

# NATHAN JUDE BROWN

**Institute for Middle East Studies  
Elliott School of International Affairs  
George Washington University  
1957 E Street, NW  
Washington DC 20052**

## **EMPLOYMENT**

**The George Washington University, Washington, DC**

- Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, 1999-present
- Director, Institute for Middle East Studies, 2007-2009
- Director, Middle East Studies Program, 1989-1994, 1996-1999, 2002-2004, 2007-2009
- Associate Dean, Elliott School of International Affairs, 1992 -1994, 1996-1999
- Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, 1992-1999
- Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, 1987-1992

**Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC**

- Fellow, 2009-2010

**Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC**

- Senior Associate, 2005-2007
- Nonresident Senior Associate, 2007-present

**Middle East Institute, Washington, DC**

- Scholar in Residence, 2000-2001
- Adjunct Scholar, 2002-2005

**Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut**

- Visiting Instructor of Government, 1986-87

## **EDUCATION**

- Ph.D., Princeton University, Department of Politics and Program in Near Eastern Studies, 1987
- Center for Arabic Study Abroad, Cairo, 1983-84
- M.A., Princeton University, Department of Politics, 1983
- A.B., University of Chicago, with honors and general honors, 1980

## PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH

### Books

#### In progress

- *Participation not Domination: Islamist Parties and Semiauthoritarian Politics in the Arab World*, Cornell University Press, 2012
- *Constitutionalism, the rule of law & the politics of administration in Egypt & Iran*. Edited book manuscript with Said Arjomand, manuscript under review

#### Published

- *Between Religion and State*, with Amr Hamzawy,, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and United States Institute of Peace, 2011 (published in English and in Arabic)
- *The Dynamics of Democratization: Dictatorship, Development, and Diffusion*. Edited book, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011
- *Democracy and Democratization in the Middle East* (edited with Emad Eldin Shahin), Routledge, 2009
- *Palestinian Politics after the Oslo Accords: Resuming Arab Palestine*, University of California Press, 2003
- *Constitutions in a Non-Constitutional World: Arab Basic Laws and Prospects for Accountable Government*, SUNY Press, 2001 (published in Arabic in 2010 under the title *Dasatir min al-Waraq*)
- *The Rule of Law in the Arab World: Courts in Egypt and the Arab States of the Gulf*, Cambridge University Press, 1997 (published in Arabic in 2001 under the title *Al-Qanun fi Khadimat Man?*)
- *Peasant Politics in Modern Egypt: The Struggle against the State*, Yale University Press, 1990

### Scholarly Articles

- “Reason, Interest, Rationality, and Passion in Constitution Drafting,” *Perspectives on Politics*, December 2008
- “Principled or Stubborn? Western Policy toward Hamas,” *International Spectator*, December 2008
- “Democrats without Democracy? Islamist Parties in the Arab World,” with Amr Hamzawy; *Journal of Democracy*, 2008
- “Do Constitutions Requiring Adherence to Shari`a Threaten Human Rights?: How Egypt’s Constitutional Court Reconciles Islamic Law with the Liberal Rule of Law; with Clark Lombardi, *American University International Law Review* 21 (2), 2006
- “The Veil Case: A Translation of Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt Case No. 8 of Judicial Year 9 (May 18, 1996) (Holding that a government rule banning schoolgirls from wearing the veil does not violate Islamic Shari`a)” (with Clark Lombardi) 21 *American University International Law Review* 21 (2), 2006
- “Constitutional Monarchies and Unconstitutional Republics: Legal Mechanisms for Succession in the Arab World,” *Egypte-Monde Arabe*, 2005
- “Constitutionalism, Authoritarianism, and Imperialism in Iraq,” *Drake Law Review*, 2005

- “Regimes Reinventing Themselves: Constitutionalism in the Arab World,” *International Sociology*, 2003
- “Democracy, History, and the Contest over the Palestinian Curriculum” *International Textbook Research*, 2003
- “Constituting Palestine,” *Middle East Journal*, Winter 2000
- “Judicial Review in the Arab World,” *Journal of Democracy*, October 1998
- “Shari‘a and State in the Modern Middle Muslim East,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, August 1997
- “Law and Imperialism: Egypt in Comparative Perspective,” *Law and Society Review*, February 1995
- “Who Abolished Corvee Labor in Egypt and Why,” *Past and Present*, August 1994
- “The Precarious Life and Slow Death of the Mixed Courts of Egypt,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, February 1993
- “Brigands and State Building: The Invention of Banditry in Modern Egypt,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, April, 1990
- “Peasants and Notables in Egyptian Politics,” *Middle Eastern Studies* (April, 1990)

## Book chapters

### In progress

- “The Primacy of Politics and the Irrelevance of America: Reflections on the Iraqi Constitutional Experience,” for *State Building in the Contemporary Islamic World: US Intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan*, forthcoming
- “Islam and Constitutionalism in Egypt,” in Sohail Hashmi and Houchang Chehabi, *Islam and Constitutionalism*, Harvard University Press, forthcoming

### Published

- “Debating the Islamic Shari‘a in 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Egypt: Consensus and Cacaphony,” in Robert Hefner, *Shari‘a Politics*, Indiana University Press, 2011
- Chapters on Egypt (with Emad Shahin) and Palestine for Michele Penner Angrist, *Comparative Politics in the Middle East*, Lynne Rienner, 2010
- “Kuwait’s Islamic Constitutional Movement: A Model or a Warning for Democratic Islamism,” in Mohammed Salih, *Islamic Political Parties*, Macmillan, 2009
- “Constituitonalizing Islam in the Arab World,” in Robert Fatton and R. K. Ramazani, *Religion, State, and Society*, Palgrave MacMillan 2009
- “Reining in the Executive: What Can the Judiciary Do?” in Nathalie Bernard-Maugiron, *Judges and Political Reform in Egypt*, American University in Cairo Press, 2009.
- “Muslim Societies, Muslim Minorities,” in Ingrid Creppell, Russell Hardin, and Stephen Macedo, *Toleration on Trial*, Plymouth: Lexington, 2008
- “Bargaining and Imposing Constitutions: Private and Public Interests in the Iranian, Afghani, and Iraqi Constitutional Experiments,” in Said Amir Arjomand, *Constitutional Politics in the Middle East*, Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2008
- Requiem for Palestinian Reform: Clear Lessons from a Troubled Record,” in Marina Ottaway and Julia Choucair-Vizoso, *Beyond the Façade: Politcal Reform in the Arab World*, Washington: Carnegie Endowment, 2008.

- “‘Adliyya Courts,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, third edition
- “Genesis of a New Curriculum and Representations of Identity,” in Eleanor Doumato, *Teaching Islam*, Lynne Rienner, 2006.
- “Contesting National Identity in Palestinian Education,” in Robert Rotberg (editor), *History’s Double Helix*, Indiana University Press, 2006
- Entries on “Textbooks” and “Education” in Philip Mattar (editor), *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians*, 2005
- Entry on “Modern Law” in Philip Mattar et al (editors), *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East*, 2004
- “Nasserism’s Legal Legacy” in Elie Podeh and Onn Winkler, *Nasserism in Historical Perspective*, University Presses of Florida, 2004
- “Inscribing the Islamic Shari’a in Arab Constitutional Law” (with Adel Omar Sherif) in Barbara Stowasser and Yvonne Haddad (editors), *Islamic Law and the Challenges of Modernity*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2004
- “Israel,” in Michael Sodaro, *Comparative Politics: A Global Introduction*, McGraw Hill, 2001
- “Islamic Constitutionalism in Theory and Practice,” in Eugene Cotran and Adel Omar Sherif (editors), *Democracy, the Rule of Law, and Islam*, London: Kluwer Law International, 1999
- “Constitutionalism in Egypt,” in Daniel Franklin and Michael Baun, *Constitutions and Political Culture*, M.E. Sharpe, 1995; with Roni Amit
- “Political Parties in Egypt” in Frank Tachau (editor), *Political Parties in the Middle East*, Greenwood Press, 1994; with Timothy J. Piro
- “The Ignorance and Inscrutability of the Egyptian Peasantry,” in John Waterbury and Farhad Kazemi (editors), *Peasant Politics and Violence in the Middle East*, University Presses of Florida, 1991
- “The Conspiracy of Silence and the Atomistic Activity of the Egyptian Peasantry,” in Forrest Colburn (editor), *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, M. E. Sharpe, 1989

## Other Articles

- “Palestine: The Fire Next Time?” Carnegie web commentary, 6 July 2011
- “Rawls Visits the Pyramids,” *The National Interest*, 23 June 2011
- “No Savior for Palestine,” *Foreign Policy* 17 June 2011
- “Egypt’s Revolution Stumbles Forward,” Carnegie web commentary 15 June 2011
- “Why Egyptians Want Mubarak Tried,” *New York Times* “Room for Debate,” 9 June 2011
- “The Muslim Brotherhood as Helicopter Parent,” *Foreign Policy*, 27 May 2011
- “Hope and Change in the Middle East,” *Foreign Policy*, 18 May 2011
- “A Haphazard Constitutional Compromise,” Carnegie web commentary with Kristin Stilt, April 2011
- “The Brotherhood’s Coming Out Party,” Carnegie web commentary, March 2011
- “Next Steps in Egypt’s Transition,” *Arab Reform Bulletin*, March 2011
- “The Struggle to Define the Egyptian Revolution,” Carnegie web commentary, March 2011
- “Whither Arab Politics? Reverberations of Egypt’s Revolution among Jordanians, Islamists, and Palestinians,” Carnegie web commentary, February 2011
- “An Observer’s Guide to Egyptian Succession,” Carnegie web commentary, December 2010

- “Fayyad is not the Problem, but Fayyadism is not the Solution,” Carnegie web commentary, September 2010
- “Studying Palestinian Politics: Scholarship or Scholasticism,” *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 2010
- “The Hamas-Fatah Conflict: Shallow but Wide?” *Fletcher Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 2010
- “Are Palestinians Building a State?” Carnegie web commentary, June 2010
- “No Reason to Give Up on Arab Democratization,” *Europe’s World*, Spring 2010.
- “The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood: Islamist Participation in a Closing Political Environment,” with Amr Hamzawy, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Paper, March 2010
- “After Abu Mazin? Letting the Scales Fall From Our Eyes,” Carnegie web commentary November 2009
- “Palestine: The Schism Deepens,” Carnegie web Commentary, August 2009
- “The Green Elephant in the Room: Dealing with the Hamas Party-State in Gaza,” Carnegie web Commentary, June 2009
- “Middle East Peacemaking Has Failed,” *Foreign Policy* March, 2009
- “Gaza’s Sisyphean Existence,” with Michele Dunne, *National Interest Online*, February 2009
- “Palestine and Israel: Time for Plan B”, Carnegie Policy Brief No. 78, February 2009
- “Pointers for the Obama Administration in the Middle East: Avoiding Myths and Vain Hopes” Carnegie Web Commentary, January 2009
- “Another Look at Israel's “ Hamas Portfolio”” *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, spring 2009
- “Can Cairo Reassemble Palestine,” Carnegie Web Commentary, November 2008
- “Palestinian Presidential Elections,” Carnegie Web Commentary, July 2008
- “Sunset for the Two State Solution?” Carnegie Policy Brief No.58, May 2008
- “Kuwait’s 2008 Parliamentary Elections: A Setback for Democratic Islamism,” Carnegie web commentary, May 2008
- “The Road Out of Gaza,” Carnegie Policy Outlook No. 39, February 2008
- “The Society and the Party: What is Happening in the Brotherhood Movement,” with Amr Hamzawy (in Arabic) in *Wijhat Nazr*, Cairo, February 2008
- “The New Middle East,” with Marina Ottaway, Karim Sajapour, and Amr Hamzawy, Carnegie report, February 2008
- “The Draft Party Platform of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood: Foray Into Political Integration or Retreat Into Old Positions?” with Amr Hamzawy, Carnegie Paper, January 2008
- “Arab Spring Fever” with Amr Hamzawy, *The National Interest*, August 2007
- “Egypt—Don’t Give Up on Democracy Promotion” with Michele Dunn and Amr Hamzawy, Carnegie Policy Brief No. 52, July 2007
- “What Can Abu Mazin Do?” Carnegie Web Commentary, June 2007
- “The Peace Process Has No Clothes,” Carnegie Web Commentary, June 2007
- “Egypt’s Constitutional Amendments,” Web Commentary, March 23, 2007
- “Requiem for Palestinian Reform: Clear Lessons from a Troubled Record,” Carnegie Paper No. 81, February 2007
- “What Islamists Need to Be Clear About: The Case of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (Policy Outlook No. 35, February 2007)

- “Pushing Toward Party Politics? Kuwait's Islamic Constitutional Movement,” Carnegie Paper No. 79, February 2007
- “Kuwait: The Beginning of Real Politics?” *Arab Reform Bulletin*, December 2006
- “Jordan and Its Islamist Movement: The Limits of Inclusion?” Carnegie Paper, November 2006
- “What Can Abu Mazin Do?” Carnegie Web Commentary, October 20, 2006
- “Crisis in the Middle East,” Carnegie Web Commentary, July 20, 2006
- “Kuwait's Thaw” *Newsweek* Interview, June 28, 2006
- “Kuwaitis Vote for a New Parliament...And Maybe a New Electoral System, Carnegie Web Commentary, June 22, 2006; with Dina Bishara
- “Unlikely Reformers: Egyptian Judges Challenge the Regime ,” *Jurist*, June 2006
- “ Hamas or Chaos,” TomPaine.com, May 2006
- “Living with Palestinian Democracy,” Carnegie Policy Brief No. 46, May 2006
- “ Hamas in Power,” *Arab Reform Bulletin*, April 2006
- “Islamist Movements and the Democratic Process in the Arab World: Exploring Gray Zones,” Carnegie Paper No. 67, March 2006, with Amr Hamzawy and Marina Ottaway
- “Getting Real with Hamas,” *Foreign Policy*, February 2006
- “Aftermath of the Hamas Tsunami,” Carnegie Web Commentary, February 2, 2006
- “Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood...Where to?,” *Wijhat Nazr*, Cairo, January 2006 (Arabic)
- “Can Egypt’s Troubled Elections Produce a More Democratic Future?” (with Amr Hamzawy) Carnegie Policy Outlook, December 2005
- “Is Political Consensus Possible in Iraq?” Carnegie Policy Outlook, November 2005
- “Problems of Election Monitoring in Egypt,” with Amy Hawthorne, *Al-Dimuqratiyya*, November 2005
- “The Final Draft of the Iraqi Constitution: Analysis and Commentary,” September 2005
- “Iraq’s Constitutional Conundrum,” web commentary, August 2005
- “Final Update on Iraq’s Constitutional Process,” web commentary, August 2005
- “Iraq’s Constitutional Process Plunges Ahead,” Carnegie Policy Outlook, July 2005
- “Palestine: Intense Wrangling Precedes Elections,” *Arab Reform Bulletin*, May 2005
- “Debating Islam in Post-Baathist Iraq,” Carnegie Policy Outlook, March 2005
- “Post-Election Iraq: Facing the Constitutional Challenge,” Carnegie Policy Outlook, February 2005
- “Transitional Administrative Law” for Iraq: web analysis and commentary
- “Promoting the Rule of Law in the Arab World,” *Insights on Law and Society*, Spring 2005
- “Frequently (and not so frequently) asked questions about Palestinian Elections,” Carnegie Policy Outlook, January 2005
- “Criminal Justice and Prosecution in the Arab World,” with Hesham Nasr and Jill Crystal, study presented to the United Nations Development Program, Program on Governance in the Arab Region, 2004
- “Arab Judicial Reform: Bold Visions Few Achievements,” *Arab Reform Bulletin*, October 2004
- “Iraq: The Fate of CPA Orders after June 30,” *Arab Reform Bulletin*, June 2004
- “The Prospects for Accountable Government in the Arab World,” annual Constitution Day Address, Dickinson College, 2003; published by the Clarke Center for the Interdisciplinary Study of Contemporary Issues

- “The Draft Constitution for a Palestinian State: Translation and Commentary,” published by the Palestinian Center for Public Survey Research, Ramallah, 2003
- “Judicial Independence in the Arab World,” with Adel Omar Sherif of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt, United Nations Development Program, Programme on Governance in the Arab Region, 2003
- “Drafting Islam into the Iraqi Constitution,” Arab Reform Bulletin, September 2003
- “Palestine’s Prime Minister: A New Roadmap for Arab Governance?” *Arab Reform Bulletin*, June 2003
- “Taking a Palestinian Constitution Seriously,” published in the Israeli daily *Ha’aretz* and the Palestinian daily Al-Quds, February 2003
- “The Palestinian Reform Agenda,” Peaceworks Report, United States Institute of Peace, December 2002
- “Mechanisms of Accountability in Arab Governance: The Present and Future of Judiciaries and Parliaments in the Arab World,” United Nations Development Program, Programme on Governance in the Arab Region, 2002
- “Arab Judicial Structures,” United Nations Development Program, Programme on Governance in the Arab Region, 2001
- “Egypt,” in Arab Election Law Compendium, International Foundation for Electoral Systems, 2002
- “What Do Palestinian Textbooks Really Say,” in Teaching about Terrorism, curricular publication by the Coalition for the Advancement of Jewish Education, 2002; versions published in Hebrew in the Israeli daily *Ha’aretz* and in Arabic in the Palestinian daily *Al-Quds*
- “Drafting a Palestinian Constitution: Hope for Democratic Governance?” Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, March 2001
- Entries on “Kuwait,” “Persian Gulf War,” “Iran-Iraq War,” and “Saddam Hussein” for *Microsoft Encarta* Encyclopedia
- “A Tale of Two Systems: Egypt’s Independent Judiciary and the Military Courts,” *Middle East Insight*, November-December 1994
- “Iran and the Political Crisis in Egypt,” *US-Iran Review*, July 1993
- “Jordan since August 2,” *Middle East Insight* (February 1991; with Timothy Piro)

## Book reviews

- *Workers on the Nile* by Joel Beinen and Zachary Lockman for *International Labor and Working Class History*
- *Sadat and After* by Raymond Baker for *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*
- *Political Vegetables* by Yahya Sadowski for *Middle East Journal*
- *The Pasha’s Peasants* by Kenneth Cuno for *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*
- *The Modern Middle East*, edited by Albert Hourani, Phillip Khoury, and Mary Wilson for *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*
- *The Prophet’s Pulpit*, by Patrick Gaffney for *Middle East Journal*
- *Arab National Communism in a Jewish State* by Ilana Kauffman for *Governance*
- *Defining Islam for the Egyptian State* by Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen for *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*

- *Legislative Politics in the Arab World* by Robert Sprigborg and Guillan Denoux for *Middle East Journal*
- *The Pedagogical State: Education and the Politics of National Culture in Post-1980 Turkey* by Sam Kaplan for *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*
- *African Constitutionalism and the Role of Islam* by Abdallahi Al-Naim, *Journal of Religion*
- *Identity and Religion in Palestine* by Loren Lybarger, *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*
- *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism* by John Calvert, *Review of Middle East Studies*

### **Selected Conference Papers and Presentations**

- “ Hamas as a Muslim Brotherhood Movement,” Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, November 2011
- “Why Do Islamists Run for Parliament and What Do They Do When They Get There,” American Political Science Association annual meeting, September 2011
- “What Happens When Islamists Party,” Harvard University Middle East seminar, April 2010; Ohio State University, May 2010
- “Islamist Parties and Democratic Commitments,” workshop on religious political parties, Princeton University, April 2010
- “Islamists Movements in the Electoral Process,” Department of Near East Studies, Princeton University, March 2010
- Keynote session panelist; also paper presenter (on “The Fatah-Hamas Split: Wide but not Deep,” Heinrich Boell Foundation, Berlin, Germany, March 2010
- “Semiauthoritarianism in the Arab World,” University of Montana, October 2009.
- “The Primacy of Politics and the Irrelevance of America: Reflections on the Iraqi Constitutional Experience,” Indiana University, October 2009
- “Islamists in the Electoral Process in the Arab World,” College of William and Mary, October 2009
- “Palestine in Crisis,” American Studies Association annual meeting roundtable, November 2009
- “Islam and Constitutionalism,” Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, December 2009
- “Islamists and the Democratic Commitment Trap,” American Political Science Association annual meeting, August 2009
- “Islam in Egypt’s Cacophonous Constitutional Order,” International Institute for the Sociology of Law workshop on Constitutionalism, the Rule of Law and the Politics of Administration in Egypt and Iran, Onati, May 2009
- “Constitutionalism and Political Reconstruction,” United States Institute of Peace, April 2009
- “Authoritarianism in the Arab World,” conference in honor of John Waterbury, Princeton University, April 2009
- “Constitutionalism in the Arab World,” Villanova University, April 2009
- “US Policy toward Democratization,” Syracuse University, March 2009
- “Islamist Movements and the Political Process,” Institute of International Studies, University of California at Berkeley, March 2009
- “Reform and Stability in the Gulf” Ditchley Foundation meeting, UK, February 2009
- “Palestine and Israel: Time for Plan B,” Carnegie Endowment, February 2009
- “Reason and Passion in Constitution Drafting,” University of Texas School of Law, January 2009

- “Elections without Democracy: Semiauthoritarianism and Voting in the Arab World,” Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, November 2008
- Roundtable discussion on Islamist political movements, Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, November 2008
- “Is the Two State Solution Dead?” American Political Science Association annual meeting, September 2008
- “Can Constitutionalism Help Palestine?” Bir Zeit University Institute of Law, July 2008
- “The Relationship Between the Legal System and Legitimacy in the Arab World,” Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Regional Program Near East conference on Law and Society in the Arab World, Amman, 2008
- “Outlook for Democracy in the Middle East” presentation to Doha Forum on Democracy, Development, and Free Trade, Qatar, April 2008
- “Do Islamists Have a Commitment Problem?” Stanford University Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, February 2008
- “Democracy, Authoritarianism, and the Challenge of Islamist Political Parties in the Arab World,” Ben Gurion University, Israel, January 2008
- “Islamist Movements and Democracy in the Arab World,” Institute for Social Studies, The Hague, Netherlands, January 2008
- “Political Reform in the Middle East,” National Defense University, January 2008
- “Islam and the Rule of Law,” discussion with Noah Feldman, New York University School of Law, November 2007
- Organized and participated in roundtable discussion on Islamist political movements, annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Montreal, November 2007
- “Foreign Law in Domestic Courts in the Muslim World” American Bar Association International Law Section, annual meeting, Washington, May 2007
- “Islamist Electoral Movements in the Arab World,” workshop on Islamist Movement: Contentious and Electoral Politics,” George Washington University, May 2007
- “The Achievements of the Palestinian Authority? A Historical Appraisal,” Joseph Strelitz lecture, Tel Aviv University, December 2006
- “Reining in the Executive: What Can the Judiciary Do?” Conference sponsored by the Cairo Center for Human Rights, Cairo, March 2006
- “The Iraqi Constitution,” Whittier Law School, March 2006
- “The New Constitutionalism in Iraq,” International Studies Association annual meeting, March 2006
- “Islamic Constitutionalism,” Catholic University Law School, February 2006
- “Can the Palestinian Authority Be Reformed Before It Is Formed?” Ben-Gurion University, Israel, January 2006
- “Iraqi Constitutionalism,” workshop on Arab constitutions, Cairo, January 2006
- “Judicial Independence in the Arab World,” workshop on Arab judicial reform, Jordan, November 2005
- “Forces for Political Reform in the Gulf Cooperation Council States,” Gulf Research Center, Dubai, November 2005
- “Constitutionalism in Iraq,” University of Virginia, November 2005
- “Democratization in the Arab World,” American Political Science Association annual meeting, September 2005

- “Islam and Constitutionalism in Egypt,” UCLA Center for Near Eastern Studies, May 2005
- “Political Reform and the Arab-Israeli Conflict” National Defense University conference, May 2005
- “Reason, Passion, Rationality, and Interest in Constitution Drafting,” presented at the workshop on constitutional Reconstruction in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan,” International Institute for the Sociology of Law, Onati, Spain, April 2005
- “Constitutionalism in Iraq,” Drake University Law School, April 2005
- “Constitutionalism in the Arab World,” keynote address at Nordic Middle East Studies Association Meeting, Copenhagen, October 2004
- “Palestinian Succession,” Middle East Institute, Washington DC, October 2004
- “Islam and Constitutionalism in Iraq,” Harvard Law School April 2004
- “Semipresidentialism in Comparative Perspective,” Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, April 2004
- “Nationalizing Islam in Middle Eastern Schools,” United States Institute of Peace, March 2004
- “The Iraqi Constitution and Political Reconstruction,” Royal Institute of International Affairs, February 2004
- “The Struggle over Religion, Nation and Identity in the new Palestinian curriculum,” Constructs of Inclusion and Exclusion: Religion and Identity Formation in Middle Eastern School Curricula, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, November 2003
- “Imagining and Building Syncretic Futures, “ Conference on Risk, Complex Crises & Social Futures, Royal Institute for Inter-faith Studies, Amman, Jordan, October 2003
- “Contesting National Identity in Palestinian Education,” conference on “Myths in the Middle East,” John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, February and October 2003 “
- “Judicial Independence in the Arab World,” co-keynote address at Second Arab Justice Conference, organized by the United Nations Development Program and the Arab Center for the Independence of the Judiciary and the Legal Profession, Cairo, February 2003
- “The International Controversy over Palestinian Textbooks,” Georg-Eckert Institut for Textbook Research, Brunswick, Germany, December 2002
- “Rule of Law in Islamic Societies,” Democracy and Governance Partners Conference, United States Agency for International Development, Arlington, Virginia, December 2002
- “Debating Palestinian Democracy: The Effort to Write a New National Curriculum under the Palestinian National Authority,” Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, Washington, November 2002
- “Regimes Reinventing Themselves: Constitutional Development in the Arab World,” International Institute for the Sociology of law workshop on “Constitutionalism and Political Reconstruction,” Onati, Spain, 13-14 June 2002
- “Constitutionalism in North Africa,” conference jointly held by the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and the University of Bologna, Faculty of Law “Strategies for the Future of Northern Africa: The changing dimensions of law, political participation and civil society,” Bologna, Italy, May 2002
- “International Academic Cooperation in a Multicultural World,” Al-Akahwayn University, Morocco, April 2002
- “Democracy History and the Contest over the Palestinian Curriculum,,,” conference sponsored by the Adam Institute in Jerusalem, Israel on “Attitudes toward the Past in Conflict Resolution,” November 2001

- “Associational Life under the Palestinian National Authority,” Middle East Studies Association Annual meeting, San Francisco, November 2001
- “The Unproblematic State of Palestine,” Association for Israel Studies annual meeting, Washington, DC, May 2001
- “Palestinian NGOs,” Middle East Institute, Washington, DC, May 2001
- “Inscribing the Shari’a in Arab Constitutional Law,” Georgetown University conference on “Arab Legal Systems in Transition,” April 2001 (co-author: Adel Omar Sherif of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt)
- “Resuming Arab Palestine: the Legal Framework,” Middle East Studies Association, November 2000
- “Al-Dustur al-Filastini wa al-Tajriba al-‘Arabiyya bi al-Dusturiyya” [The Palestinian Constitution and the Arab Experience with Constitutionalism] World Trade Center, Gaza, July 2000
- “Education as a Site of Contestation: Nationalism, Democracy, and the Palestinian Curriculum,” Ben Gurion University Conference on “Democracy in the Periphery,” May 2000
- “Islam and Constitutionalism in Egypt,” Harvard University, Islamic Legal Studies Program conference on “Islam and Constitutionalism,” April 2000
- “Nasserism’s Legal Legacy: Accessibility, Accountability, and Authoritarianism,” Hebrew University/Haifa University conference on Nasserism in Historical Perspective, December 1999
- “Constitutional Monarchies and Unconstitutional Republics: Legal Mechanisms for Succession in the Arab World,” Chaim Herzog Center, Ben-Gurion University conference on Succession in the Middle East, December 1999
- “The Emerging Islamic Constitutionalism,” Middle East Studies Association, December 1998
- “Islamic Constitutionalism in Theory and Practice,” presented at the Supreme Constitutional Court/British Council conference on “Human Rights and Democracy in the Arab World,” Cairo, December 1997
- “Judicial Oversight of the Bureaucracy in the Arab World,” International Political Science Association Structure of Government meeting, Ben-Gurion University, February 1997
- “Dawr al-qada fi himayat huquq al-insan,” [The Role of the Judiciary in the Defending Human Rights], lecture tour in Egypt, Gaza, West Bank, Jordan, and Tunis, sponsored by United States Information Service, December 1996
- “The Evolution and Limitations of Judicial Review in the Arab World,” Middle East Studies Association, November 1996
- “Siyadat al-qanun fi misr,” [The Rule of Law in Egypt], Kuwaiti Bar Association, February 1995
- “Istiqlal al-qada’ fi misr,” [The Independence of the Judiciary in Egypt], Department of Law, Qatar University, December 1994
- “The Political Role of the Egyptian Judiciary,” seminar of the Faculty of Political Science, Cairo University, November 1994
- “Politics from Below: What We Know, What We Do Not Know, What We Can Never Know,” American Political Science Association, September 1993
- “The Domestic Roots of Legal Change in Modern Egypt,” Middle East Studies Association, November 1992
- “Colonists, State Builders, and Brigands: The Making of Modern Egypt,” Social Science History Association, October 1991
- “The Precarious Life and Slow Death of the Mixed Courts of Egypt,” Middle East Studies Association, November 1990

- “The Invention of Banditry in Modern Egypt,” Middle East Studies Association, November 1988
- “Who Abolished Corvee Labor in Egypt and Why?” presented at the 1988 conference on “Egypt and Anatolia Compared,” State University of New York at Binghamton
- “Peasants and the 1919 Revolution in Egypt,” Middle East Studies Association, November 1987
- “Ignorance and Inscrutability: The Political Outlook of Egyptian Peasants,” Middle East Studies Association, November 1986
- “The Gentry’s New Clothes: Peasants and Notables in Egyptian Politics,” Middle East Studies Association, November 1985
- “Forms of Political Activity among the Egyptian Peasantry,” presented at the 1985 meeting of the American Political Science Association
- “Dawr al-fallahin fi al-haya al-siyasiyya al-misriyya,” [The Role of Peasants in Egyptian Political Life] presented at the 1985 Seminar in Middle Eastern History, ‘Ayn Shams University, Cairo, Egypt

#### **Other academic lectures delivered at:**

Al-Azhar University (Gaza), American Bar Association, American Enterprise Institute, American University, Asian Studies Association, Cairo Institute of Human Rights Studies, Cairo University, University of California at Berkeley, University of California at Los Angeles, Center for Palestinian Research and Studies, Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, Columbia University, Department of State, Foreign Service Institute, Georgetown University, Graduates Society (Kuwait), Gulf Research Center (Dubai), Harvard University Hebrew University, Hebron Graduates Society, Hudson Institute, Johns Hopkins University, Jordan University, Kuwaiti Bar Association, Marine Corps University, Meridian House, Middle East Institute, New School for Social Research, Open Society Institute, University of Pennsylvania, Princeton University Re’ut Institute (Tel Aviv), Royal Institute for International Affairs, School of Oriental and African Studies, Stanford University, Syracuse University, Tel Aviv University, Tokyo Foundation, University of North Carolina at Wilmington, University of Tunis, University of Virginia, Villanova University, University of Washington, Wheaton College, and the World Bank

#### **Lectures to community groups and organizations:**

America-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), American Friends of Ben-Gurion University, Americans for Peace Now, Bnai Brith, Congregation Adat Reyim, Congregation Beth Emeth, Congregation Har Shalom, DACOR, Geshur Jewish Day School, Hadassah, Jewish Community Center, Jewish Community Relations Council, Jewish Studies Center, Network of Arab-American Professionals, Operation Understanding District of Columbia, Seniors for Change, US-Egypt Friendship Society

### **PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

- Testimony, House Select Committee on Intelligence on the Muslim Brotherhood, April 2011
- Member, Committee on Academic Freedom in the Middle East, Middle East Studies Association, 2006-2009; chair, Middle East and North Africa committee, 2007-2009
- Editorial board, *Islamic Law & Law of the Muslim World* Research Paper Series at New York Law School. 2006-present

- Member, Program on Democracy in the Middle East advisory committee, 2008-present
- Executive Committee member, Palestinian-American Research Center, 2008-present
- Expert witness testimony, Holy Land Foundation case, Dallas Texas, 2007
- Consultant, Arab Center for the Development of the Rule of Law and Integrity, 2004-7
- Observer, NDI-Carter Center observation mission for Palestinian Legislative Council Elections, January 2006
- Member, Middle East Advisory Committee, Human Rights Watch, 2006-present
- Member, international advisory committee on drafting Iraqi constitution, 2005
- Chair, program committee, Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, 2005
- Member, international advisory committee on drafting the Palestinian constitution, 2002-2003
- Consultant, IFES (formerly International Foundation on Electoral Systems), 2002 to present
- Consultant, United Nations Development Program, program on governance in the Arab world (POGAR), 2001 to 2004
- Member, program committee, Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, 2002
- Member, Albert Hourani book award committee, Middle East Studies Association, 2000
- Principal Investigator, USIA Office of Citizen Exchanges (IA-PSPS-G4190383) US/Egypt Rule of Law/Human Rights exchange
- Project Director, US Foreign Policy Seminars for Egyptian Foreign Service Officers, 1989-1994
- Member, Malcolm Kerr dissertation award committee, 1994; Chair of committee, 1995
- Reviewed manuscripts for *Law and Society Review*, *Law and Social Inquiry*, *Islamic Law and Society*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *Middle East Journal*, *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Government and Opposition*, *American Political Science Review*, *Mediterranean Politics*, *World Politics*, Columbia University Press, University of Chicago Press, Stanford University Press, Mc-Graw Hill, Scott Foresman/Little Brown, Wadsworth Publishing, Cambridge University Press, Temple University Press, Oxford University Press, and Princeton University Press
- Served as external grant and fellowship reviewer for the United States Institute of Peace, Open Society Institute, Hollings Center, the Department of Education Javits fellowship, American Council of Learned Societies, National Endowment for Democracy, National Science Foundation, Smith-Richardson Foundation, Palestinian American Research Center, Fulbright (CIES), Hubert H. Humphrey fellowships, Woodrow Wilson Center, and the Social Science Research Council
- Program Chair, Modern Section, American Research Center in Egypt annual conference, Baltimore, April 1993
- Consultant to United States Agency for International Development on rule of law, 1993-94

## GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- Carnegie Scholar, Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2009-11
- United States Institute of Peace, “Islamists in Parliament: The Effect of Parliamentary Participation on Islamist Political Movements in the Arab World,” 2006-08
- United States Institute of Peace, “Security and Governance in the Context of Oslo,” 1999-2002
- Fulbright teaching grant, Ben-Gurion University, Israel; research on Palestinian politics; 1999-2000

- Dilthey Society Grant for research on Islam and constitutionalism, Summer 1997
- Fulbright Research Grant for work in Egypt, Kuwait, and Qatar, 1994-95
- University Facilitating Fund, “The Rule of Law in Modern Egypt,” Summer 1992
- United States Institute of Peace, “Law and Society in Modern Egypt,” 1991-92
- Junior Faculty Incentive Grant, George Washington University, Summer 1990
- Summer Research Grant, Elliott School of International Affairs, 1988, 1989, 1991
- Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Grant, research in Cairo and London, 1984-85
- National Resource Fellowship, Princeton University, for graduate study, 1981-83 and 1985-86
- Fellowship, Center for Arabic Study Abroad, Cairo Egypt, for Arabic language study, 1983-84
- Princeton University Fellowship, 1980-81

## **HONORS AND AWARDS**

- Finalist, African Studies Association Herskovits Award, 1991, for outstanding original scholarly work in English on Africa
- Malcolm Kerr dissertation award, Middle East Studies Association, 1987
- Phi Beta Kappa, University of Chicago, 1980

## **TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS**

### **Comparative Politics**

Law and politics; democratization; state formation; comparative constitutionalism; judicial politics

### **Middle East Politics**

Islamist movements, Egyptian politics; Palestinian politics; political economy and social history of the Middle East; legal reform in the modern Middle East; US policy

## **LANGUAGES**

Arabic (speaking and reading)