

Shana Marshall
202.994.7916; smarshall@gwu.edu

CURRENT POSITION:

Associate Director and Research Instructor, The Institute for Middle East Studies
Elliott School of International Affairs at The George Washington University, June 2012-present

EDUCATION:

Ph.D. University of Maryland, Government and Politics, May 2012

Dissertation: *The New Politics of Patronage: The Arms Trade and Clientelism in the Arab World*

Committee: Shibley Telhami (Chair), Steven Heydemann, Virginia Haufler, Ken Conca, Mac Destler (Dean's representative)

Fields: Comparative Politics, International Relations

M.A. University of Maryland, Government and Politics, May 2007

B.A. Hanover College, Political Science, May 2003

RESEARCH INTERESTS:

Middle East Politics, Critical Political Economy, Global Arms Trade, Corruption & Clientelism, Sociology of Military and Security Institutions, U.S. Foreign & Defense Policy

PUBLICATIONS:

“Egypt’s Emerging Ruling Class,” Carnegie Endowment, 26 October 2020, <https://carnegie-mec.org/2020/10/26/egypt-s-emerging-ruling-class-pub-83025>

“The Defense Industry’s Role in Militarizing US Foreign Policy” *Middle East Report* 49(294), Summer 2020, <https://merip.org/2020/06/the-defense-industrys-role-in-militarizing-us-foreign-policy/>

“Middle East Armies and the Global Military-Industrial Complex,” in Joel Beinin, Bassam Haddad, and Sherene Seikaly (eds), *A Critical Political Economy of the Middle East and North Africa*, Stanford University Press, December 2020, <https://www.sup.org/books/title/?id=29753>

“Two Paths to Dominance: Military Businesses in Turkey and Egypt” with Ismet Akca and Zeinab Abul-Magd for the Carnegie Endowment’s Civil-Military Relations in Arab States (CMRAS) project, <https://carnegie-mec.org/2020/06/03/two-paths-to-dominance-military-businesses-in-turkey-and-egypt-pub-81869>

“Scholars, Spies and the Gulf Military Industrial Complex,” *Middle East Report*, September 2019. <https://merip.org/2019/09/scholars-spies-and-the-gulf-military-industrial-complex/>

“Jordan’s Military-Industrial Sector: Maintaining Institutional Prestige in the Era of Neoliberalism.” In Grawert, Elke and Zeinab Abul-Magd (eds) April 2016. *Businessmen in Arms. How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

“Indigenous Military Production in the UAE and Saudi Arabia and the Rise of Gulf Military Activism,” September 2016. In [Armies and Insurgencies in the Arab Spring](#). Holger Albrecht, Aurel Croissant, and Fred Lawson (eds.). University of Pennsylvania Press.

[“The Egyptian Armed Forces and the Re-Making of an Economic Empire,”](#) 15 April 2015. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

“Partners in Profiteering: Defense Firms and Diplomats in Post-Revolutionary Egypt.” 24 July 2013. *Jadaliyya*

“Cashing in After the Coup: US Military Aid to Egypt and Defense Industry Profits.” 17 July 2013. The Middle East Channel, *ForeignPolicy.com*

“Jordan’s Military-Industrial Complex and the Middle East’s New Model Army.” June 2013. *The Middle East Report*. 43(267): 42-45.

“The New Politics of Patronage: The Arms Trade and Clientelism in the Arab World.” 8 November 2012. Crown Center Working Paper, No. 4. Brandeis University. www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/wp/wp4.html

“Why the U.S. won’t cut military aid to Egypt.” 29 February 2012. The Middle East Channel, *ForeignPolicy.com*

“Egypt’s Generals and Transnational Capital.” Co-authored with Joshua Stacher. Spring 2012. *The Middle East Report*. 42(262): 12-18. Also published in, David McMurray and Amanda Ufheil-Somers (eds). 2013. [The Arab Revolts: Dispatches on Militant Democracy in the Middle East](#). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

“Egypt’s Other Revolution: Modernizing the Military-Industrial Complex.” 10 February 2012. *Jadaliyya*

“Emergent Trends in the Middle East Arms Race: Foreign Investment and Indigenous Defense Production in the Arab Gulf.” The Kuwait Program: Institut d’Etudes Politiques (Sciences Po - Paris). Available here: <http://kuwaitprogram.sciences-po.fr/research-program/publications.html>

“The Modernization of Bribery: The Arms Trade in the Arab Gulf.” 23 December 2010. *Jadaliyya*.

“Money for Nothing? Offsets in the US-Middle East Defense Trade.” November 2009. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 41(4): 51-53.

“Beyond Muscle: Using Financial Leverage for Middle East Peace.” 14 September 2009. *Foreign Policy in Focus*.

“Syria and the Financial Crisis: Prospects for Reform,” Summer 2009. *Middle East Policy*. XVI(2): 106-115.

“Engaging Syria.” 26 October 2007. *Foreign Policy in Focus*.

“Fomenting Fears of a Shiite Crescent?” Spring 2007. *Syrian Studies Association*. 13(1): 4-5.

“The Movement Market,” Review of [The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media and International Activism](#), by Clifford Bob. May 2006. *Political Studies Review* 4(2).

FELLOWSHIPS:

Junior Research Fellow, Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Brandeis University, 2011-2012

Research Fellowship in Regional Political Economy, Princeton University Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, 2010-2011

Transatlantic Postdoctoral Fellowship in International Relations (TAPIR), European Union Institute for Strategic Studies, U.S. Institute of Peace and German Institute for International and Security Affairs, 2010-2012 (declined)

Joseph S. Nye Jr. Research Internship, Center for a New American Security (CNAS), 2009 (declined)

United Nations Graduate Fellowship, Fall 2009

Doctoral Institute Fellowship, George Washington University Center for International Business Education and Research (CIBER), Summer 2008

World Politics and Statecraft Fellowship, Smith Richardson Foundation, Spring 2008

Horner Scholarship, Hanover College, 1999-2003

RESEARCH GRANTS:

Research Grant, Kuwait Program at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques (Sciences Po - Paris) 2010

Research Grant, Horowitz Foundation for Social Policy, 2010

Research Grant, University of Maryland International Relations Subfield, Summer 2010 and Summer 2007

Columbia University Summer Workshop on Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS), Funded by grant from Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University, Summer 2009

Travel Grant, International Studies Association (ISA), Fall 2008

Goldhaber Travel Grant, University of Maryland, Spring 2004

OTHER ACADEMIC SERVICE

Board of Directors and Editorial Committee, Middle East Research & Information Project/MERIP, publisher of *Middle East Report*, May 2018-present

Co-founder and co-convenor of the annual Political Economy Summer Institute/PESI for graduate students in Middle East Studies, funded by the Arab Studies Institute, Summer 2016-present

INVITED TALKS & ROUNDTABLES

“Happy Dog Takes on the World” roundtable series (sponsored by Cleveland City Club and Cleveland Council of World Affairs) on the coronavirus and the Middle East, <https://www.cityclub.org/forums/2020/05/05/happy-dog-takes-on-the-world-how-will-coronavirus-change-the-world-how-should-we-change-it>, 5 May 2020

“Gulf Security in a Multipolar World: New Defense Ties Reflect Competition for Influence,” Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington/AGSIW, 25 March 2020.

Private roundtable on ‘Defense Industries, Foreign Policy and Armed Conflict.’ Center for Responsive Politics and the World Peace Foundation. 24 February 2020.

“Economic Justice and Global Political Trends: Framing the Fight over Populism in the MENA.” Le Centre d'Etudes Maghrébines à Tunis/CEMAT. 5 November 2019.

Private roundtable on foreign aid and the deep state. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 25 February 2016.

“Commanding the Economy? The Egyptian Military in the Context of the Revolution.” Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies, New York University, 6 March 2014

“The Globalization of Defense-Industrial Manufacturing and the New Middle East Military Complex: A Look at Egypt, Jordan and the UAE.” Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University. 26 February 2014

“The U.S.-Egyptian Relationship: Business as Usual?” A panel discussion with Anjali Kalimat (Al-Jazeera) and Mokhtar Awad (Center for American Progress). New America Foundation, 22 October 2013

“Egypt’s Transition: Military Rule, Human Rights Challenges, and U.S. Policy Choices.” A panel discussion with Maikel Nabil (Egyptian blogger and activist) and Michele Dunne (Atlantic Council). Atlantic Council’s Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East, 18 December 2012

MEDIA INTERVIEWS (background)

Michael LaForgia. The New York Times. February 2020.

Naomi Cohen. The Economist. October 2019.

Walter Bogdanich. New York Times. June 2019

Matt Smith. The Center for Investigative Reporting. May 2019

Jared Malsin. Wall Street Journal. March 2018.

El Mundo. Francisco Carrión. February 2018.

MEDIA INTERVIEWS (on record)

Naomi Cohen, October 2020, “The UAE is turning into the world capital for weapons makers, Foreign Policy, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/10/20/the-uae-is-turning-into-the-world-capital-for-weapons-makers/>

BBC News and BBC radio (live interviews) November 2018

Al Jazeera Arabic. Live interview. 22 November 2017

Henry Harding, 23 January 2016. “[Egypt’s economy 5 years after the revolution](#)” Middle East Eye.

Emily Crane, 28 January 2016. “The Army And Its President.” Foreign Policy. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/28/the-army-and-its-president-egypt-sisi/>

“Egypt’s army expands economic power,” by Markus Symnak. 4 May 2014. Deutsche Welle (Germany) <http://www.dw.de/egypts-army-expands-economic-power/a-17611602>

“Egypt’s military companies flirt with solar energy,” by Isabel Esterman. *Mada Masr* (Egypt). 27 April 2014.

“The Arab Spring: 3 Years Later,” by Tara Medeiros. *GW Magazine*, Spring 2014.

“Egypt Not Expected to Be Hit Hard by US Aid Cuts,” by Deb Riechmann and Lolita C. Baldor. *Associated Press*, 12 October 2013

“In US military aid to Egypt, business as usual,” by Anjali Kamat and Nicole Salazar. *Al Jazeera America*, 11 October 2013

“US arms industry profits from aid funds to Egypt,” by Janosch Delcker. *Deutsche Welle Radio*, 7 October 2013

“EXPOSED: US weapons sales to Egypt 2010 – 2013,” by Sean Nevins. *Voice of Russia*, 18 September 2013

“6 Corporations Making Money From U.S. Aid to the Brutal Egyptian Military,” by Alex Kane. *Alternet*, 30 August 2013

CTV News, 21 August 2013 (Canadian Station owned by Bell Media)

“Up All Night” with Dotun Adebayo. *BBC Radio*, 16 August 2013

CCTV America with Nathan King, 16 August 2013 (Mainland China’s State-Owned Television Station)

“Egypt May Not Need Fighter Jets, But The U.S. Keeps Sending Them Anyway,” by Julia Simon. *NPR’S Planet Money*, 8 August 2013

“Guns and Sugar,” by Matthew Valencia. *The Economist*, 25 May 2013

“Egypt Army Issues Ultimatum,” by Matt Bradley and Reem Abdellatif. *The Wall Street Journal*, 2 July 2013

“Egypt at War With Itself,” by Stephen Glain. *The Nation*, 6 June 2012

“Battling for Egypt’s Economy,” by Jeffrey Fleishman. *The Los Angeles Times*, 25 March 2012

METHODOLOGICAL TRAINING:

Social Network Analysis, Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR): UNC-Chapel Hill, August 2009 (Funded by grant from University of Maryland)

Geographic Information Systems (GIS), Libraries’ User Education Services: University of Maryland, “Introduction to GIS” and “Data Management in the GIS Environment,” June 2009

Qualitative Research Methods, Institute for Qualitative Research Methods (IQRM), Arizona State University, Winter 2006 (Funded by grant from University of Maryland)

LANGUAGES:

English: Native Speaker

Arabic: Speaking (Advanced); Reading (Advanced); Writing (Intermediate)

Advanced Arabic, American School in Tangier, Morocco, Summer 2007 (Funded by grant from American Institute for Maghrebi Studies)

Advanced Arabic, Yemen Language Institute in Sanaa, Yemen, Summer 2006 (Funded by grant from U.S. Department of State)

Intermediate Arabic, Center for Arab and Middle Eastern Studies (CAMES), American University of Beirut, Summer 2005

CONFERENCE PAPERS & WORKSHOPS:

Global Political Economy and the Rise of Military Politics in the Middle East. Paper presented at annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Boston, MA; 20 November 2016.

“Do not go quietly: Human Agency, Contingency and the Push to Formulate a Structural Explanation of the Arab Spring,” Workshop: Political Economy of the Middle East: Continuities & Discontinuities in Teaching & Research. Arab Studies Institute, George Mason University. 6 November 2015.

“Conceptualizing Military Entrepreneurship in the 21st Century Global Economy.” Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) Annual Conference. The George Washington University, DC. May 2014.

“Renegotiating Arab Civil-Military Relations: Political & Economic Governance in Transition.” Carnegie Middle East Center, Beirut Lebanon. 6-7 February 2014.

“From Barracks to Business? Military-Industrial Production and the Rising Influence of the Military in the UAE.” Paper presented at *Military Engagement in Mobilizing Societies: The Middle East in Comparative Perspective*, Institute for Political Science, Heidelberg University, Heidelberg, Germany; 8 November, 2013

“Instability as Opportunity: The Egyptian Military and the Re-Making of an Economic Empire.” Paper presented at annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, New Orleans, LA; 10 October 2013.

“The Military Roots of Foreign Direct Investment in the Middle East.” Presented at The Institute for Middle East Studies Annual Conference, *Political Economy and the Foundations of Regional Change*, The George Washington University, Washington D.C.; 10 April 2013.

“Polishing the Police State: Public Relations Campaigns and Authoritarian Image-Building in the Middle East.” Paper presented at annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA; 1 September 2011.

“The New Politics of Patronage: Rentier State Innovation in the Middle East.” Presented at the Northeast Middle East Politics Workshop, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University; 11 March 2011.

“Postmodern Bribery? How Defense Firms Shape Global Legal and Political Institutions to Accommodate Corruption.” Paper presented at Princeton University’s International Relations Faculty Colloquium. Princeton, NJ; 13 December 2010

“Polishing the Police State: Public Relations Campaigns in Tunisia and Syria.” (with Laryssa Chomiak) Paper presented at annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Diego, CA; 21 November 2010.

“The Rentier Frontier: How the Middle East’s Authoritarian Regimes are Uncovering New Patronage Resources in Their Trade With Western Defense Industries.” Paper presented at annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL; April 2010

“Putting Terrorism into Context: Religious Violence in the Ancient Middle East.” Lecture delivered for Center for Talented Youth Odyssey Series on Terrorism and International Security at the University of Maryland; 21 November 2009

“U.S. Military Privatization and its Implications for Developing Country Coercive Institutions.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada; 3 September 2009

“The Rentier Frontier: From Petroleum to Privatization.” Paper presented at the Comparative Politics Workshop, University of Maryland; 22 April 2009

“Outsourcing Authoritarianism? Commercial Incentives in the Defense Industry and Developing Country Security Sectors.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, New York City, NY; 18 February 2009

“Mercenaries for Marketization? The Effects of Neoliberal Economic Reforms on Militaries Across the Globe.” Paper presented at the International Relations Workshop, University of Maryland; 11 April 2008

“Privatization and Global Instability: Neoliberal Economic Reforms and the Growth in Military Institutions Across the Globe.” Paper presented at the Georgetown University Graduate Student Conference; 8 May 2008

RESEARCH POSITIONS:

Country Assessor and Peer Reviewer, Transparency International Defence and Security Programme, Spring 2012 and Spring 2014

Contact: Tehmina Abbas; T: + 44 (0)20 7922 7993; tehmina.abbas@transparency.org.uk

Research Associate, National Security Department of the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory, August 2009 to September 2010

Contact: Charles Crossett; 240 228 5000; chuck.crossett@gmail.com

Research Assistant, Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development, University of Maryland, May 2004 through May 2008

Contact: Shibley Telhami; 301 405 6734; sadat@gvpt.umd.edu

TEACHING POSITIONS

Instructor of Record:

The George Washington University, Political Economy of the Middle East (Comparative Politics MA Seminar)

The George Washington University, Government & Politics of the Middle East (Comparative Politics MA Seminar)

College Park Scholars, Discovery Research (Research Methods); Spring Semester 2009

Contact: Program Director Greig Stewart (gstewart@umd.edu)

Teaching Assistant:

Intercultural Communication and Religious Conflict in the Middle East; Summer Semester 2008

Contact: Professors Edy Kaufman (ekaufman@cidcm.umd.edu) and Tal Shehata (tshehata@umd.edu)

College Park Scholars, International Studies; Academic Years 2006-2008

Contact: Professor James Glass (jglass@gvpt.umd.edu)

American Government; Academic Year 2003-2004

Contact: Professor Paul Herrnson (herrnson@umd.edu)

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS:

International Studies Association (ISA)

Middle East Studies Association (MESA)

Middle East Research & Information Project (MERIP)

American Association of University Women (AAUW)

