/v36/n16/nathan-thrall/hamass-chances

Nathan Thrall, Quick thoughts on the Gaza Strip one year after Israel's operation Protective Edge, Jadaliyya, 7 July 2015. http://reviews.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/22096/quick-thoughts_nathan-thrall-on-the-gaza-strip-one

Harel Chorev Halewa, "Collectivindualism and Shadow Players: Palestinian Youth,

Social Media, and Hamas's Communications Strategies", International Journal of Communication, Vol. 14, 2020, pp.1-23.

Hillel Zand, "After Abbas: Contextualizing Palestinian Political Succession", Wilson Center, December 2018. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/publication/mep_viewpoint_130_final.pdf