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Naval Postgraduate School  
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## EMPLOYMENT

### Naval Postgraduate School.

Assistant Professor, 1991-1998; Associate Professor, 1998-present; Full Professor, 2021 (expected)

### University of California, Berkeley.

Visiting Professor, Center for Middle East Studies, 2007-2008 (on sabbatical).  
Affiliated with Center for Middle East Studies 1986-present.

### The RAND Corporation.

Senior Political Scientist, 2003 (on leave).

### The Middlebury Institute of International Studies in Monterey

Visiting Professor, 2008-11

### The University of Otago (New Zealand).

National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, January / February 2019 (sabbatical)

### The National University of Singapore.

Middle East Institute, March / April / May 2019 (sabbatical)

## EDUCATION

### University of California, Berkeley.

Ph.D. (1992), M.A. (1988), B.A. With Highest Honors (1982). Department of Political Science.

### Johns Hopkins University School of Advance International Studies.

1983-85. Completed coursework and passed MA comprehensive examinations in Middle East Studies and International Economics With Distinction.

## SELECTED ACADEMIC HONORS

Letter of Commendation for Excellence in Teaching. NPS, 2001, 1997.

Outstanding Research Achievement Award. NPS, 1997.

Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor. U.C. Berkeley, 1987-88.

Fulbright Scholar. University of Jordan, Amman, Jordan, 1985-86.

Research Grants and Fellowships: I have received numerous research grants and fellowships, including from the US Department of Defense, the US State Department, the US Institute of Peace, the Naval Postgraduate School, Social Science Research Council, the Department of Education, the University of California at Berkeley, the Truman Institute of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Yarmouk University in Jordan, and the American University in Cairo. I was an AFS exchange student to Iran in 1978.

### TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Naval Postgraduate School (1991-present)

Courses taught include:

- Jihadi Information Strategy
- Political Violence in the Middle East
- Comparative Methods and Research Design
- Theories of Social Revolution
- Rise and Fall (?) of the Nation-state
- The Arab-Israeli Conflict
- Flashpoints: US Foreign Policy Challenges
- US Foreign Policy toward the Middle East

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Books:

*Global Jihad: A Brief History*, Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2021.

*The Arc: A Formal Structure for a Palestinian State* (co-author), Santa Monica: RAND, 2005.

*Building a Successful Palestinian State* (co-author), Santa Monica: RAND, 2005

*Helping a Palestinian State Succeed: Key Findings* (co-author), Santa Monica: RAND, 2005

*Building a Palestinian State: The Incomplete Revolution*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997. 248 pages. Indiana Series in Arab and Islamic Studies. Published simultaneously in cloth and paperback editions.

In progress:

- *How States Fail: The Political Economy of Corruption in the Middle East.*
- *Understanding the Middle East*, under contract with CQ Press, in progress.

#### Journal Articles:

"Homogenizing Trends in Islam under Globalization: Revisiting Clifford Geertz," in progress. Fieldwork conducted in Southeast Asia Spring 2019. Presented at the annual

meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, November 2019, New Orleans. To be revised and submitted for publication.

"Destroying a State: The Political Economy of Corruption in Yemen under Ali Abdullah Saleh, 1994-2012," in progress. Expected submission: December 2020.

"The Four Waves of Global Jihad, 1979-2017," *Middle East Policy* 24:3 (Fall 2017).

"Gaza 2014: Hamas' Strategic Calculus," *Parameters: US Army War College Quarterly*, 44:4 (Winter 2015).

"Syria's Long Civil War," in *Current History* 111:749 (December 2012).

"Don't Let the Syrian Rebels Win," in *Foreign Policy.com*, December 10, 2012.

"Oil States, Rentier States, and the Arab Spring," in *New Opportunities for Political Science*, Project on Middle East Political Science Studies 1, June 12, 2012.

"Al-Aqsa Intifada 10 Years Later", *ForeignPolicy.com*, October 18, 2010.

"Palestinian Tribes, Clans, and Notable Families", *Strategic Insights*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Fall 2008).

"Zum Kompromiss nicht fähig", *Welt Sichten*, May 2008.

"The Fragmentation of Palestine," *Current History* 106:74 (December 2007).

"The Battle for Iraq: Islamic Insurgencies in Comparative Perspective," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (2007).

" Hamas", Review Essay, *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring 2007).

"After Arafat", *Current History*, Vol. 104, No. 678 (January 2005).

"Being Yasir Arafat: A Portrait of Palestine's President," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 6 (November/December 2003).

"Las perspectivas de la democracia" *Vanguardia Dossier* No. 8 (October-December 2003) Spain.

"Crisis in Palestine," *Strategic Comments*, Vol. 9, No. 7 (September 2003), IISS, London.

"Political Succession in the Middle East" with Louis J. Cantori, et al, *Middle East Policy* Vol. 9, No. 3 (September 2002)

"Israel and the Palestinians: The Bitter Fruits of Hegemonic Peace," *Current History* Vol. 100, No. 642 (January 2001).

"After Arafat: Succession in Palestine," *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 23, No. 4 (Autumn 2000).

"Defensive Democratization in Jordan," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (August 1998).

"Elite Cohesion, Regime Succession and Political Instability in Syria," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. V, No. 4 (January 1998).

"Authoritarianism with a Palestinian Face," *Current History*, Vol. 97, No. 615 (January 1998).

"The Dilemma Facing Yasser Arafat: An Eroding Political Authority," *Strategic Comments*, Vol. 3, No. 9 (November 1997), IISS, London.

"The Politics of Legal Reform in Palestine," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Autumn 1997).

"Can Islamists Be Democrats? The Case of Jordan," *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Summer 1997).

"The Growing Authoritarianism of the Arafat Regime," *Survival; The IISS Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Summer 1997).

"Oslo, Three Years On," *Survival; The IISS Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Winter 1996-97).

"The Politics of Palestine," *Strategic Comments*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (12 April 1996). IISS, London.

"The Role of the Professional Middle Class in the Mobilization of Palestinian Society: The Medical and Agricultural Committees." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (May 1993).

#### **Book Chapters and Encyclopedia Essays:**

"Political Drivers of Demand for Security Assistance" in Hisham Alaoui and Robert Springborg, eds., *The Political Economy of Security Assistance in the Arab World*, Alaoui Foundation, forthcoming Lynne Rienner 2022 (expected).

"The Death of the Two State Solution: Israel, the Palestinians, and the Arab World in the Age of Netanyahu" in Robert O. Freedman, ed., *Israel Under Netanyahu: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy*, New York: Routledge, 2020.

"Palestine" in Sean Yom, ed., *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* (Ninth Edition). Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2020.

"Municipal Government in an Age of National Collapse" in Jamie Stern-Weiner, ed., *Moment of Truth: Tackling Israel-Palestine's Toughest Questions*, London and New York: OR Books, 2018

"Palestine" in Mark Gasiorowski and Sean L. Yom, *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* (Eighth Edition), Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2017.

"Whither Palestine? Weak State, Failed State or No State At All?," in Mehran Kamrava, ed., *Fragile Politics: Weak States in the Greater Middle East*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

"US Strategy Toward Iran: Confrontation or Grand Bargain?" in William H. Natter III and Jason Brooks, eds., *American Strategy and Purpose: Reflections on Foreign Policy and National Security in an Era of Change*, Lexington MA: Council for Emerging National Security Affairs, 2014

"The Middle East and North Africa," in Masamichi Sasaki, et al, eds., *Concise Encyclopedia of Comparative Sociology*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014.

"Iraq's Insurgencies in Comparative Perspective," in Amy L. Freedman, ed., *The Internationalization of Internal Conflicts*. London and New York: Routledge, 2014.

"The Palestinians" in Mark Gasiorowski, ed., *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* (Seventh Edition). Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2014. Sixth Edition published in 2010, Fifth Edition published in 2007.

"Palestine" in Joel Kreiger, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, 2013.

"Identity Politics and the War in Iraq" in Heather S. Gregg, Hy S. Rothstein, and John Arquilla, eds., *The Three Circles of War; Understanding the Dynamics of Conflict in Iraq*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2010.

"The Palestinians" in Karl Yambert, ed., *The Contemporary Middle East; A Westview Reader* (Second Edition). Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2010.

"Palestine Liberation Organization" in John L. Esposito, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

"Jihadi Information Strategy: Sources, Opportunities, and Vulnerabilities" in John Arquilla and Douglas Borer, eds., *Information Strategy and Warfare: A Guide to Theory and Practice*. New York and London: Routledge series on Contemporary Security Studies, 2007.

"Muslim Brotherhood", "West Bank", "Gaza Strip", " Hamas" and "Ahmad Qure'i" in the *World Book Encyclopedia* (Chicago: 2007). Print and on-line editions.

"Religion and Politics in Palestine" in Robert Wuthnow, ed. *Encyclopedia of Politics and Religion*, Second Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2006.

"The Al-Aqsa Intifada," "Why Oslo Failed," "Arab East Jerusalem," and "The First Palestinian Intifada, 1987-93" in David W. Lesch, ed., *History in Dispute: The Middle East Since 1945*, Volumes I and II. Columbia, S.C.: Manly, 2003 and 2004.

" Hamas as Social Movement" in Quinten Wiktorowicz, ed., *Social Movement Theory and Islamic Fundamentalism*, Indiana University Press, 2003.

"The Palestinian 'Intifada' Revolt" in Jack A. Goldstone, *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative and Historical Studies*. Thomson-Wadsworth, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, 2003.

"The Peace of the Powerful" in Roane Carey, ed., *The New Intifada; Resisting Israel's Apartheid*, Verso Press, 2001.

"Islamists under Liberalization in Jordan" in Ahmad S. Moussalli, ed., *Islamic Fundamentalism: Myths and Realities*, London: Ithaca Press, 1998.

"The Greater Middle East Co-Prosperity Sphere? The Arab-Israeli Problem and Gulf Security" in Jamal S. Al-Suwaida, ed., *Gulf Security in the 21st Century*, London: IB Tauris, 1997. Book simultaneously published in Abu Dhabi by the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, edited by David E. Long and Christian Koch.

"The Palestinians" in Peter Sluglett and Marion Farouk-Sluglett, eds., *The London Times Guide to the Middle East; The Arab World and its Neighbors*, London: Harper Collins, 1996.

#### **Government Technical Reports:**

*Opportunities for Influence in Central Asia* (lead author). Classified report due to be delivered to SOCCENT in April 2021.

*USA-KSA Track II Strategic Dialogue on Security Issues in the Middle East* (co-author). Workshop report submitted to the National Nuclear Security Administration of the US Department of Energy, April 2018. Workshop conducted in Lake Annecy, France, 4-5 April 2018.

*Egypt: Democracy, Human Rights and Governance Assessment* (co-author). Submitted to the US Agency for International Development, March 2016. Interviews conducted in Washington, D.C., in October 2015.

*Local Government Assessment of West Bank and Gaza* (co-author). Submitted to the US Agency for International Development, January 2015. Fieldwork in West Bank September-October 2014.

*Iran Futures 2* (lead author). Submitted to Department of Defense 2013.

*Democracy, Human Rights and Governance in South Sudan* (lead author). Submitted to the US Agency for International Development, February 2013. Fieldwork in South Sudan October-November 2012.

*Jordan Rule of Law Assessment* (co-author). Submitted to the US Agency for International Development, March 2011. Fieldwork in Jordan February 2011.

*Report on Iran Futures Workshop* (lead author). Department of Defense, September 2010.

*Palestinian Tribes, Clans and Notable Families*. Submitted to USG, July 2008.

*Jordan Rule of Law Assessment* (lead author). Submitted to the US Agency for International Development, February 2008. Fieldwork in Jordan December 2007.

*Jordan Corruption Assessment* (co-author). Submitted to the US Agency for International Development, September 2007. Fieldwork in Jordan August 2007.

*Role of Civil Society in Building and Maintaining Civil Peace in the Palestinian Territories*. Submitted to the US Agency for International Development, February 2007. Fieldwork in West Bank December 2006.

*Yemen Corruption Assessment* (lead author). Submitted to the US Agency for International Development, September 2006. Fieldwork in Yemen August 2006.

*Evaluation of the Negotiations Support Unit*, with Robert Springborg of the London Middle East Institute, report submitted to the UK Department for International Development, November 2004. Fieldwork in West Bank and Israel October 2004.

"Islamism, Jihadism and Terrorism", in David Tucker, ed., *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism to 2015*, report submitted to Special Operations Command, September 2004.

*Evaluation of the Community Services Program in the West Bank and Gaza Strip*, final report submitted to the US Agency for International Development, March 2003.

*Foundation for Decentralized Governance in West Bank and Gaza, Phase I*, (co-author). Submitted to the US Agency for International Development, April 2000.

*Tunisia 2010: A Defense Requirements Study*. Submitted to the Defense Security Cooperation Agency in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, September 1999.

*After the Peace: Elite Cohesion and Political Stability in Syria*. Submitted to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, International Security Affairs, October 1996.

*Judicial Administration Project in the West Bank and Gaza*. Submitted to the Democratic Institutions Support Project and approved by the Global Bureau, Center for Governance and Democracy, US Agency for International Development, March 1996.

*An Overview of Palestinian Institutional Capabilities and Development Requirements in the Health Care, Agricultural, Industrial and Educational Sectors of the West Bank and Gaza Strip*. Prepared for the US Agency for International Development - Democratic Institutions Support Project, September 1, 1993.

*Palestinian Institutional Configurations in the West Bank and Gaza under Four Autonomy Scenarios.* Prepared for the US Agency for International Development - Democratic Institutions Support Project, May 18, 1993.

**Other Publications:**

\* My book reviews have been published in numerous journals, including the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *MESA Bulletin*, *Middle East Journal*, *Survival*, *Journal of Conflict Studies*, and *Review of Religious Research*.

\* I have published a number of op / ed articles, including "The Right Way to Aid Palestinian Democracy," *The Washington Post*, September 26, 1993, "A Window of Opportunity", *The Toronto Star*, November 12, 2004, "Libya's Freedom Born of a Well-Run Campaign" *The Monterey Herald*, August 25, 2011, and "Apartheid is a Reality in the West Bank," *The Bakersfield Californian*, May 3, 2014. I have published multiple op-eds in *The Monterey Herald* on the issues of incorporation and local governance.

**SELECTED CONFERENCE PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS**

*Global Jihad and Movements of Rage.* Presented via Zoom at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, October 2020, Washington, D.C.

*Global Jihad and Movements of Rage.* Presented via Zoom at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2020, San Francisco.

*Homogenizing Trends in Islam under Globalization: Revisiting Clifford Geertz.* Fieldwork conducted in Southeast Asia Spring 2019. Presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, November 2019, New Orleans.

*The Death of the Two State Solution and the Revival of Palestinian Municipalities.* Presented at the Annual Conference of the Middle East Studies Association, San Antonio, November 2018.

*Israel, the Palestinians and the Arab World.* Presented at the 14<sup>th</sup> Lavy Colloquium, Johns Hopkins University, October 2018.

*Israel, the Palestinians and the Arab World in the Age of Trump.* Presented at the World Congress of Middle Eastern Studies (WOCMES), Seville, Spain, July 2018.

*Non-State Actors, Para-State Actors and Regional Security.* Presented at the USA-KSA Track II Strategic Dialogue on Security Issues in the Middle East, Lake Annecy, France, 4-5 April 2018.

*The Four Phases of Global Jihad.* Presented at "The Future of Terrorism and Technology: Defending Against the Threat" conference sponsored by the Central Intelligence Agency and Oakland Community College, Auburn Hills, MI, October 2017.



*Turkey, the United States and Iraq: Interests and Expectations.* Presented at the US-Turkey Strategic Dialogue, Munich, Germany, June 2016.

*The Arab Spring.* Keynote Address at the first Annual Conference on Arab Studies, University of Nebraska at Lincoln, March 2014.

*Geo-politics and the Arab Spring.* Presented at the Annual Conference of the International Studies Association, Toronto, March 2014.

*Institutions in Weak States: the Case of Palestine.* Presented at workshop on “Weak States in the Greater Middle East,” Doha, Qatar, December 2012, with revised chapter presented at Georgetown University May 2013.

*The Political Economy of Corruption in Yemen.* Presented at the Annual Conference of the Middle East Studies Association, Denver, November 2012.

*The Arab Spring: Causes and Consequences.* Presentation to the US Army College, Arab Spring Regional Symposium, January 2012.

*The Political Economy of Corruption in Yemen,* presented at the annual Baker Peace Conference, “Failed States and Fragile Societies,” Ohio University, April 2011.

*Whither a Vanguard? Internal Jihadi Strategic Arguments and Their Tactical Implications.* Presented at the Annual Conference of the Middle East Studies Association, San Diego, November 2010.

*Jihadi Information Strategy* in conference on Rethinking Jihad: Ideas, Politics, and Conflict in the Arab World and Beyond, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, September 2009.

*Twilight for the Two State Solution?* Presentation at the Annual Conference of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D.C., November 2008.

*Jihadi Information Strategy.* Presentation to the Marshall Center for European Studies, Garmisch, Germany, June 2008.

*Global Assessment of Islamist Militancy: Middle East.* Presentation to conference on Global Assessment of Islamist Militancy, Wilton Park, United Kingdom, June 2007.

*Islamist Inclusion in Palestine and Jordan: The Triumph of Organizational Interests over Ideological Dogma.* Presentation to the annual conference of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 2006.

*Iraq's Insurgency in Historical Comparative Perspective,* Paper presented to the first annual conference of Office of Iraq Analysis, Washington DC, December 2004; second iteration presented at NPS, 2005.

*Urban Planning and Refugee Absorption in Palestine,* Presentation to the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, November 2004.

*Democratization as Regime Retrenchment: the Case of Jordan*, Presentation to conference on "Islamic fundamentalism and Regime Retrenchment: the Middle East after the Iraq War", San Diego, September 2004.

*Organizational Imperative and the Limits to Alliance*, Paper presented at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy, March 2004.

*Typologies of Islamist Networks*, Paper presented at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association, Anchorage, AK, November 2003.

*Hamas as Social Movement*, Paper presented to graduate seminar, UCLA, April 2003.

*Hamas*, Presentation to workshop on Islamist Networks, Duke University, March 2003.

*Beyond Hegemonic Peace*, Paper presented to conference on "Dialogue Among Civilizations" at the University of Southern Denmark, Odense, Denmark, September 2002.

*An Examination of Current Political Science Research on Palestine*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, November 2001.

*Hamas as Social Movement*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, November 2001.

*Decentralization in Rentier States: the Case of Palestine*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 2001.

*The Political Economy of Succession Palestine*. Presentation to the annual conference of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 2001.

*Decentralization in Rentier States: the Case of Palestine*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Middle East Studies Association, Orlando, FL, November 2000.

*Legal Reform in Palestine*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Law and Society Association, Miami, May 2000.

*The Changing of the Arab Guard and the Peace Process*. Annual Glickman Lecture, Lipinsky Institute for Judaic Studies, San Diego State University, May 2000

*A Middle East Security Dilemma: Is Peace Compatible with Political Stability?* Presentation to the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, November 1997.

*The Politics of Power Consolidation in Palestine: The Law as Metaphor*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Rhode Island, November 1996.

*Can Islamists Be Democrats? The Case of Jordan.* Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Conference, San Francisco, August 1996.

*The Greater Middle East Co-Prosperity Sphere?* Paper presented at a conference on Gulf Security in the 21st Century, Emirates Center for Strategic Research and Studies, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, January 1996.

*The Islamist Movements in Jordan and Palestine.* Paper presented at the United States Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C., December 1994.

*Dilemmas of States: Islamism, Liberalization and the Arab-Israeli 'End Game.'* Paper presented at the Middle East Studies Association Annual Conference, Phoenix, Arizona, November 1994.

*The New Middle Class Reconsidered: The Formation of Political Elites and the Palestinian Intifada.* Paper presented at the Middle East Studies Association Annual Conference, Portland, October 1992.

*The Islamist Movement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.* Paper presented in the lecture series on "The Moral Economy of Islamic Movements," Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of California, Berkeley, October 1992.

*To Free the Soul or Free the Nation? Class and Ideology in the Islamist Movement in Palestine.* Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, September 1992.

*Class and Ideology in Palestinian Politics.* Paper presented at a Workshop on "Society and Politics in Contemporary Jerusalem," Hebrew University of Jerusalem, June 1992.

*Abu Barbur: Popular Committees, Elite Conflict, and Social Change in Bayt Sahur During the Palestinian Uprising.* Paper presented at the Middle East Studies Association Annual Conference, Washington, D.C., November 1991.

I have given lectures at numerous universities, including Harvard University, McGill University, University of Kentucky, University of California at Berkeley, University of California at Davis, University of California at Los Angeles, Columbia University, University of Utah, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, University of Denver, San Diego State University, US Air Force Academy, US Army War College, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, University of Jordan, New Jordan Research Center (Amman), Koc University (Istanbul), Bilkent University (Ankara), Malaya University (Malaysia), and Otago University (New Zealand).

### LANGUAGES

Arabic: speaking, reading, writing.

Farsi: reading.

Spanish: reading.

## TRAVEL

Middle East and North Africa: Algeria (1981, 2018); Egypt (1980-81, 1989, 1990, 2012, 2017, 2018); Iran (1978); Israel and the West Bank / Gaza (1981, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1989-90, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2014-twice, 2016); Jordan (1984, 1985-86, 1994, 1996, 2007-twice, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2018); Lebanon (1981); Morocco (1981, 2006); Oman (2011, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2017); Qatar (2011, 2012); Saudi Arabia (2003); Syria (1981, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1996, 2005); Tunisia (1981, 1999, 2018); Turkey (1983, 1997, 1998, 2007, 2014, 2016); United Arab Emirates (1996, 2008, 2011, 2012, 2016); Yemen (2006).

Europe: Croatia (2007, 2010, 2016); Denmark (2002, 2008, 2011); Estonia (2008); Finland (2008); France (1981, 1989, 2010, 2016); Germany (1981, 2008, 2016); Greece (1983, 2007, 2016); Italy (1981, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2012, 2016, 2017); Malta (2012, 2018); Monaco (2010, 2016); Montenegro (2016); Norway (2011); Portugal (2018); Russia (2008, 2011, 2019); Spain (1981, 2010, 2012, 2016, 2018); Sweden (2008, 2011); Switzerland (1981); United Kingdom (1981, 1991, 2007, 2009, 2018).

Asia: Brunei (2019); Cambodia (2019); Hong Kong (1990, 2019); India (1990, 2014, 2016); Indonesia (2013, 2019); Japan (1980, 2019); Malaysia (2019); Maldives (2016); Nepal (1990); Pakistan (1990); Philippines (1990); Singapore (2013, 2019); Thailand (1990, 2019); Vietnam (2019).

Sub-Saharan Africa: Kenya (1986, 2012, 2016); Madagascar (2016); Mozambique (2016); Seychelles (2016); South Africa (1986, 2016); South Sudan (2012); Tanzania (1986, 2016).

Oceania: New Zealand (2009, 2019), Islands of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia (2009).

Americas: Barbados (2017); Brazil (2017); Canada (1977, 1987, 1993, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2019); Colombia (1979); Costa Rica (2017); Ecuador (1979); El Salvador (2017); French Guiana (2017); Mexico (1976, 2010, 2017); Panama (2017); Peru (2020).

## COMMUNITY SERVICE

Volunteer Work. I am currently the President of the World Affairs Council of the Monterey Bay Area and have been on the WACMB Board in various capacities for 13 years. I was President of the Carmel Valley Association for four years and on the Board for 10 years. I served on the Carmel Valley Land Use Advisory Committee for six years and the Carmel Valley Road Blue Ribbon Commission for six years. I was a founding Board Member of the Carmel Valley Forum. I served on the Board of LandWatch Monterey County for four years. I am a frequent lecturer to a variety of community groups. I was an ASA certified girls fastpitch softball coach for many years.

Media. I am a regular contributor to KCBS Radio in San Francisco. In addition, I have been interviewed on Middle East-related topics on the News Hour with Jim Lehrer, National Public Radio, KQED Public Television (San Francisco), KRON Television (San Francisco), KSBW Television (Monterey), and WKCR Radio (New York). I have written

oped pieces for a number of newspapers, including *The Washington Post*, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, and *The Toronto Star*.

### GOVERNMENT SERVICE

USSOCCENT, Department of Defense, 2020-21. Leader of 6-person team to write classified report on opportunities for influence in Central Asia. Report due April 2021.

USCENTCOM, Department of Defense, 2016-2019. Organized a series of NPS faculty panels to engage with CENTCOM officials under GEN Votel on Middle East security issues.

USSOCOM, Department of Defense, 2015-2018. Member of study team for GEN Nagata on countering ISIS. Organized and participated in periodic NPS study panels.

Agency for International Development, 2015-16. Member of three-person team conducting a DRG Assessment on Egypt for USAID. Interviews conducted in Washington, D.C., plus desk study. Report submitted to USAID March 2016.

Agency for International Development, 2014-15. Member of three-person team to West Bank to conduct a local government DG sector analysis. Report submitted to USAID January 2015.

Agency for International Development, 2012-2013. Led an 11-member team to South Sudan to conduct a DRG assessment (democracy, human rights and governance). Report submitted to USAID February 2013.

Department of Defense, 2010-2013. Organized two workshops and wrote workshop reports for the *Iran Futures* project, sponsored by DOD.

Agency for International Development, 2011. Member of four-person team to Jordan to conduct updated rule of law assessment. Report submitted March 2011.

Agency for International Development, 2007-2008. Led a three-person team to Jordan which evaluated current USAID rule of law programs in Jordan, and assessed future avenues for potential investment in the rule of law. Report submitted February 2008.

Agency for International Development, 2007. Evaluated the state of corruption in Jordan, including three weeks of fieldwork in Jordan in August 2007. Report submitted in September 2007.

Agency for International Development, 2006-2007. Team leader for Civil Peace assessment in West Bank/ Gaza, including two weeks of fieldwork in December 2006. Report submitted March 2007.

Agency for International Development, 2006. Team leader for assessment of corruption in Yemen. Included three weeks of fieldwork in Yemen in August 2006 interviewing

government ministers, parliamentarians, and other officials. Chief author of 206-page assessment.

[US Central Command, 2005.](#) Appointed to inaugural Board of Experts to advise CENTCOM on various aspects of Middle East politics.

[Regional Security Education Program, 2005-present.](#) Periodic guest on US aircraft carrier groups providing educational services to the fleet.

[Department for International Development \(DFID – United Kingdom\), 2004.](#) Evaluated the Negotiations Support Unit of the PLO's Negotiations Department. Evaluation included three weeks of field work in the West Bank in October 2004. Draft report submitted in November 2004, and final report submitted December 2004.

[Agency for International Development, 2002-2003.](#) I evaluated the Community Services Program, USAID's flagship program in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Evaluation included 4 weeks of field work in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in August 2003. Draft report submitted October 2002, final report submitted March 2003.

[Agency for International Development, 1999-2000.](#) I was part of a team working on an USAID project to enhance Palestinian local governance capacity and effectiveness in the West Bank and Gaza. Fieldwork was undertaken for three weeks in 1999. Final report was presented to USAID in April 2000.

[Department of Defense, 1999.](#) I led a six-person team comprised of NPS students to Tunisia for three weeks in March 1999 in order to research and write a Defense Requirements Study for Tunisia. The \$70,000 project is funded by the US Defense Security and Cooperation Agency of the Department of Defense.

[Department of Defense, 1998.](#) Research project on how new information technologies are changing the face of opposition politics in the Middle East, with particular attention paid to the Gulf. Working paper entitled *Islam and Info-resistance in the Gulf*. Project funded as part of a \$140,000 grant.

[Department of Defense, 1995-96.](#) Conducted research in Jordan and Syria examining the impact of the peace process on the political stability of the Ba'thist regime in Syria. The report, *After the Peace: Elite Cohesion and Political Stability in Syria*, was submitted to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, International Security Affairs, October 1996. Project funded by a \$70,000 grant.

[Agency for International Development, 1995.](#) Chief of Party for five-person, three-month, \$229,000 USAID project in judicial administration in the Palestinian legal sector. Undertaken through USAID's Democratic Institutions Support Project, the program was the first by any donor country in the legal sector, and represented a test project in the structural and political receptivity of the Palestinian legal sector to external development assistance. The March 1996 project report became the basis for USAID policy toward this sector during the period 1996-2000.

Agency for International Development, 1993. I prepared two studies for USAID, which identified relevant Palestinian development-oriented institutions in the West Bank and Gaza and examined how different self-rule scenarios would impact these institutions.

### PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Middle East Studies Association (MESA), 1991-present

- Chair, Malcolm H Kerr Award Committee for the best social science dissertation, 2009. Committee Member, 2008.
- Nominating Committee member for 2007-2008 MESA President and Board.
- Associate Editor, *MESA Bulletin* (1997-2003).
- Member, Committee on Academic Freedom in the Middle East and North Africa (CAFMENA, 1999-2005)
- 2003, 2010 Annual Conference Program Committee
- Book Reviewer, *MESA Bulletin*
- Book Reviewer, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*

Founding Board Member and Treasurer, Association for Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies (AGAPS), 2012-present

Editorial Board, *Foreign Policy Bulletin; The Documentary Record of United States Foreign Policy*, 2009-2013.

Editorial Board, *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 2012-present

Manuscript Reviewer: *Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, University of California Press, Princeton University Press, Yale University Press, Stanford University Press, SUNY Press, Middle East Journal, International Journal of Middle East Studies, PSQ - Political Science Quarterly, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Mobilization: An International Journal, Palgrave Press, University Press of Florida, The Nonproliferation Review, Naval Institute Press, Nations and Nationalism, Terrorism and Political Violence, and Critical Studies in Terrorism.*

Application Reviewer, United States Institute of Peace