# NATHAN JUDE BROWN

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**EMPLOYMENT AND ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS**

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

* Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, 1999-present
* Institute for Middle East Studies Director, 2007-2009, 2015-2018
* Middle East Studies Program Director, 1989-1994, 1996-1999, 2002-2004, 2007-2009, 2015-2017, 2018-2020
* Associate Dean, Elliott School of International Affairs, 1992 -1994, summer 1995, 1996-1999
* Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, 1992-1999
* Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, 1987-1992

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

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

**Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars**, Washington, DC, Fellow, 2009-2010

**Middle East Institute,** Washington, DC

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

### Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beersheva, Israel

* Visiting Professor (Fulbright), 1999-2000

**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

**HONORS AND AWARDS**

* Best paper of 2016, International Journal of Constitutional Law (co-authored with Julian Waller)
* Oscar & Shoshana Trachtenberg Award (annual award for scholarship), George Washington University, 2015
* Harry Harding teaching award, Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, 2014
* Guggenheim Fellow, 2013
* Carnegie Scholar, Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2009-11
* Finalist, African Studies Association Herskovits Award, 1991
* Malcolm Kerr dissertation award, Middle East Studies Association, 1987
* Phi Beta Kappa, University of Chicago, 1980

**PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH**

**Published Books (Sole- and Co-authored)**

* *Lumbering State, Restive Society: Egypt in the Modern Era*, with Shimaa Hatab and Amr Adly, Columbia University Press, 2021
* *Arguing Islam after the Rebirth of Arab Politics,* Oxford University Press, 2016
* *When Victory is not an Option: Islamist Movements in Arab Politics ,* Cornell University Press, 2012; published in Arabic 2011 under the title *Al- musharika la al- mughaliba*
* *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 as *Bayn al-din wa-l-siyasa*
* *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 f or Accountable Government,* SUNY Press, 2001; published in Arabic in 2010 under the title *Dasatir min 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

**Published Books (Editor and Co-editor)**

* *Reconstructing the Middle East,* edited book with Abdulwahab Alkebsi and Charlotta Sparre, Routledge, 2017
* *Constitutionalism, the rule of law and the politics of administration in Egypt & Iran .* Edited book manuscript with Said Arjomand, SUNY Press, 2012
* *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.

**Books in Publication**

* *Understanding Authoritarian Institutions* (tentative title), book project with Steven Schaaf, Samer Anabtawi, and Julian Waller, reconceptualizing authoritarian politics in terms of the role of institutions; accepted by University of Michigan Press for publication in 2023.
* *Israel: The One State Reality,* (co-edited with Shibley Telhami, Michael Barnett, and March Lynch, Cornell University Press, Cornell University Press, 2023.
* *Al-Dawla wa-l-Mujtama` fi Masr* (The State and Society in Egypt) with Amr Adly, forthcoming 2023.

**Special Journal Issues**

* “Authoritarianism in the Arab World,” *Arab Law Quarterly*, Volume 36, September 2022, Issue 4-5 (edited with Mai El-Sadany)
* “Historical and Comparative Macrosociology of Middle Eastern Legal Systems,” *Onati Socio-legal series* volume 10, number 5, 2020 (edited with Said Arjomand).
* Editor, special issue, “Politics after the Uprisings” of *Middle East law and Governance* (includes the foreword: “Listening to People to Understand Change,”) (3, 2018)

**Published Scholarly Articles**

* “The Poisonous Metaphor of the People: Populism, Authoritarianism and Post-Sovereign Possibilities in Evolving Egyptian Constitutional Orders,” *Constellations*, May 2022
* "Concluding Essay", *Middle East Law and Governance*, June 2021 special issue, “Assessing the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood after the 2013 Coup”
* “Who or What Is the Wali al-Amr: The Unposed Question,” *Oñati Socio-Legal Series*, 2020.
* Alanna C. Van Antwerp, Nathan J. Brown, The Electoral Model without Elections?: The Arab Uprisings of 2011and the Color Revolutions in Comparative Perspective, *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization,* 2018
* With Lamis Elmuhtaseb and Abdulwahab Kayyali, Arguing about Family Law in Jordan, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, October 2016
* With Julian Waller, “Constitutional Courts and Political Uncertainty: Constitutional Ruptures and the Rule of Judges,” *International Journal of Constitutional Law,* 2016
* Constitutionalism,” with Mara Reskin, *Oxford Handbook on Islamic Law* *(*Anver Emon, Kristin Stilt, and Rumee Ahmed, editors)
* with Bill Kissane and John Madeley, “Constitutionalism, Religion, and Education,” *American Behavioral Scientist*, 2015, pp. 1-23
* “Review Article: Back to the Future: Islamist Movements in Egypt,” *Middle East Journal*, Summer 2015
* The Impossible State: Review Symposium*, Perspectives on Politics*, Nathan J Brown, Invited Article, 2014, Contribution to review symposium on Wael Hallaq's "The Impossible State"
* “Egypt’s Failed Transition,” *Journal of Democracy,* October 2013
* “Debating the Islamic Shari‘a in Twenty-First Century Egypt,” Journal *of Faith and International Affairs,* 2012
* “Contention in Religion and State in Post-Revolutionary Egypt,” *Social Research,* 2012
* “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**

* “Rights in Law and Practice in Jordan and the Arab World,” with Lillian Frost; in Roel Meijer, James N. Sater, and Zahra Babar, *Routledge Handbook of Citizenship in the Middle East and North Africa*, 2020.
* “The Unsurprising but Distinctive Nature of Constitutionalism in the Arab World,” in Hanna Lerner and David Landau, *Elgar Handbook on Comparative Constitutional Law,* 2019
* “Citizenship, Religious Rights, and State Identity in Arab Constitutions: Who is Free and What Are They Free to Do?” in Nehal Bhuta, editor, *Freedom of Religion, Secularism, and Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).
* “Constituting Constitutionalism,” in Stéphane Lacroix, Jean-Pierre Filiu (editors), *Revisiting the Arab Uprisings: The Politics of a Revolutionary Moment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).
* “ Can the Current Palestinian Leadership and Its Institutions End the Occupation?” *Moment of Truth: Tackling Israel-Palestine's Toughest Questions*, edited by Jamie Stern-Weiner, Or Books, 2018
* Nathan J Brown and Benjamin Helfand, “Reforming Justice,” in *Arab Politics Beyond the Uprising* (with Benjamin Helfand), edited by Thanassis Cambanis and Michael Hanna, Century Foundation and Brooking Institution, 0870785478, 2018
* “ Palestine: The Unseen Conflict over the Hidden Curriculum,” in *Multiple Alterities: Views of Others in Textbooks of the Middle East*, edited by Elie Podeh and Samira al-Ayan, Palgrave, 2018
* “The Roots of Egypt's Constitutional Catastrophe,” *Tunisia, Islam and Democracy in Comparative Perspective: With Reflections on Egypt, Indonesia and India*, edited by Alfred Stepan, Columbia University Press, 2018
* “Contesting Islamic Constitutionalism after the Arab Spring: Islam in Egypt’s Post Mubarak Constitutions,” with Clark Lombardi, in *Human Rights, and Islam after the Arab Spring*, edited by Rainer Grote and Tilmann J. Röder, Oxford University Press, 2016.
* “Islam and Constitutionalism in the Arab World: The Puzzling Course of Islamic Inflation, “ in Asli Bali and Hannah Lerner*, Constitution Writing, Democracy, and Religion*, Cambridge University Press, 2017.
* “The transition: from Mubarak’s fall to the 2014 presidential election,” *Egypt after the Spring: Revolt and Reaction,* edited by Emile Hokayem and Hebatalla Taha, International Institute for Strategic Studies Adelphi Books, 2016
* “Egypt: A Constitutional Court in an Unconstitutional Setting,” in *Political and Constitutional Transitions in North Africa: Actors and Factors*, edited by Justin Frosin and Francesco Biagi, 2015
* “La justice egyptienne dans l’ere post-revolutionaire,” in *L’Egypte En Revolutions*, edited by Bernard Rougier et Stéphane Lacroix , Presses universitaires de France, 2015
* “Constitutional Revolutions and the Public Sphere,” *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, edited by Marc Lynch, Columbia University Press, 2014
* “Democratic Beauty and Electoral Ugliness in the Arab World*,” Elections and Democratization in the Arab World*, edited by Mahmoud Hamad and Khalil al-Anani, Palgrave-Macmillan, 2014
* Shariʻa and state in the modern Muslim Middle East, *Islamic Law in Practice, Volume III*, 2014, Reprint of a 1997 article from the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*
* “Egypt's Failed Transition, in *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*,” edited by Larry Diamond and Mark F. Plattner, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014 (reprint of 2013 Journal of Democracy article)
* “Bumpy Democratic Routes to Dictatorial Ends,” *Modern Middle Eastern Authoritarianism: Roots, Ramifications, and Crisis*, edited by Noureddine Jebnoun, Mehrdad Kia, and Mimi Kirk, Routledge, 2014.
* “Hamas,” in Robin Wright (editor), *The Islamists Are Coming* , United States Institute of Peace and Woodrow Wilson Center, 2012; second edition 2014
* “Can the Brotherhood Be Brought into the Democratic Tent,” in Esra Bulu Aymat (editor), *Egyptian Democracy and the Muslim Brotherhood* , European Union, Institute for Strategic Studies, 2011
* “Debating the Islamic Shari‘a in 21st-Century Egypt: Consensus and Cacophony,” in Robert Hefner, *Shari‘a Politics* , Indiana University Press, 2011
* Chapters on Egypt (with Emad Shahin and Joshua Stacher) and Palestine for Michele Penner Angrist, *Comparative Politics in the Middle East* , Lynne Rienner, 2011 and 2013
* “Kuwait’s Islamic Constitutional Movement: A Model or a Warning for Democratic Islamism,” in Mohammed Salih, *Islamic Political Parties* , Macmillan, 2009
* “Constitutionalizing 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, B*eyond the Façade: Political 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 Stowassser 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 Since 2012**

* “Innovation and New Directions: Searching for Novel Paths in Arab Education Reform,”October 2022., lead author, with Heba Deghaidy, Wafa Al-Khadra, Shaikha Jabor Al-Thani, Rima Khalaf, Christine Zachariah, and Marwan Muasher, Carnegie Endowment Report,
* “Who Speaks for Islam in Egypt and Who Listens,” Carnegie Endowment article with Michele Dunne, 2021.
* “Touching Nothing But Changing Everything: How the Saudi State is Reconfiguring the Religious Establishment,” Carnegie Endowment article with Yasmine Farouk, 2021.
* Nathan J. Brown, “Palestine’s Emerging National Movement: ‘Questions On My Mind,’” with Samer Anabtawi, Carnegie Endowment paper, June 2021
* “Going back to school on Palestinian textbooks, “Middle East Institute Policy Analysis, June 2021
* “Deploying Authority: Saudi Arabia and Egypt Strive to Respond to COVID-19, “with Sultan Alamer and Rana Mamdouh, APSA Middle East North Africa Newsletter", 2021 May,
* “Hamas’s Fortuitous Opening,” with Imad Alsoos, Carnegie Endowment article, May 2021
* “The Old Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Is Dead—Long Live the Emerging Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, Carnegie Endowment article, May 2021
* “How Much Will the Pandemic Change Egyptian Governance and for How Long?” Carnegie Endowment article with Amr Hamzawy, 2020.
* “Steering the Wide State: Ideology or Administration?” Carnegie Endowment article with Mark Berlin, 2020.
* “Islamic Authority and Arab States in a Time of Pandemic,” with Frederic Wehrey, Bader Al-Saif, Intissar Fakir, Anouar Boukhars, and Maysaa Shuja Al-Deen, Carnegie Endowment article, April 2020.
* “Time to Rethink, Not Abandon, Aid to Palestinians,” paper, Carnegie Endowment, January 2019
* “Engaging Society to Reform Arab Education: From Schooling to Learning,” Report, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 2018 (lead author with Marwan Muasher)
* “Two States or One? Reappraising the Israeli-Palestinian Impasse,” joint report by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Baker Institute, Rice University, with Edward P. Djerejian, Marwan Muasher, Samih Al-Abid, Tariq Dana, Dahlia Scheindlin, Gilead Sher, and Khalil Shikaki, September 2018.
* “The Rhetoric and Reality of Religious Reform in Egypt and Saudi Arabia,” paper, Baker Institute, Rice University, August 2018
* “Why Mahmoud Abbas dissolved the Palestinian parliament — and what it means for the future,” *Washington Post* Monkey Cage, January 18, 2019 (with Samer Anabtawi)
* “Federalism in Israel-Palestine: Fresh Ideas, Old Problems,” Lawfare blog, August 2018
* “Roundtable on Political Islam after the Arab Uprisings,” *Jadaliyya* May 2018 May
* “Five Questions” (interview), *American Political Science Association--Middle East and North Africa Newsletter,* May 2018
* Imad Al Soos and Nathan j. Brown, “Hamas: Constrained or Nimble,” Carnegie Endowment article, April 2018
* “What Egypt’s Election Reveals About its Regime, *Navigator* (Center for Global Policy), March 2018
* “The Occupation at 50,” *Current History*, January 2018
* Abdullah Alaoudh and Nathan J. Brown, “Full Court Press,” *Diwan* Carnegie Endowment article, 2018.
* “The Remaking of the Saudi State,” Carnegie Endowment article, November 2017
* “How a state of emergency became Egypt's new normal,” *Washington Post* Monkey Cage, October 2017 (with Mai El-Sadany)
* “Saudi Arabia is moving to rein in its religious police. Sort of,” *Washington Post* Monkey Cage, August 2017
* Perry Cammack, Nathan J. Brown, and Marwan Muasher, *Revitalizing Palestinian Nationalism: Options Versus Realities,* Report, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, June 2017
* “Official Islam in the Arab World” The Contest over Religious Authority,” Carnegie paper, May 2017
* “Comparing the Religion-State Divide in the Arab World: Constitutions,” *Shariasource*, Harvard Law School Islamic Legal Studies Program, May 2017
* “Egypt is in a state of emergency. Here’s what that means for its government,” *Washington Post* Monkey Cage, April 2017
* “A Dozen Questions about the Islamic Sharia: Some Things You Wanted to Know about Islamic Law but Were Too Embarrassed to Ask,” POMEPS, 2017
* “Regime Islam, State Islam, and Political Islam: The Past and Future Contest,” POMEPS, 2017
* “Black Label,” (on the designation of the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist group, *Diwan*, Carnegie Endowment, January 2017 (with Michele Dunne)
* “An Egyptian court just struck down part of a repressive new law. Here’s what that means,” *Washington Post* Monkey Cage, December 2016 (with Amr Hamzawy)
* Geneive Abdo and Nathan J Brown, “A Smarter Strategy for Countering Violent Extremism,” September 2016, Atlantic Council report, For Middle East Strategy Task Force, co-chaired by Madeleine Albright and Steven Hadley
* “Did Sisi Save Egypt?” with Yasser El Shimi, *Foreign Affairs*, 2016
* “Facingthe Cruel Palindrome: Moving beyond Sauve Qui Peut," Project on Middle East Political Science Reader, "Evolving Methodologies in the Study of Islamist Politics," February 2016
* “Palestine in Flux: From Search for State to Search for Tactics,” Carnegie Endowment Paper, January 2016 (with Daniel Nerenberg)
* “Unprecedented Pressures, Unchartered Course for Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood,” with Michele Dunne, Carnegie Endowment Paper, September 2015.
* “Rethinking Islamist Politics: Where the Fault Lines Lie, Project on Middle East Political Science Reader, *Rethinking Islamist Politics*, June 2015
* “Leading from Everywhere: The History of Centralized Islamic Religious Authority,” with Hisham Hellyer, *Foreign Affairs*, June 2015
* “Why Egypt’s Parliament will be Born Broken,” *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage blog, October 2015
* “Building a Better Post-Oslo Era, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,” Carnegie Endowment Policy Brief, January 2015
* “What Killed Egyptian Democracy, *Boston Review*, 2014
* “Egypt’s Resurgent Authoritarianism: It’s a Way of Life, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Nathan J. Brown and Katie Bentivoglio, Carnegie Endowment Policy Brief, 2014
* “Is Kuwaiti Democracy the Problem or the Solution?” Al-Rai Institute, Kuwait, Nathan J Brown, Policy Brief, 2014
* “Egypt's Election Law Sets Up a Weak Parliament,” Atlantic Council *Egypt Source*, with Scott Williamson, Policy Brief, 2014
* “Road Map Report Card,” *Foreign Policy* , May 2014
* “Why Do Egyptian Courts Say the Darndest Things,” *Washington Post* , Monkey Cage Blog, April 2014
* “Egypt Sets Out on a Dangerous Path,” Institute for International Affairs, Italy (IAI) viewpoint, March 2014
* (With Michele Dunne), “Egypt’s Judges Join In*,” Foreign Affairs* , March 2013
* “Egypt’s Constitutional Cul-de-Sac,” Christian Michelsen Institute (Norway) Brief, March 2013
* “The Sisi Spring,” Middle East Channel*, Foreign Policy* magazine, February 2013
* (With Michele Dunne) “Egypt’s draft constitution rewards judiciary and military,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, January 2013
* Roundtable discussion, “What Killed Egyptian Democracy,” *Boston Review* , January 2013
* “Egypt Has Replaced a Single Dictator with a Slew of Dictatorial Institutions,” *New Republic* , Jan 2013
* “An anticlimactic referendum in Egypt,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
* “Sisi and the Balkanization of the Egyptian State,” *Al- Masri Al- Yom* (largest circulation Egyptian newspaper), December 2013
* (With Scott Williamson) “Kuwaiti Politics Gets Even Edgier,” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Policy,* Oct 2013
* “The one definitive word on the Egyptian constitution,” Middle East Channel*, Foreign Policy*, Sept 2013
* “Egypt’s Committee of Fifty,” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Policy*, September 2013
* “Back to the Drawing Boards: US Policy Toward Egypt,” Woodrow Wilson Center Viewpoint, Sept 2013
* “Egypt’s Cantankerous Constitutional Process,” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Policy,* August 2013
* “Mrs. Lincoln’s Egyptian Constitution,” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Policy*, August 2013
* “Egypt’s Rulers are About to Make the Same Mistake Morsi Did,” *New Republic* , July 2013
* “Egypt’s Acting President Makes Everything Perfectly Clear,” *New Republic* , July 2013
* “Egypt: A Roadmap for Backseat Drivers,” *New Republic* , July 2013
* “Is Egypt in Civil War?” *Al- Sada* , published by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 2013
* “Egypt’s Wide State Reassembles Itself, Middle East Channel, Foreign Policy magazine, July 2013
* “Where Does the Muslim Brotherhood Go from Here?” *New Republic* , July 2013
* “Redoing the Egyptian Revolution,” *Foreign Affairs* , July 2013
* “Midnight for Morsi’s Cinderella Story,” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Policy* June 2013
* “A Vista with No Horizon: Perpetually Unsustainable Palestine,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, June 2013
* “Islam and Politics in the New Egypt,” Carnegie Paper, April 2013
* “The Battle over Egypt’s Judiciary,” *Al- Sada* , Carnegie Endowment, analysis, May 2013
* “Recalibrating U.S. Policy in Egypt,” *Washington Post* , May 2, 2013, Op-ed (with Thomas Carothers)
* “Requiem for Fayyadism,” Op-ed, *Foreign Policy* , April 2013
* “Egypt’s Constitution Swings into Action,” Middle East Channel, Foreign Policy, March 2013 (with Zaid al-Ali)
* “Egypt’s New Mufti,” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Policy*, February 2013
* “Great Sanhuri’s Ghost!” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Policy* , January 2013
* “Can Egypt’s Democratic Uprising Be Redeemed?” Carnegie Article, December 2012
* “Egypt's Constitution Conundrum,” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Affairs*, article, December 2012
* “Egypt’s Constitution: Islamists Prepare for a Long Political Battle,” Carnegie article, October 2012
* “Egypt’s Ambiguous Transition,” Carnegie article, September 2012
* “Egypt Tries to Reconstitute Itself,” Carnegie article, September 2012
* “The Egyptian Political System in Disarray,” Carnegie article, June 2012
* “Gaza Five Years On: Hamas Settles In,” Carnegie Paper, June 2012
* “Judicial Turbulence Ahead in Egypt, Fasten Your Seat Belts,” Carnegie article, June 2012
* “A Guide Through the Egyptian Maze of Justice,” Carnegie article, June 2012
* “Egypt and Islamic Sharia: A Guide for the Perplexed,” Carnegie Endowment article, June 2012
* “Tahaney El Gebaly,” *Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam and Women* , forthcoming
* “Egypt and the Islamic Shari‘a : A Guide for the Perplexed,” Carnegie Endowmeny, May 2012
* “The Way Forward,” Jewish Daily *Forward*, April 30, 2012
* “Egypt’s Transition Imbroglio: Anton Chekhov at the OK Corral” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Policy*, April 2012
* “Egypt’s Constitutional Task: Positive and Negative Lessons from the Past,” study commissioned by the United Nations Development Program, March 2012
* “The Evolution within the Revolution,” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Policy*, January 2012
* “Why Are So Many Upset about Al-Azhar,” Egyptsource blog, Atlantic Council, January 2012
* “Is Hamas Mellowing,” Carnegie Endowment commentary, January 2012
* “The Brotherhood Prepares for Power in Egypt,” Jewish Daily *Forward* , January 2012

# Endowed or Keynote lectures and Public Addresses

* Top of Form
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* “Whither Israel and Palestine with Neither Peace nor Process,” The Michael Bell Annual Lecture, Carleton University, Ottowa, November 2022
* Participant in Asahi Shimbun world forum, Tokyo, September 2018
* “Have the Dreams of the Arab Uprisings of 2011 Died?” Florida State University, April 2018
* "Heterogenous Societies and Homogenous Politics", Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, March 2018
* “Coping with Religious Differences in Public”, City Montessori School, Lucknow, India, conference on Role of Religion in Development, August 2017
* “Do Islamists Parties Have Any Future? Rockhurst University Visiting Scholar Lecture Series, 2015
* “Popular Sovereignty and Religious Peoples in the Middle East,” 2014 Robert H. Litowitz Lecture, Yale University, 2014
* “Political Challenges and the Way Forward,” Hubert Humphrey/Fulbright alumni association founding conference, February 2014
* “Egypt's Uncertain Revolution,” Christian Michelsen Institute (Norway), "Understanding Egypt" Jan 2014
* “Arab Constitutions in the 21st Century: A New Beginning or Unhappy Ending?” Dallal al- Baraka Endowed lecture, Yale University Law School, 2013
* “Arab Constitutions and Constitutionalism,” keynote presentation, British Academy workshop on Arab constitutionalism, May 2013
* “Arab Constitutions and Constitutionalism,” keynote presentation, British Academy workshop on Arab constitutionalism, May 2013
* “Islamist Movements in Postrevolutionary Egypt,” keynote lecture, joint University of Michigan/University of Toledo conference on “Islam and Arab Spring,” March 2012
* Keynote session panelist; also paper presenter (on “The Fatah-Hamas Spilt: Wide but not Deep,” Heinrich Boell Foundation, Berlin, Germany, March 2010
* “Constitutionalism in the Arab World,” keynote address at Nordic Middle East Studies Association Meeting, Copenhagen, October 2004
* 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

**Professional Activities**

* Member, Board of Trustees, American University in Cairo, 2014-present; chair, student affairs committee 2017-18; chair, academic affairs committee 2018-present
* Member, Editorial Board, *Arab Law Quarterly*, 2018-present
* International Ambassador, Network for Dialogue (advisor for nongovernmental organization promoting dialogue among civil society actors), 2019-present
* Project on Middle East Political Science, Steering Committee 2010-2016; advisory board 2017-present
* Briefing, Canadian Privy Council, November 2022
* Expert testimony, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2021
* President, Middle East Studies Association, 2013-15
* Member, Editorial Board, International *Journal of Middle East Studies*, 2010-13
* Briefing on Egypt to Members of the Delegation for Relations with the Mashreq Countries, European Parliament, June 2013
* Testimony, Canadian House of Commons, Subcommittee on International Human Rights, on Egyptian Christians, March 2013
* 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
* Member, Program on Democracy in the Middle East advisory committee, 2008-2016
* Executive Committee member, Palestinian-American Research Center,2008-2012
* 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, Jan 2006
* Member, Middle East Advisory Committee, Human Rights Watch, 2006-2018
* 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 2003
* 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
* 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, Hamburg Institute for Advanced Study, The Century Foundation, and the Social Science Research Council
* Program Chair American Research Center in Egypt annual conference, Baltimore, April 1993
* Consultant to United States Agency for International Development on rule of law, 1993-94
* Reviewed manuscripts for *Law and Society Review, Church and State, Law and Social Inquiry, International Journal of Constitutional Law 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*, *Third World Thematics, International Studies Quarterly, PS,* 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, Cornell University Press, and Princeton University Press

# GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

* Hamburg Institute for Advanced Studies, 2023-2024
* Fellow, Center for Interdisciplinary Studies (ZIF), Bielefeld University, Germany, 2014
* 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

**TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS**

### Comparative Politics: Law and politics; democracy an authoritarianism; comparative constitutionalism

### Middle East Politics: Religion in politics; Islamist movements, Egyptian politics; Palestinian politics; politics of Islamic law; legal reform in the modern Middle East

# LANGUAGES: Arabic (speaking and reading)