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EMPLOYMENT AND ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

The George Washington University, Washington, DC

- Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, 1999-present
- Director, Institute for Middle East Studies, 2007-2009, 2015-2018
- Director, Middle East Studies Program, 1989-1994, 1996-1999, 2002-2004, 2007-2009, 2015-2017, 2018-present
- 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

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

HONORS AND AWARDS

- Best paper of 2016, International Journal of Constitutional Law (co-authored with Julian Waller)
- Oscar and Shoshana Trachtenberg Award for Scholarship, George Washington University, 2015
- Harry Harding teaching award, Elliott School of International Affairs, 2014
- Guggenheim Fellow, 2013
- Carnegie Scholar, Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2009-11
- 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

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

Published Books

- *Reconstructing the Middle East*, edited book with Abdulwahab Alkebsi and Charlotta Sparre, Routledge, 2017
- *Arguing Islam after the Rebirth of Arab Politics*, Oxford University Press, 2016
- *Constitutionalism, the rule of law and the politics of administration in Egypt & Iran*. Edited book manuscript with Said Arjomand, SUNY Press, 2012
- *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
- *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 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

Books in Progress

- *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
- *Egypt: Lumbering State, Restive Society*, with Shima Hatab and Amr Adly, an integrative work on Egyptian politics, economy, and society

Scholarly Articles

- Alanna C. Van Antwerp, Nathan J. Brown, The Electoral Model without Elections?: The Arab Uprisings of 2011 and 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 Rumea 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) *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

- “The Unsurprising but Distinctive Nature of Constitutionalism in the Arab World,” in Hanna Lerner and David Landau, *Elgar Handbook on Comparative Constitutional Law*, forthcoming
- “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 Brookings 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 égyptienne dans l'ère post-révolutionnaire,” in *L'Égypte En Révolutions*, 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
- Shari'a 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, *Beyond 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 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

Selected Other Articles

- “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, “Hamis: 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,” *Diman*
- “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 Oct (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, *Diman*, 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
- “Facing the 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, Uncharted 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*, January 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*, October 2013
- “The one definitive word on the Egyptian constitution,” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Policy*, September 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, September 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 Endowment commentary, May 2012
- “The Way Forward,” Jewish Daily *Forward*, April 30, 2012
- “Egypt’s Transition Imbroglia: 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
- “When Victory Becomes an Option: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood Confronts Success,” Carnegie Endowment Paper, December 2011
- “Landmines in Egypt’s Constitutional Roadmap,” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Policy*, December 2011
- “Kuwait’s Short Nineteenth Century,” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Policy*, December 2011
- “Constitutional Rebirth: Egypt and Tunisia Reconstruct Themselves,” study commissioned by the United Nations Development Program, September 2011
- “Don’t Worry, Be Happy,” *Jadaliyya* blog, July 2011
- “Egypt’s Judiciary in a Revolutionary Age,” Carnegie Endowment Paper, January 2012
- “The Palestinians’ Receding Dream of Statehood,” *Current History*, Volume: 110, issue 740, December 2011
- “The Muslim Brotherhood’s Democratic Dilemma,” *The National Interest* (online), 1 December 1, 2011
- “Americans, Put Away Your Quills,” Middle East Policy, *Foreign Policy*, November 8, 2011
- “Post-Revolutionary Al-Azhar,” Carnegie Paper, August 2011
- “Can the Colossus Be Salvaged? Egypt’s State-Owned Press in a Post-Revolutionary Environment,” Carnegie web commentary, August 2011
- “What Does the U.S. Want to Talk to the Brotherhood About?” *National Interest* (online), 9 August 2011
- “The Trial of the Century,” *Foreign Policy* (online), 3 August 2011
- “Palestine: The Fire Next Time?” Carnegie web commentary, 6 July 2011
- “Rawls Visits the Pyramids,” *The National Interest* (online), 23 June 2011
- “No Savior for Palestine,” Middle East Channel, *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,” Middle East Channel, *Foreign Policy*, 27 May 2011
- “Hope and Change in the Middle East,” *Foreign Policy* (online), 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* (online), 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 200
- “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,” Carnegie 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?” *Wijbat 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, Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt,

UN Development Program, Program on Governance in the Arab Region, 2003

- “Drafting Islam into the Iraqi Constitution,” Arab Reform Bulletin, September 2003
- “Palestine’s Prime Minister: New Roadmap for Arab Governance?” *Arab Reform Bulletin*, 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, 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*, 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 Springborg and Guilan 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*, John Calvert, *Review of Middle East Studies*
- *Building the rule of law in the Arab world: Tunisia, Egypt, and Beyond*, edited by Eva Bellin and Heidi E. Lane, *Democratization*

- *The Politics of Islamic Law* by Iza Hussin, *Journal of Church and State*
- *The Struggle for Constitutionalism in the Middle East*, Elizabeth Thompson, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*

Selected Conference Papers, Public Lectures, and Presentations

Endowed or Keynote lectures and Public Addresses

- "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" January 2014
- "Arab Constitutions in the 21st Century: A New Beginning or Unhappy Ending?" Dallah 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 Split: 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

Academic papers and conferences

- "Who or What is the Wali al-Amr?" at workshop on "Historical and Comparative Macrosociology of Middle Eastern Legal Systems," International Institute for the Sociology of Law, Onati, Spain, May 2018
- "Who Has Governed Egypt: Ruler, Regime, or State?, Tel Aviv University, "Political Upheavals in Egypt: A History Reconsidered", January 2018
- "State Islam and Regime Islam in the Arab World," Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, November 2017
- "The Sinews of Rule, Contention, and Consensus," POMEPS Oxford Conference "From Mobilization to Counter-Revolution: The Arab Spring in Comparative Perspective", 2016
- "Is the Egyptian Judiciary Independent?" American University in Cairo, The Egyptian Judiciary, 2015
- "The Political and Constitutional Transitions in Egypt and Tunisia: a Comparison," Johns Hopkins SAIS Bologna, 2015

- “Political and Constitutional Transitions in North Africa”, Bocconi University, Milan, Italy, 2015
- “Citizenship, Religious Rights, and State Identity in Arab Constitutions: Who is Free and What Are They Free to Do?” AALIMS - Oxford Conference on Political Economy of Islam and Muslim Societies, 2015
- “The Shallow Roots of Egypt’s Constitutional Catastrophe, The Tunisian Democratic Transition in Comparative Perspective: With Reflections on Indonesia, India, and Egypt,” Columbia University, 2015
- “Arguing about Family Law in Jordan, Islamic Legal Studies Program,” Harvard University, with Lamis El Muhtaseb, 2015
- “Constituting Constitutionalism: Lessons from the Arab World, Whither the Arab World?” Revisiting Democratic Transition Theory, Science Po, Paris, 2014
- “Islamist Movements,” Middle East Studies Association annual meeting roundtable, 2014
- “Can the Sharia Be Constitutionalized?” University of Illinois, April 2014
- (With Dina Bishara) “Regime and State During and After Authoritarianism,” International Studies Association Conference, March 2014
- “Egypt’s Political System between Military Guardianship and Democratic Procedures,” Institute for International Affairs, Rome, Italy (IAI) public lecture, March 2014
- “Egypt’s Constitutional Future,” American University in Cairo Forum, January 2014
- “Egypt: A Constitutional Court in an Unconstitutional Setting,” NYU Law School Transitions colloquium, October 2013
- “Can Egypt Reconstitute Itself?” Hebrew University Annual Abir Conference, June 2013
- International Studies Association, Roundtable on diffusion and Arab spring, April 2013
- “The Egyptian Constitution,” University of Copenhagen, February 2013
- “The Puzzling End to Islamic Inflation,” workshop on religion and constitutionalism, Rockefeller Center, Bellagio, Italy, July 2012
- “Islamic Inflation” NYU Law School, October 2012
- Roundtable on Arab uprisings, Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, November 2012
- “The Egyptian Constitutional Process,” Belfer Center, Harvard, November 2012
- International Studies Association, Roundtable on diffusion and Arab spring, April 2013
- “Constitutions: The Arab Experience,” TEPAV (Ankara), March 2012
- “Constitutionalizing Authoritarianism and Democracy in Egypt and Tunisia” University of Virginia/Oxford University conference on law in the Arab world, Charlottesville, February 2012
- “ Hamas as a Muslim Brotherhood Movement,” Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, November 2010
- “Why Do Islamists Run for Parliament and What Do They Do When They Get There,” American Political Science Association annual meeting, September 2010
- “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
- “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, 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
- “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
- “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-Akhawayn 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-Ahram Center, Al-Azhar University (Gaza), American Bar Association, American Enterprise Institute, American University, Asian Studies Association, Boston University, Brown University, 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, Cornell University, Department of State, Evanston Illinois Public Library, Foreign Service Institute, Georgetown University, German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP), Graduates Society (Kuwait), Gulf Research Center (Dubai), Harvard University, Hebrew University, Hebron Graduates Society, Heinrich Boell Foundation, Hudson Institute, International Institute of Strategic Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Jordan University, University of Kansas, Kuwaiti Bar Association, Library of Congress, Marine Corps University, Meridian House, Middle East Institute, New School for Social Research, Northwestern University, Open Society Institute, Oxford University, University of Pennsylvania, Portland State University, Princeton University, Re’ut Institute (Tel Aviv), Royal Institute for International Affairs, St Olaf College, School of Oriental and African Studies, Stanford University, SWP (Berlin), Syracuse University, Tel Aviv University, Tokyo Foundation, UCLA, University of Jordan, University of Tunis, University of Virginia, Villanova University, University of Washington, Wheaton College, World Affairs Councils of Santa Fe, Akron, Cleveland, Peoria, Baltimore, Las Vegas, Houston, and Albuquerque, and the World Bank

Lectures and briefings to political officials, community groups, and other organizations:

Ambassador Sam Brownback, America-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), American Friends of Ben-Gurion University, Americans for Peace Now, Bnai Brith, Aspen Institute, Center for National Policy, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Martin Dempsey, Congregation Adat Reyim, Congregation Beth Emeth, Congregation Har Shalom, DACOR, Egyptian-American Professional Society, Fox Hill Retirement Community, Foundation for Defense of Democracy, Gesher Jewish Day School, Hadassah, Jewish Community Center, Jewish Community Relations Council, Jewish Studies Center, Network of Arab-American Professionals, Operation Understanding District of Columbia, Palestine Center, Seniors for Change, US-Egypt Friendship Society, United States Secretary of State Hilary Clinton

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

- Member, Board of Trustees, American University in Cairo, 2014-present

- 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-present
- 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, 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*, *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*, 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
- 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

- 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
- Diltthey 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; democratization; comparative constitutionalism; authoritarianism

Middle East Politics

Islamist movements, Egyptian politics; Palestinian politics; Kuwait politics; politics of Islamic law; legal reform in the modern Middle East

LANGUAGES

Arabic (speaking and reading)