The RAND Center for Middle East Public Policy brings together analytic excellence and regional expertise from across the RAND Corporation to address the most critical political, social, and economic challenges facing the Middle East today. We focus not only on near-term challenges but also on critical long-term trends and solutions.

Our goal is to inform policy in order to help improve the security and well-being of people living in the region. Our work in the region helps decisionmakers better understand how to tackle their domestic challenges and build capacity in ways that will make their societies safer, smarter, and more prosperous.
As part of a nonprofit and nonpartisan organization, RAND’s Middle East experts are committed to high-quality, objective research and analysis. They hold advanced degrees in an array of disciplines and specialize in a uniquely broad range of capabilities, including long-range planning and forecasting, risk assessment, and program evaluation. Many of our Middle East experts have advanced regional language skills and were born or have lived in the region.

RAND’s Middle East work is funded by governments, by private foundations, and through the generous philanthropic support of individual donors and the RAND Center for Middle East Public Policy Advisory Board.

Many of our publications are available in Arabic at www.rand.org/ar
Reimagining U.S. Strategy in the Middle East
Sustainable Partnerships, Strategic Investments
Dalia Dassa Kaye, Linda Robinson, Jeffrey Martini, Nathan Vest, Ashley L. Rhoades

RAND researchers offer a new framework for a comprehensive U.S. policy toward the Middle East. The existing strategy has relied heavily on military power, has focused on regional threats, and has largely fallen short in advancing U.S. interests and adapting to regional realities. Moving forward, the United States should recalibrate its policy and programs to place greater emphasis on economic investments, improved governance, strengthened diplomacy, and efforts focused on the needs of people in the region. To foster better outcomes, the United States should adopt a long-term time horizon for reducing conflict and supporting growth and development; apply greater selectivity and rigorous assessment to assistance programs; and work multilaterally with global and regional partners to address common challenges.


Peace Dividend
Widening the Economic Growth and Development Benefits of the Abraham Accords
Daniel Egel, Shira Efron, Linda Robinson

The Abraham Accords represent a major political breakthrough. Four Muslim nations—the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Sudan, and Morocco—have launched diplomatic initiatives to normalize bilateral ties with Israel. If these ties evolve into multilateral accords fostering trade and economic integration, they could generate 150,000 new jobs and $75 billion in new economic activity for the four signatories. These estimates could grow to more than 4 million new jobs and $1 trillion in economic value if the accords expand to 11 nations, including Israel.


Building an Enduring Peace in Yemen
Lessons from Five Years of RAND Research
Daniel Egel, Trevor Johnston, Ashley L. Rhoades, Eric Robinson

This report traces the origins of Yemen’s civil war, assesses its costs, identifies the drivers of conflict and mediation, and discusses the political, economic, and military factors affecting the peace process. An enduring peace requires a coordinated international approach and the formation of an international body with the resources to support a decades-long process of reconciliation, reconstruction, and redevelopment.

Building a Successful Palestinian State

The RAND Palestinian State Study Team

In this examination of how an independent Palestinian state, if created, could succeed, the authors weigh options for strengthening governance, security, economic development, access to water, health, health care, and education. The authors estimate the financial resources needed for successful development over the first decade of independence.


Helping a Palestinian State Succeed

Key Findings

The RAND Palestinian State Study Team

Helping a Palestinian State succeed cost estimates suggest that the funding necessary for implementing the RAND team’s recommendations to help a Palestinian state succeed is within the combined capacity of international resources and private investors. The analyses assume a peace accord, but many of the recommendations could be implemented constructively prior to Palestinian independence.

86 pages, 2007, www.rand.org/t/MG146z1-1

Alternatives in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Daniel Egel, C. Ross Anthony, Shira Efron, Rita T. Karam, Mary E. Vaiana, Charles P. Ries

The latest installment of decades of RAND work to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict culls results from 33 focus groups—conducted with West Bank Palestinians, Gazan Palestinians, Israeli Jews, and Israeli Arabs—on the viability of five alternative futures: the status quo, a two-state solution, confederation, annexation, and a one-state solution. The two-state solution was deemed the most viable, but all four groups were skeptical of it. Identifying incentives to encourage Israelis to explore the two-state solution will likely be critical to its success.

180 pages, 2021, www.rand.org/t/RRA725-1

The Costs of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

C. Ross Anthony, Daniel Egel, Charles P. Ries, Craig A. Bond, Andrew Liepman, Jeffrey Martini, Steven Simon, Shira Efron, Bradley D. Stein, Lynsay Ayer, Mary E. Vaiana

A two-state solution would provide by far the best economic outcomes for both Israelis and Palestinians. A return to violence would have profoundly negative economic consequences for both parties. Taking advantage of the economic opportunities of a two-state solution would require substantial investments from both parties and from the international community.

The Arc
A Formal Structure for a Palestinian State
Doug Suisman, Steven Simon, Glenn Robinson, C. Ross Anthony, Michael Schoenbaum

The authors explore options for strengthening the housing and transportation infrastructure of a potential independent Palestinian state. This examination includes initial cost estimates for improving and expanding the infrastructure necessary for successful development in the context of a large and rapidly growing Palestinian population.


The Air War Against the Islamic State
The Role of Airpower in Operation Inherent Resolve

Airpower played a pivotal role in the U.S.-led fight against the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) from 2014 to 2019, but airpower alone would likely not have sufficed. The combination of airpower and ground forces, led by Iraqi and Syrian partners, was needed to destroy ISIS as a territorial entity.


Implementing Restraint
Changes in U.S. Regional Security Policies to Operationalize a Realist Grand Strategy of Restraint
Miranda Priebe, Bryan Rooney, Nathan Beauchamp-Mustafaga, Jeffrey Martini, Stephanie Pezard

Under a realist grand strategy of restraint, the United States would adopt a more cooperative approach toward other powers (such as Russia and Iran), reduce the size of the U.S. military and forward presence, and end or renegotiate some security commitments. The authors of this report suggest that advocates of restraint need to expand on their logic and conduct additional analysis.

2020

Stabilizing Eastern Syria After ISIS
James A. Schear, Jeffrey Martini, Eric Robinson, Michelle E. Miro, James Dobbins

The authors offer a sociocultural perspective on the human terrain of the Middle Euphrates River Valley, assess the region’s most-urgent needs, examine how stabilization efforts might proceed, and analyze the pluses and minuses of different ways to overcome the regional challenges.

88 pages, 2020, www.rand.org/t/RR2541

Barriers to Employment That Women Face in Egypt
Policy Challenges and Considerations
Louay Constant, Ifeanyi Edochie, Peter Glick, Jeffrey Martini, Chandra Garber

Egyptian society is not fully reaping the rewards of its investments in human capital, as evidenced by the low employment of Egyptian women despite their growing educational attainment. The authors examine constraints on the employment of young Egyptian women, consider initiatives underway to address the constraints, and suggest policy considerations for building on current efforts to empower young women economically.

(English/Arabic)

Chinese Investment in Israeli Technology and Infrastructure
Security Implications for Israel and the United States
Shira Efron, Karen Schwindt, Emily Haskel

Chinese investments in Israeli technology and infrastructure pose security risks for Israel and the United States. The primary concern pertains to Chinese ownership of companies that might possess sensitive technology or data. The operation of infrastructure projects also affords China unique surveillance opportunities and possibly economic and political levers of influence.


Could the Houthis Be the Next Hizballah?
Iranian Proxy Development in Yemen and the Future of the Houthi Movement
Trevor Johnston, Matthew Lane, Abigail Casey, Heather J. Williams, Ashley L. Rhoades, James Sladden, Nathan Vest, Jordan R. Reimer, Ryan Haberman

If the Houthi fighters in Yemen cannot transition into an effective governing party, Iran will likely maintain a largely transactional relationship with them. But if the Houthis can establish themselves as a competent governing and political force in Yemen, Iran might gain a formidable partner in its strategy of pushing back against Saudi Arabia.

146 pages, 2020, www.rand.org/t/RR2551
COVID-19 Air Traffic Visualization
Air Passenger Transmission Risk to GCC Countries Originated from Outside the Region
Adam R. Grissom, Christopher A. Mouton, Russell Hanson, John P. Godges

Many believed that Iran was largely responsible for spreading COVID-19 in Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries. But the GCC countries are highly connected globally. Most of the COVID-19 transmission risk for most GCC countries originated from air travelers outside the region, first from China and then from elsewhere.  

How Small Businesses Are Coping with the Impact of COVID-19
Results from a Survey in Turkey and the Middle East
Stijn Hoorens, Lucy Hocking, Clément Fays

Nearly 80 percent of owners of small- and medium-sized businesses surveyed in the Middle East and Turkey said the impact of coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) on their companies was negative, while one in six said it was positive. Nearly all said they would need some form of support to protect their businesses.  

Local Government Reform and the Socioeconomic Gap in Israel
Building Toward a New Future
Amir Levi, Tal Wolfson, Steven W. Popper, Shira Efron, Anamarie A. Whitaker, Jennifer J. Li

This report discusses three ways to strengthen local government in Israel. The authors propose a district model to overcome obstacles faced by small and poor municipalities. The authors propose a model for hiring municipal managers to address cronyism and a dearth of skilled leadership in peripheral localities. Finally, the authors describe education services that municipalities could offer under the proposed district structure.  
128 pages, 2020, www.rand.org/t/RR3204 (English/Arabic/Hebrew)

Working to Support Policy Change Through an Advocacy Coalition in Israel
A Case Study
Ben Baruch, Emma Disley

This case study examines the Coalition for Education from Birth and its work to bring about change in childcare regulation and provision in Israel. The purpose is to identify and document lessons learned from the process of setting up and running a coalition to effect policy change.  
32 pages, 2020, www.rand.org/t/RRA245-1 (English/Hebrew)
Russia's Limit of Advance
Scenarios
Ben Connable, Abby Doll, Alyssa Demus, Dara Massicot, Clint Reach, Anthony Atler, William Mackenzie, Matthew Povlock, Lauren Skrabala

Despite Russia’s involvement in Syria’s civil war, Russia’s ability to deploy ground forces is strong only near its western border and within range of its air defenses. Its ability to deploy ground combat units drops off sharply as the geographic distance grows. Russia’s deployment capacity is further constrained by limited forces and transportation assets, a lack of international support, and an insufficient ability to sustain its deployed forces.

62 pages, 2020, www.rand.org/t/RR2563z1

An Enduring American Commitment in Iraq
Shaping a Long-Term Strategy with Iraqi Army Partners
Ben Connable

The author argues that the United States should make a full and enduring commitment of long-term assistance to the Iraqi Army. Iran, Russia, and China could all offer fiercely competitive military assistance deals to Iraq. The best way for the United States to cultivate an enduring commitment to Iraq is through robust, long-term assistance to the Iraqi Army.


Weighing U.S. Troop Withdrawal from Iraq
Strategic Risks and Recommendations
Ben Connable, James Dobbins, Howard J. Shatz, Raphael S. Cohen, Becca Wasser

The authors conclude that supporting a stable and friendly Iraq is in the long-term interest of the United States, and that doing so does not require prolonging the combat assistance mission in Iraq over the long run—but that doing so does require maintaining a small force of military advisers to help train and develop Iraqi military capabilities so that Iraq can defend itself.


Escalation with Iran
Outcomes and Implications for U.S. Interests and Regional Stability
Ariane M. Tabatabai

This testimony, presented to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East, North Africa, and International Terrorism, explains the internal dynamics within Iran, the regime’s expected courses of action, and the U.S. options for moving forward. According to Tabatabai, “An acceptable outcome to both parties is likely to involve a single comprehensive deal.”

10 pages, 2020, www.rand.org/t/CT522
Turkey’s Nationalist Course
Implications for the U.S.-Turkish Strategic Partnership and the U.S. Army
Stephen J. Flanagan, F. Stephen Larrabee, Anika Binnendijk, Katherine Costello, Shira Efron, James Hoobler, Magdalena Kirchner, Jeffrey Martini, Alireza Nader, Peter A. Wilson

This report discusses the challenges for the U.S.-Turkish partnership and ways to sustain it. The authors describe the political, social, and economic trends affecting Turkey’s internal dynamics and global interests; explore its changing relations with its neighbors and partners; compare how its interests and those of its neighbors and partners converge, diverge, or conflict; and assess the implications for Turkey’s future, U.S. defense planning, and the U.S. Army.


The Evolving Israel-China Relationship
Shira Efron, Howard J. Shatz, Arthur Chan, Emily Haskel, Lyle J. Morris, Andrew Scobell

Given the growing relationship between Israel and China, the authors find that Israel would benefit from a better understanding of the opportunities and challenges associated with deeper ties with China and that the United States would benefit from working more closely with Israel to advance a mutually agreed-upon China-related agenda.

222 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/RR2641 (English/Hebrew)

Understanding Russia’s Intervention in Syria
Samuel Charap, Elina Treyger, Edward Geist

Russia’s military intervention in Syria’s civil war raises questions about potential similar actions outside post-Soviet Eurasia. The authors assess where and under what conditions Moscow might intervene by analyzing the factors that drive such decisionmaking. Beyond the 2015 intervention in Syria, the authors assess the likelihood of Russian interventions in four other conflicts outside Russia’s immediate neighborhood: Libya, Afghanistan, Yemen, and Syria itself before 2015.

32 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/RR3180

Crossing the Digital Divide
Applying Technology to the Global Refugee Crisis
Shelly Culbertson, James Dimarogonas, Katherine Costello, Serafina Lanna

For refugees, technology can provide internet connectivity and access, support communication with family and friends, extend education and employment opportunities, facilitate distribution of housing and other resources, enable financial access, and store information about a displaced person’s identity. However, issues of data rights and responsibilities are growing more urgent and complex as aid operations create and collect increasing amounts of personal data.

120 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/RR4322
Defining and Understanding the Next Generation of Salafi-Jihadis
Richard C. Baffa, Nathan Vest, Wing Yi Chan, Abby Fanlo

How will political upheavals in the Middle East, socioeconomic trends in the Muslim world, and rising digital connectivity affect susceptibility to radicalization in Generation Z, or those born between 1997 and 2012? Their unprecedented familiarity with and connection to the internet portend an adaptive, tech-savvy future terrorist threat.

16 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/PE341

Return and Expand?
The Finances and Prospects of the Islamic State After the Caliphate
Patrick B. Johnston, Mona Alami, Colin P. Clarke, Howard J. Shatz

The Islamic State will almost certainly attempt a comeback, which will require money. Criminal activities will prove useful. The group likely has detailed information on those it once ruled, and it appears to have sizable assets in reserve. The United States will need to stay involved with several counter-Islamic State activities, from counterfinance to potential military action.

168 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/RR3046

Iran’s National Security Debate
Implications for Future U.S.-Iran Negotiations
Ariane M. Tabatabai

Iran’s domestic debates affect its foreign policy and national security postures. Understanding areas of both consensus and division among Iran’s elite is critical to developing a realistic policy toward Iran. Areas of consensus signify regime redlines; disagreements could offer openings in negotiations among Iran, the United States, and other members of the international community.

35 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/PE344
(English/Arabic)

Fighting Shadows in the Dark
Understanding and Countering Coercion in Cyberspace
Quentin E. Hodgson, Logan Ma, Krystyna Marcinek, Karen Schwindt

The authors explore how Russia, China, Iran, and North Korea have used cyber operations and whether this use constitutes cyber coercion. Russia and North Korea appear more likely than China and Iran to have used cyber operations as a coercive tool. The United States and its allies need to develop methods to discern cyber coercion as it emerges, plus strategies to counter it.

56 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/RR2961

Iran’s National Security Debate
Implications for Future U.S.-Iran Negotiations
Ariane M. Tabatabai

Iran’s domestic debates affect its foreign policy and national security postures. Understanding areas of both consensus and division among Iran’s elite is critical to developing a realistic policy toward Iran. Areas of consensus signify regime redlines; disagreements could offer openings in negotiations among Iran, the United States, and other members of the international community.

35 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/PE344
(English/Arabic)

Fighting Shadows in the Dark
Understanding and Countering Coercion in Cyberspace
Quentin E. Hodgson, Logan Ma, Krystyna Marcinek, Karen Schwindt

The authors explore how Russia, China, Iran, and North Korea have used cyber operations and whether this use constitutes cyber coercion. Russia and North Korea appear more likely than China and Iran to have used cyber operations as a coercive tool. The United States and its allies need to develop methods to discern cyber coercion as it emerges, plus strategies to counter it.

56 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/RR2961

Return and Expand?
The Finances and Prospects of the Islamic State After the Caliphate
Patrick B. Johnston, Mona Alami, Colin P. Clarke, Howard J. Shatz

The Islamic State will almost certainly attempt a comeback, which will require money. Criminal activities will prove useful. The group likely has detailed information on those it once ruled, and it appears to have sizable assets in reserve. The United States will need to stay involved with several counter-Islamic State activities, from counterfinance to potential military action.

168 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/RR3046
Countering Sectarianism in the Middle East
Jeffrey Martini, Dalia Dassa Kaye, Becca Wasser, Amanda Rizkallah, Justin Gengler, Kathleen Reedy, Ami Carpenter

Case studies of Lebanon, Bahrain, Syria, and Iraq suggest that many factors can help communities resist sectarianism: mechanisms for mediating the onset of conflict, trust between community leaders, activist movements that transcend sectarian identities, strong border monitoring, physical infrastructure that encourages sectarian mixing, and smaller socioeconomic gaps.

154 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/RR2799
(English/Arabic)

Africa’s Role in Nation-Building
An Examination of African-Led Peace Operations
James Dobbins, James Pumzile Machakaire, Andrew Radin, Stephanie Pezard, Jonathan S. Blake, Laura Bosco, Nathan Chandler, Wandile Langa, Charles Nyuykonge, Kitenge Fabrice Tunda

What is most remarkable and commendable about Africa’s institutional role in regional peace operations is the level of cooperation generally achieved among the states most directly affected by the conflicts. African countries do not all agree with one another, but they have established effective consultation processes and are able to form ad hoc coalitions to pursue shared interests.

320 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/RR2978

The U.S. Army and the Battle for Baghdad
Lessons Learned—And Still to Be Learned
David E. Johnson, Agnes Gereben Schaefer, Brenna Allen, Raphael S. Cohen, Gian Gentile, James Hoobler, Michael Schwille, Jerry M. Sollinger, Sean M. Zeigler

To minimize the adaptation the U.S. Army will have to undergo when called to serve in similar circumstances, this report aims to help the Army continue to institutionalize the lessons from the Iraq War and the Battle for Baghdad. Instability and insurgency are part of the future. If history is any guide, the United States will look to the Army to deal with these challenges.

318 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/RR3076

The Limits of Russian Strategy in the Middle East
Becca Wasser

Russia is seemingly resurgent in the Middle East, using a transactional approach that is focused on the short term, to develop diplomatic and economic relationships across the region. The author discusses how the very elements that make Russia’s strategy successful in the short term will ultimately limit the depth of Russia’s regional approach in the long term.

(English/Arabic)
Estimating the Economic Benefits of Levant Integration
Daniel Egel, Andrew Parasiliti, Charles P. Ries, Dori Walker

Economic integration in the Levant—in the form of a comprehensive free trade agreement among Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey—could raise the average gross domestic product of these countries by 3 to 7 percent, create at least 0.7 million to 1.7 million new jobs, and reduce regional unemployment by 8 to 18 percent. An accompanying online tool allows policymakers and the public to project the economic dividend from economic integration.

48 pages, 2019, www.rand.org/t/RR2375
Online tool: www.rand.org/t/TL302

The Future of Israeli-Turkish Relations
Shira Efron

Although the Israeli and Turkish business communities would like to resume former levels of engagement, relations are tense in the Israeli and Turkish diplomatic and security spheres because of distrust of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and differences between the countries over the future of Syria and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

68 pages, 2018, www.rand.org/t/RR2445

Health Sector Reform in the Kurdistan Region—Iraq
Primary Care Management Information System, Physician Dual Practice Finance Reform, and Quality of Care Training
C. Ross Anthony, Melinda Moore, Lee H. Hilborne, Anne Rooney, Scot Hickey, Youngbok Ryu, Laura Botwinick

This project for the Kurdistan Regional Government focuses on developing and using a primary care management information system for the region’s health care system; health financing reform; and hospital patient safety training within the context of health quality improvement.

116 pages, 2018, www.rand.org/t/RR1658z1 (Arabic)
116 pages, 2018, www.rand.org/t/RR1658z2 (Kurdish)

Opportunities for All
Mutually Beneficial Opportunities for Syrians and Host Countries in Middle Eastern Labor Markets
Krishna B. Kumar, Shelly Culbertson, Louay Constant, Shanthi Nataraj, Fatih Unlu, Kathryn E. Bouskill, Joy S. Moini, Katherine Costello, Gursel Rafioglu Aliyev, Fadia Afashe

This report examines labor market opportunities for displaced Syrians in Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon and tailors recommendations to each country. These include offering language classes (in Turkey), assessing where jobs are needed and letting migrants move there, and improving worker certification processes so that qualified migrants can get jobs in their areas of expertise.

310 pages, 2018, www.rand.org/t/RR2653 (English/Arabic)
Lessons from Others for Future U.S. Army Operations in and Through the Information Environment

Christopher Paul, Colin P. Clarke, Michael Schwille, Jakub P. Hlávka, Michael A. Brown, Steven Davenport, Isaac R. Porche III, Joel Harding

This comparative analysis of 12 information campaigns highlights areas in which others excel to guide the U.S. Army in either adopting or countering the practices. A companion volume of case studies supports this analysis with detailed assessments of the strategic goals and information-related activities of numerous allies, adversaries, and potential adversaries, including Israel, Iran, Hezbollah, al Qaeda, and the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant.

66 pages, 2018, www.rand.org/t/RR1925z1

Modern Political Warfare
Current Practices and Possible Responses

Linda Robinson, Todd C. Helmus, Raphael S. Cohen, Alireza Nader, Andrew Radin, Madeline Magnuson, Katya Migacheva

The authors examine historical antecedents and current-day practices of political warfare through case studies of Russia, Iran, and the Islamic State. The report concludes with recommendations for countering political warfare by creating a more-effective, coordinated, and cost-sensitive approach to statecraft. This approach includes specific measures for the U.S. State Department and the U.S. military, particularly the special operations community.


An Overview of Current Trends in Terrorism and Illicit Finance

Lessons from the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria and Other Emerging Threats

Colin P. Clarke

This testimony, presented before the House Financial Services Committee Subcommittee on Terrorism and Illicit Finance, defines terrorist financing, analyzes how terrorists generate income, describes how the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) may attempt to finance a renewed campaign of terror, and assesses the campaign to counter ISIS finances.

9 pages, 2018, www.rand.org/t/CT498

Preparing for “Post-ISIL” Access Challenges
Robust Basing to Support Operations Against Nonstate Adversaries

Christopher A. Mouton, Adam R. Grissom

Researchers developed an interactive tool, called sequential basing, to identify robust basing options in recurrently changing environments, such as Africa and the Middle East. The tool is premised on the paradoxical constancy of ephemeral access. The output of the tool consists of heat maps that highlight key points of strategic geography.

7 pages, 2018, www.rand.org/t/RR2493
(English/Arabic)
What Might Happen if Palestinians Start Voting in Jerusalem Municipal Elections?
Gaming the End of the Electoral Boycott and the Future of City Politics
Jonathan S. Blake, Elizabeth M. Bartels, Shira Efron, Yitzhak Reiter
Since Israel’s annexation of East Jerusalem after the 1967 war, Palestinian residents have largely boycotted municipal elections to avoid legitimizing Israeli rule. A game conducted by a RAND team suggests that the Israeli and municipal governments would welcome increased Palestinian turnout as long as it was not too high and that elected Palestinians would likely be able to affect policy only at a low level.
74 pages, 2018, www.rand.org/t/RR2743

Alcohol and International Football Tournaments
Jirka Taylor, Lucy Strang, Emma Disley
As part of a project conducted for Qatar University in advance of the 2022 World Cup in Qatar, a RAND Europe team found no robust evidence that alcohol control strategies, such as bans on consumption, were effective at reducing antisocial and violent behavior at international football matches. But existing alcohol restrictions in Qatar could make the strategies more effective.

Sectarianism in the Middle East
Implications for the United States
Heather M. Robinson, Ben Connable, David E. Thaler, Ali G. Scotten
Many Westerners view unrest in the Middle East through the lens of religious sectarianism, but the complexities of human identity, regional culture, and history do not lend themselves to such a simplistic interpretation. For instance, the drivers of conflict between Sunni and Shi’a Muslims are mostly political in nature, and the political and social contexts inform the sectarian identities. The United States should eschew policies that institutionalize sectarianism.
144 pages, 2018, www.rand.org/t/RR1681
(English/Arabic)

The Public Health Impacts of Gaza’s Water Crisis
Analysis and Policy Options
Shira Efron, Jordan R. Fischbach, Ilana Blum, Rouslan I. Karimov, Melinda Moore
This report reviews the state of water supply and water sanitation in Gaza, examines the water-related risks to public health in Gaza, and explains the potential regional public health risks for Israel and Egypt. The authors recommend a number of steps to ameliorate the crisis and to decrease the potential for a regional public health disaster.
(English/Arabic)
Violent and Antisocial Behaviour at Football Matches in the Middle East and North Africa

Scoping the Evidence
Madeline Nightingale, Lucy Strang, Emma Disley, Mohyi Maziad

This case study identifies potential directions for future research on football violence, such as generating data on the prevalence of violence at football events in the Middle East and North Africa and evaluating strategies to prevent and reduce the occurrence of such violence.

20 pages, 2018, www.rand.org/t/RR2777 (English/Arabic)

2017

Making Victory Count After Defeating ISIS

Stabilization Challenges in Mosul and Beyond
Shelly Culbertson, Linda Robinson

Through a case study of Mosul, the authors investigate the urgent humanitarian and stabilization needs in Iraq and offer recommendations for immediate actions to stabilize the country after military operations to liberate it from ISIS. The gains earned through combat need to be consolidated through adequate humanitarian and stabilization measures to secure peace.

98 pages, 2017, www.rand.org/t/RR2076 (English/Arabic)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Website</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How the Past Can Inform the Present and Future</td>
<td>Shara Williams, Carrie Lee, Michael Shurkin, Brenna Allen, Sarah</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1912">www.rand.org/t/RR1912</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China in the Middle East</td>
<td>Andrew Scobell, Alireza Nader</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1229">www.rand.org/t/RR1229</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wary Dragon</td>
<td>Seth G. Jones, Andrew Liepman, Nathan Chandler</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1539">www.rand.org/t/RR1539</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency in Somalia</td>
<td>Howard J. Shatz, Steven W. Popper, Sami Friedrich, Shmuel Abramzon,</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR275">www.rand.org/t/RR275</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessing the Campaign Against Al Shabaab</td>
<td>Anat Brodsky, Roni Harel, Ofir Cohen</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RRGSD370">www.rand.org/t/RRGSD370</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deception in Covert Nuclear Weapons Development</td>
<td>Seth G. Jones, Andrew Liepman, Nathan Chandler</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1203">www.rand.org/t/RR1203</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Framework to Identify, Analyze, and Mitigate Future Long-Term Deception Efforts</td>
<td>Brian J. Gordon</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1485">www.rand.org/t/RR1485</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smarter Power, Stronger Partners, Volume II</td>
<td>Duncan Long, Terrence Kelly, David C. Gampert, Scott Boston, Michael</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1359z1">www.rand.org/t/RR1359z1</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Strategy in the Middle East</td>
<td>James Sladden, Becca Wasser, Ben Connable, Sarah Grand-Clement</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/PE236">www.rand.org/t/PE236</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When the Islamic State Comes to Town</td>
<td>Eric Robinson, Daniel Egel, Patrick B. Johnston, Sean Mann, Alexander</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1970">www.rand.org/t/RR1970</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Economic Impact of Islamic State Governance in Iraq and Syria</td>
<td>D. Rothenberg, David Stebbins</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1405z3">www.rand.org/t/RR1405z3</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calculating the Gross Regional Product of the Kurdistan Region—Iraq</td>
<td>Shinthi Nataraj, Francisco Perez-Arce, Claude Messan Setodji</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1405z3">www.rand.org/t/RR1405z3</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China in the Middle East</td>
<td>Andrew Scobell, Alireza Nader</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1229">www.rand.org/t/RR1229</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wary Dragon</td>
<td>Seth G. Jones, Andrew Liepman, Nathan Chandler</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1539">www.rand.org/t/RR1539</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency in Somalia</td>
<td>Howard J. Shatz, Steven W. Popper, Sami Friedrich, Shmuel Abramzon,</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR275">www.rand.org/t/RR275</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessing the Campaign Against Al Shabaab</td>
<td>Anat Brodsky, Roni Harel, Ofir Cohen</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RRGSD370">www.rand.org/t/RRGSD370</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deception in Covert Nuclear Weapons Development</td>
<td>Seth G. Jones, Andrew Liepman, Nathan Chandler</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1203">www.rand.org/t/RR1203</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Framework to Identify, Analyze, and Mitigate Future Long-Term Deception Efforts</td>
<td>Brian J. Gordon</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1485">www.rand.org/t/RR1485</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smarter Power, Stronger Partners, Volume II</td>
<td>Duncan Long, Terrence Kelly, David C. Gampert, Scott Boston, Michael</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1359z1">www.rand.org/t/RR1359z1</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Strategy in the Middle East</td>
<td>James Sladden, Becca Wasser, Ben Connable, Sarah Grand-Clement</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/PE236">www.rand.org/t/PE236</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When the Islamic State Comes to Town</td>
<td>Eric Robinson, Daniel Egel, Patrick B. Johnston, Sean Mann, Alexander</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>2017</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1970">www.rand.org/t/RR1970</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Economic Impact of Islamic State Governance in Iraq and Syria</td>
<td>D. Rothenberg, David Stebbins</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1405z3">www.rand.org/t/RR1405z3</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calculating the Gross Regional Product of the Kurdistan Region—Iraq</td>
<td>Shinthi Nataraj, Francisco Perez-Arce, Claude Messan Setodji</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rand.org/t/RR1405z3">www.rand.org/t/RR1405z3</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2016

Assessment of the Politico-Military Campaign to Counter ISIL and Options for Adaptation
Linda Robinson

Authorities for Military Operations Against Terrorist Groups
The State of the Debate and Options for Congress
Christopher Chivvis and Andrew Liepman
62 pages, 2016, www.rand.org/t/RR1145-1

Calculating the Gross Regional Product of the Kurdistan Region—Iraq
Kurdish Translation
Shmuel Abramzon, Nicholas Burger, Peter Glick, Krishna B. Kumar, Cheryl K. Montemayor, Nelly Josefina Mejia Gonzalez, Shanthi Nataraj, Francisco Perez-Arce, Claude Messan Setodji

2016

Assessment of the Politico-Military Campaign to Counter ISIL and Options for Adaptation
Linda Robinson

Authorities for Military Operations Against Terrorist Groups
The State of the Debate and Options for Congress
Christopher Chivvis and Andrew Liepman
62 pages, 2016, www.rand.org/t/RR1145-1

Calculating the Gross Regional Product of the Kurdistan Region—Iraq
Kurdish Translation
Shmuel Abramzon, Nicholas Burger, Peter Glick, Krishna B. Kumar, Cheryl K. Montemayor, Nelly Josefina Mejia Gonzalez, Shanthi Nataraj, Francisco Perez-Arce, Claude Messan Setodji
The Future of Health Care in the Kurdistan Region—Iraq
Toward an Effective, High-Quality System with an Emphasis on Primary Care
Melinda Moore, C. Ross Anthony, Yee-Wei Lim, Spencer S. Jones, Adrian Overton, Joanne K. Yoong

Improving Technical Vocational Education and Training in the Kurdistan Region—Iraq
Louay Constant, Shelly Culbertson, Cathy Stasz, Georges Vernez

Improving Turkish-Iraqi Border Security
An Agent-Based Modeling and Simulation Approach
Mustafa Oguz

Iran’s Influence in Afghanistan
Implications for the U.S. Drawdown
Alireza Nader, Ali G. Scattan, Ahmad Rahmani, Robert Stewart, Leila Mahnad

Libya After Qaddafi
Lessons and Implications for the Future
Christopher S. Chivvis, Jeffrey Martini

New Security and Justice Sector Partnership Models
Implications of the Arab Uprisings
Michael J. McNerney, Jennifer D. P. Moroney, Peter Mandaville, Terry Hagen

A Persistent Threat
The Evolution of al Qa’ida and Other Salafi Jihadists
Seth G. Jones

Spillover from the Conflict in Syria
An Assessment of the Factors that Aid and Impede the Spread of Violence
William Young, David Stebbins, Bryan Frederick, Omar Al-Shahery

Strategic Priorities for Improving Access to Quality Education in the Kurdistan Region—Iraq
Georges Vernez, Shelly Culbertson, Louay Constant

Strategies for Private-Sector Development and Civil-Service Reform in the Kurdistan Region—Iraq
Michael L. Hansen, Howard J. Shatz, Louay Constant, Alexandria Smith, Krishna B. Kumar, Heather Krull, Artur Usanov

When Jihadis Come Marching Home
The Terrorist Threat Posed by Westerners Returning from Syria and Iraq
Brian Michael Jenkins

Youth in Jordan
Transitions from Education to Employment
Ryan Andrew Brown, Louay Constant, Peter Glick, Audra K. Grant

Airpower Options for Syria
Assessing Objectives and Missions for Aerial Intervention
Karl P. Mueller, Jeffrey Martini, Thomas Hamilton

Artists and the Arab Uprisings
Lowell H. Schwartz, Dalia Dassa Kaye, Jeffrey Martini
100 pages, 2013, www.rand.org/t/RR271

Building Democracy on the Ashes of Authoritarianism in the Arab World
Workshop Summary
Laurel E. Miller, Jeffrey Martini
8 pages, 2013, www.rand.org/t/CF312

Effective Policing for 21st-Century Israel
Jessica Saunders, Steven W. Popper, Andrew R. Morral, Robert C. Davis, Claude Berrebi, Kristin J. Leuschner, Shira Efron, Boaz Segalovitz, K. Jack Riley
110 pages, 2013, https://www.rand.org/t/RR287z1

Ending the U.S. War in Iraq
The Final Transition, Operational Maneuver, and Disestablishment of United States Forces–Iraq (USF-I)
Richard R. Brennan, Jr., Charles P. Ries, Larry Hanauer, Ben Connable, Terrence K. Kelly, Michael J. McNerney, Stephanie Young, Jason Campbell, K. Scott McMahon

Internet Freedom and Political Space
Olesya Tkacheva, Lowell H. Schwartz, Martin C. Libicki, Julie E. Taylor, Jeffrey Martini, Caroline Baxter

Iran After the Bomb
How Would a Nuclear-Armed Tehran Behave?
Alireza Nader

Knowledge-Based Economies and Basing Economies on Knowledge
Skills a Missing Link in GCC Countries
Krishna B. Kumar, Desiree van Welsum

Rouhani’s Election
Regime Retrenchment in the Face of Pressure
Alireza Nader
9 pages, 2013, www.rand.org/t/CT394

Syria as an Arena of Strategic Competition
Jeffrey Martini, Erin York, William Young

The Terrorist Threat from Syria
Seth G. Jones
10 pages, 2013, www.rand.org/t/CT388

Cultural Oasis
For Arab Children, Collected Works Offer Roads to Tolerance, Critical Thinking
Gail L. Zellman, et al.

Youth in Jordan
Transitions from Education to Employment
Ryan Andrew Brown, Louay Constant, Peter Glick, Audra K. Grant
2012

All Glory Is fleeting
Insights from the Second Lebanon War
Russell W. Glenn

Building the Future
Summary of Four Studies to Develop the Private Sector, Education, Health Care, and Data for Decisionmaking for the Kurdistan Region—Iraq
C. Ross Anthony, Michael L. Hansen, Krishna B. Kumar, Howard J. Shatz, Georges Vernez

China and Iran
Economic, Political, and Military Relations
Scott Warren Harold, Alireza Nader

Containing Iran
Strategies for Addressing the Iranian Nuclear Challenge
Robert Reardon

Democratization in the Arab World
Prospects and Lessons from Around the Globe
Laurel E. Miller, Jeffrey Martini, F. Stephen Larrabee, Angel Rabasa, Stephanie Pezard, Julie E. Taylor, Tewodaj Mengistu
Updated summary:
38 pages, 2013, www.rand.org/t/MG1192z1 (Arabic)
46 pages, 2013, www.rand.org/t/MG1192z2 (English)

Launching the Qatar National Research Fund
Shelly Culbertson, Michael G. Mattock, Bruce R. Nardulli, Abdulrazaq Al-Kuwari, Gary Cecchine, Margaret C. Harrell, John A. Friel, Richard E. Darilek

Libya’s Post-Qaddafi Transition
The Nation-Building Challenge
Christopher S. Chivvis, Keith Crane, Peter Mandaville, Jeffrey Martini

The Muslim Brotherhood, Its Youth, and Implications for U.S. Engagement
Jeffrey Martini, Dalia Dassa Kaye, Erin York

New Challenges to U.S. Counterterrorism Efforts
An Assessment of the Current Terrorist Threat
Brian Michael Jenkins
Addendum: 10 pages, 2012, www.rand.org/t/CT377z1

Qatar’s School Transportation System
Supporting Safety, Efficiency, and Service Quality
Keith Henry, Obaid Younossi, Maryah Al-Dafa, Shelly Culbertson, Michael G. Mattock, Thomas Light, Charlene Rohr
154 pages, 2012, www.rand.org/t/MG1136 (English)

RAND Review: Vol. 36, No. 1, Spring 2012
How to Defuse Iran’s Nuclear Threat: Bolster Diplomacy, Israeli Security, and the Iranian Citizenry
James Dobbins, Dalia Dassa Kaye, Alireza Nader, Frederic Wehrey

Resolving Kirkuk
Lessons Learned from Settlements of Earlier Ethno-Territorial Conflicts
Larry Hanauer, Laurel E. Miller

Sustaining the Qatar National Research Fund
Gary Cecchine, Richard E. Darilek, Margaret C. Harrell, Michael G. Mattock, Shelly Culbertson, David S. Ortiz, Nicholas C. Maynard, S. R. Bohandy, Edward Balkovich, Bruce R. Nardulli

Using Social Media to Gauge Iranian Public Opinion and Mood After the 2009 Election
Sara Beth Elson, Douglas Yeung, Parisa Roshan, S. R. Bohandy, Alireza Nader

2011

Coping with a Nuclearizing Iran
James Dobbins, Alireza Nader, Dalia Dassa Kaye, Frederic Wehrey

Future Challenges for the Arab World
The Implications of Demographic and Economic Trends
Keith Crane, Steven Simon, Jeffrey Martini

Identifying Arabic-Language Materials for Children That Promote Tolerance and Critical Thinking
Gail L. Zellman, Jeffrey Martini, Michal Perlman
84 pages, 2011, www.rand.org/t/TR856

The Impact of Information and Communication Technologies in the Middle East and North Africa
Flavia Tsang, Ohid Yaqub, Desiree van Welsum, Tony G. Thompson-Starkey, Joanna Chataway

Iran’s Balancing Act in Afghanistan
Alireza Nader, Joya Laha

Iran’s Human Rights Abuses
Alireza Nader
7 pages, 2011, www.rand.org/t/CT369
2008

After Saddam
Prewar Planning and the Occupation of Iraq
Nora Bensahel, Olga Oliker, Keith Crane, Rick Brennan, Jr., Heather S. Gregg, Thomas Sullivan, Andrew Rathmell

Gabriella C. Gonzalez, Lynn A. Karoly, Louay Constant, Hanine Salem, Charles A. Goldman
154 pages, 2008, www.rand.org/t/MG786z1

How Terrorist Groups End
Lessons for Countering al Qa’ida
Seth G. Jones, Martin C. Libicki

2007

Education for a New Era
Design and Implementation of K–12 Education Reform in Qatar
Dominic J. Brewer, Catherine H. Augustine, Gail L. Zellman, Gery W. Ryan, Charles A. Goldman, Cathleen Stasz, Louay Constant

Post–Secondary Education in Qatar
Employer Demand, Student Choice, and Options for Policy
Cathleen Stasz, Eric R. Eide, Paco Martorell

Sharing the Dragon’s Teeth
Terrorist Groups and the Exchange of New Technologies
Kim Cragin, Peter Chalk, Sara A. Daly, Brian A. Jackson

Talking to the Enemy
Track Two Diplomacy in the Middle East and South Asia
Dalia Dassa Kaye

Ungoverned Territories
Understanding and Reducing Terrorism Risks
Angel Rabasa, Steven Boraz, Peter Chalk, Kim Cragin, Theodore W. Karasik, Jennifer D. P. Moroney, Kevin A. O’Brien, John E. Peters

2006

Beyond al-Qaeda
Part 1, The Global Jihadist Movement
Angel Rabasa, Peter Chalk, Kim Cragin, Sara A. Daly, Heather S. Gregg, Theodore W. Karasik, Kevin A. O’Brien, William Rosenau

Beyond al-Qaeda
Part 2, The Outer Rings of the Terrorist Universe
Angel Rabasa, Peter Chalk, Kim Cragin, Sara A. Daly, Heather S. Gregg, Theodore W. Karasik, Kevin A. O’Brien, William Rosenau
To learn more about the RAND Center for Middle East Public Policy, visit www.rand.org/cmepp or contact its director, Linda Robinson, at 703.413.1100, ext. 5969, or linda_robinson@rand.org.