

## **TERRENCE LYONS**

School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution  
George Mason University  
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### **CURRENT POSITION**

**School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution**, George Mason University, Arlington, Virginia. Associate Professor, Director of the Doctoral Program, Co-Chair, The Project on Contentious Politics.

**Center for Strategic and International Studies**, Washington, DC. Senior Associate.

**Center for Human Rights**, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia. Visiting Scholar.

**Rift Valley Institute**, Nairobi, Kenya. Fellow.

### **EDUCATION**

PhD, International Relations, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, 1994.

MA, History, Michigan State University, 1985.

BA, History, University of Virginia, 1981.

### **PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Books:**

*The Puzzle of Ethiopia: From Rebel Victory to Authoritarian Politics, 1991-2015*. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner, under contract.

*Demilitarizing Politics: Elections on the Uncertain Road to Peace*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2005.

*Voting for Peace: Postconflict Elections in Liberia*. Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution, 1999.

*Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa.* Co-written with Francis M. Deng, Sadikiel Kimaro, Donald Rothchild, and I. William Zartman. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1996.

*Somalia: State Collapse, Multilateral Intervention, and Strategies for Political Reconstruction.* Co-written with Ahmed Samatar. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1995.

### **Edited Books:**

*Politics from Afar: Transnational Diasporas and Networks.* Co-edited with Peter Mandaville. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

*Conflict Management and African Politics: Negotiation, Mediation, and Politics.* Co-edited with Gilbert M. Khadiagala. London: Routledge, 2008, paperback 2010.

*African Foreign Policies: Power and Process.* Co-edited with Gilbert M. Khadiagala. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

*African Reckoning: A Quest for Good Governance.* Co-edited with Francis M. Deng. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1998.

### **Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles:**

“From Victorious Rebels to Strong Authoritarian Parties: Prospects for Post-War Democratization.” *Democratization*. Forthcoming.

“The Importance of Winning: Victorious Insurgent Groups and Authoritarian Politics.” *Comparative Politics*, 48:2 (January 2016), pages 167-184.

“Ethiopia: The 100% Election.” *Journal of Democracy*, 27:1 (January 2016): 76-88. Co-written with Leonardo R. Arriola.

“Successful Peace Implementation: Plans and Processes,” *Peacebuilding*, 3:3 (2015), pages 1-12. DOI: 10.1080/21647259.2015.1094906

“Creativity and Transnational Politics: The Ethiopian Diaspora and Homeland Politics.” *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 15:2/3 (2006/2011), pages 265-284.

“Thinking Locally, Acting Globally: Towards a Transnational Comparative Politics.” Co-written with Peter Mandaville. *International Political Sociology* 4:2 (June 2010), pages 124-142.

“Ethiopian Elections: Past and Future.” *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 5:1 (Summer 2010), pages 107-121.

“The Ethiopia-Eritrea Conflict and the Search for Peace in the Horn of Africa.” *Review of African Political Economy* 36:120 (June 2009), pages 167-180.

“Conflict-Generated Diasporas and Transnational Politics in Ethiopia.” *Conflict, Security, and Development* 7:4 (December 2007), pages 529-549.

“Postconflict Elections and the Process of Demilitarizing Politics: The Role of Electoral Administration.” *Democratization* 11:3 (June 2004), pages 1-27.

“Ghana’s Encouraging Elections: A Major Step Forward.” *Journal of Democracy* 8:2 (April 1997): 65-77. Updated and reprinted in *Democratization in Africa*. Edited by Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

“Closing the Transition: The May 1995 Elections in Ethiopia.” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 34:1 (March 1996): 121-142.

“The United States and Ethiopia: The Politics of a Patron-Client Relationship.” *Northeast African Studies* 8:2-3 (1986), pages 53-75.

### **Chapters in Peer-Reviewed Books**

“The US and Africa.” In *Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations*. Edited by Patrick James. New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

“Diaspora Lobbying and Ethiopian Politics.” In *Diaspora Lobbies and the US Government: Convergence and Divergence in Making Foreign Policy*. Edited by Josh DeWind and Renata Segura. New York: New York University Press, 2014.

“Governance: A Security Perspective.” In *Security and Development in Global Perspectives: A Critical Comparison*. Edited by Joanna Spear and Paul D. Williams. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2012, pp. 115-130.

“Diasporas and Politics.” Co-Written with Peter Mandaville. In *Diasporas: Concepts, Intersections, Identities*. Edited by Kim Knott and Sean McLoughlin. London: Zed Books, 2010.

“Soft Intervention and the Transformation of Militias into Political Parties.” In *Strengthening Peace in Post-Civil War States: Transforming Spoilers into Stakeholders*. Edited by Caroline Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie. Chicago, Ill.: Chicago University Press, 2010.

“Peacebuilding, Democratization, and Transforming the Institutions of War.” In *Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding: Moving from Violence to Sustainable Peace*. Edited by Bruce Winfield Dayton and Louis Kriesberg. London: Routledge, 2009.

"Post-Cold War Conflict in West Africa: A Subordinate State System in Collapse?" In *Conflict Management and African Politics: Negotiation, Mediation, and Politics*. Edited by Terrence Lyons and Gilbert M. Khadiagala. London: Routledge, 2008.

"Diasporas and Homeland Conflict." In *Globalization, Territoriality, and Conflict*. Edited by Miles Kahler and Barbara Walter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

"Negotiation Processes and Post-Settlement Relations: Comparing Nagorno-Karabakh with Mozambique." Co-written with Daniel Druckman. In *Peace versus Justice*. Edited by I.W. Zartman. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004.

"Conflict in Africa." Co-written with Stephen John Stedman. In *Democratic Reform in Africa: The Quality of Progress*. Edited by E. Gyimah Boadi. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Press, 2004.

"Transforming the Institutions of War: Postconflict Elections and the Reconstruction of Failed States." In *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Edited by Robert Rotberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

"The Role of Postsettlement Elections." In *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*. Edited by Stephen John Stedman, Elizabeth Cousens, and Donald Rothchild. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2002, pages 215-35.

"Elections to End Conflict: War Termination, Democratization, and International Policy." In *Democratic Institution Performance: Research and Policy Perspectives*. Edited by Edward R. McMahon and Thomas Sinclair. Westport, Conn.: Praeger/Greenwood, 2002.

"Foreign Policy Making in Africa: An Introduction" and "African Foreign Policy Making at the Millennium" (co-written with Gilbert M. Khadiagala). In *African Foreign Policies: Power and Process*. Edited by Gilbert M. Khadiagala and Terrence Lyons. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

"Promoting Responsible Sovereignty in Africa" (co-written with Francis M. Deng) and "Can Neighbors Help? An Evaluation of Regional Actors." In *African Reckoning: A Quest for Good Governance*. Edited by Francis M. Deng and Terrence Lyons. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1998.

"Peace and Elections in Liberia." In *Postconflict Elections, Democratization, and International Assistance*. Edited by Krishna Kumar. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1998.

"The International Context of Internal War: Ethiopia/Eritrea." In *Africa and the New International Order: Studies of State Sovereignty and Regional Security*. Edited by Edmond J. Keller and Donald Rothchild. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1996.

“Great Powers and Conflict Reduction in the Horn of Africa.” In *Cooperative Security: Reducing Third World Wars*. Edited by I. William Zartman and Victor A. Kremenyuk. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995.

“Keeping Africa Off the Agenda.” In *Lyndon Johnson Confronts the World: American Foreign Policy, 1963-1968*. Edited by Warren I. Cohen and Nancy Bernkopf Tucker. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

“Crises on Multiple Levels: Somalia and the Horn of Africa.” In *The Somali Challenge: From Catastrophe to Renewal?* Edited by Ahmed I. Samatar. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1994.

“The Horn of Africa Regional Politics: A Hobbesian World.” In *Dynamics of Regional Politics: Four Systems on the Indian Ocean Rim*. Edited by Howard Wriggins. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. Paperback edition 1994.

“Internal Vulnerability and Interstate Conflict: Ethiopia’s Regional Foreign Policy.” In *The Political Economy of Ethiopia*. Edited by Marina Ottaway. New York: Praeger, 1990.

### **Other Chapters and Articles:**

“Humanitarian Aid and Conflict: From Humanitarian Neutralism to Humanitarian Intervention.” In *The Routledge Handbook of African Security*. Edited by James Henz. London: Routledge, 2013.

“Statebuilding after Victory: Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Rwanda.” In *The Routledge Handbook of International Statebuilding*. Edited by David Chandler and Timothy D. Sisk. London: Routledge, 2013, pp. 315-326. Paperback edition 2015.

“The Ethiopia Diaspora and Homeland Conflict.” In *Proceedings of the 16<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*. Edited by Svein Ege, Harald Aspen, Birhanu Teferra, and Shiferaw Bekele (Trondheim, 2009).

“Conflict in Africa: What Have We Learned?” In *Towards Conflict Resolution Best Practice: Report of the 2008 Tswalu Dialogue* (London: Royal United Services Institute, 2008).

“Ethiopia’s Convergence of Crises,” *Current History* 107:708 (April 2008), pages 154-160.

“Diasporas and Transnational Politics in Ethiopia.” In *Diasporas, Armed Conflicts, and Peacebuilding in their Homelands*. Edited by Ashok Swain. Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University Report no. 79, 2007.

“Avoiding Conflict in the Horn of Africa: U.S. Policy Toward Ethiopia and Eritrea.” In *Beyond Humanitarianism: What You Need to Know About Africa and Why It Matters*. Edited by Princeton N. Lyman and Patricia Lee Dorff. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2007.

“Facilitation and Consultation.” Co-written with Sandra I. Cheldelin. In *Conflict: From Analysis to Intervention*. Edited by Sandra I. Cheldelin, Daniel Druckman, and Larissa Fast. New York: Continuum Academic, 2003, second edition 2007.

“U.S. Diplomatic Strategies to Resolve Conflicts in Africa.” In *Africa Policy in the Clinton Years: Critical Choices for the Bush Administration*. Edited by J. Stephen Morrison and Jennifer G. Cooke. Washington: D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2001.

“Liberia’s Path from Anarchy to Elections.” *Current History* (May 1998): 229-233.

“Observing the Eritrean Referendum.” *Eritrean Studies Review* 1:1 (Spring 1996): 177-80.

### **Policy Analysis and Working Papers:**

“Ethiopia: Assessing Risks to Stability.” Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, June 2011, available at <http://csis.org/publication/ethiopia>.

“Diasporas and Global Politics.” Co-written with Peter Mandaville. Arlington Va.: The Center for Global Studies, George Mason University, Policy Brief on Global Migration and Transnational Politics, 2010, available at <http://cgs.gmu.edu/publications/rpbop/policybriefGMTPJune2010.pdf>.

“Global Migration and Transnational Politics: A Conceptual Framework.” Co-written with Peter Mandaville. Arlington Va.: The Center for Global Studies, George Mason University, Working Papers on Global Migration and Transnational Politics, 2007, available at [http://cgs.gmu.edu/publications/gmtpwp/gmtp\\_wp\\_1.pdf](http://cgs.gmu.edu/publications/gmtpwp/gmtp_wp_1.pdf).

*Avoiding Conflict in the Horn of Africa: U.S. Policy toward Ethiopia and Eritrea*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Special Report no. 21, December 2006, available at <http://www.cfr.org/publication/12192/>.

“Conflict-Generated Diasporas and Peacebuilding: A Conceptual Overview and Ethiopian Case Study.” Resource paper for University of Peace Expert Forum on Capacity Building for Peace and Development: Roles of Diasporas, Toronto, 19-20 October 2006, available at [www.toronto.upeace.org/diaspora/resources](http://www.toronto.upeace.org/diaspora/resources).

*Ethiopia in 2005: The Beginning of a Transition?* Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies Africa Notes no. 25 (January 2006), pp. 1-8, available at [http://csis.org/files/media/isis/pubs/notes\\_0601.pdf](http://csis.org/files/media/isis/pubs/notes_0601.pdf).

*The Ethiopian Extended Dialogue: An Analytical Report 2000-2003*. Co-written with Christopher Mitchell, Tamra Pearson d’Estrée, and Lulseged Abebe. Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution Report No. 4, 2004.

“Engaging Diasporas to Promote Conflict Resolution: Transforming Hawks into Doves.” Working Paper presented at the Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation Washington Policy Seminar, May 2004.

“The Horn: Old Wars and New Terrorism.” In *Strategic Survey 2001/2002*. Edited by Jonathan Stevenson. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2002, pages 333-344.

“Postconflict Elections: War Termination, Democratization, and Demilitarizing Politics.” Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution Working Paper No. 20, February 2002. Available at [www.gmu.edu/departments/ICAR/Work\\_Paper20.pdf](http://www.gmu.edu/departments/ICAR/Work_Paper20.pdf).

“Time for Concerted International Action on Zimbabwe.” Co-written with J. Stephen Morrison and Jennifer Cooke. *CSIS Africa Notes* no. 2 (August 2001).

“What Are the Lessons to Be Learned From Somalia?” Co-written with Ken Menkhaus. *CSIS Africa Notes*, Washington, D.C., No. 144 (January 1993).

“The Transition in Ethiopia.” *CSIS Africa Notes*, Washington, D.C., No. 127 (August 1991).

### **Shorter Articles, Opinion Pieces, Blog and Encyclopedia Entries:**

“Ethiopian Elections: What Does “Free and Fair” Have to Do With It?” *Washington Post* Monkey Cage blog, May 17, 2015. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/>.

“Big Tent: Ethiopia’s Authoritarian Balancing Act.” *World Politics Review*. February 18, 2014, available at <http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/13575/big-tent-ethiopias-authoritarian-balancing-act>.

“Genocide or Terrorism? Transnational Advocacy and the Ogaden Conflict.” *CGS Global Views*, December 18, 2013, available at <http://cgs.gmu.edu/2013/genocide-or-terrorism-transnational-advocacy-and-the-ogaden-conflict.html>.

“Ethiopia’s Muslim Activists Pave a Path for Nonviolent Political Activism.” *World Politics Review*. August 21, 2013, available at <http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/13177/ethiopia-s-muslim-activists-pave-a-path-for-nonviolent-political-activism>.

“Generational Shift May Shake Up Ethiopian Politics after Meles Zenawi.” *World Politics Review*. April 25, 2013, available at <http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/12892/generational-shift-may-shake-up-ethiopian-politics-after-meles-zenawi>.

“Diasporas Shape Politics Back Home from Afar.” Co-written with Peter Mandaville. YaleGlobal Online, November 19, 2010, available at <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/diasporas-shape-politics-back-home>.

"Ethiopia: Domestic and Regional Challenges." CSIS Africa Policy Forum. August 7, 2008. Available at <http://forums.csis.org/africa/?p=162>.

"What Washington Wants in the Horn of Africa," *ICAR Newsletter* 2:2 (March 2008), pages 1, 7-8.

"Regionalization of Conflict and Opportunities for Peace in the Horn of Africa." *Global Studies Review* 3:1 (Spring 2007), pages 3-5. Available at <http://www.globality-gmu.net/archives/888>.

"Ethiopia and the Search for Regional Peace in the Horn of Africa." CSIS Africa Policy Forum. January 22, 2007. Available at <http://forums.csis.org/africa/?p=21>.

"The Challenges of Leadership in Post-Conflict Transitions: Lessons from Africa." Co-written with Gilbert Khadiagala. *Conflict Trends* 4 (2006): pages 9-15, available at [http://www.accord.org.za/ct/2006-4/CT4\\_2006\\_pg9-15.pdf](http://www.accord.org.za/ct/2006-4/CT4_2006_pg9-15.pdf).

"Diasporas and Conflict." *Global Studies Review* 2:3 (Fall 2006), pages 1-3. Available at <http://www.globality-gmu.net/archives/945>.

"Elections during Conflict: Peace within Grasp?" *Elections Today* 12:1 (2004): 8-9.

"Securing Development: Targeting Aid in Areas of Conflict." *Harvard International Review* vol. 24, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 84-86.

*Resolving Africa's Crises: U.S. Diplomacy and Support to Peace Operations*. Co-written with Jendayi E. Frazer and Jeffrey I. Herbst. Washington D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies Working Paper, March 2001.

"Liberia." In *State of World Conflict Report, 1997-1998*. Atlanta: The Carter Center Conflict Resolution Program, 1998.

"Zaire: Conflict Prevention." Co-written with I. William Zartman. *Panafrica* 2:5 (April 1997): 20-21.

"The Lessons of Somalia for Eastern Zaire." *The Brookings Review* 15:1 (Winter 1997): 47.

"Africa Policy after the U.S. Elections." *Panafrica* 1:3 (December 1996): 13.

"Sudan." In *The Encyclopedia of Democracy*. Edited by Seymour Martin Lipset. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1996.

"The Political Lessons of Somalia." *The Brookings Review* 12:2 (Spring 1994): 46.



"Post-Cold War U.S. Policy Toward Africa: Hints from the Horn." *The Brookings Review* 10:1 (Winter 1992): 32-33.

### **Book Reviews**

Kidane Mengisteab. *The Horn of Africa*. In *The Journal of International Development* 27 (2015): 311-312.

Afyare Abdi Elmi. *Understanding the Somalia Conflagration: Identity, Political Islam, and Peacebuilding* and Markus Hoehne and Virginia Luling, eds. *Milk and Peace, Drought and War: Somali Culture, Society and Politics: Essays in Honour of I.M. Lewis* in *African Studies Review* 56:1 (April 2013): 186-188.

Johanna Söderström, *Politics of Affection: Ex-Combatants, Political Engagement and Reintegration Programs in Liberia* in *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift* (The Swedish Journal of Political Science), 2013.

Ben Wisner, Camilla Toulmin, and Rutendo Chitiga, eds., *Towards a New Map of Africa* in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 45:4 (December 2007): 690-91.

Alex J. Bellamy and Paul Williams, eds., *Peace Operations and Global Order* in *Perspectives on Politics*, 4:4 (December 2006), pp. 801-802.

David Goodman, *Fault Lines: Journeys into the New South Africa* in *Journal of Peace Research* 36:6 (November 1999), p. 754.

Christopher Clapham, ed., *African Guerrillas* in *Journal of Peace Research* 36:3 (May 1999), p. 377.

United Nations, *Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peace-Keeping* in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 31: 2 (1998), pp. 482-3.

John Prendergast, *Frontline Diplomacy* in *SAIS Review* 18:2 (Summer-Fall 1998), pp. 234-236.

Baffour Agyeman-Duah, *The United States and Ethiopia: Military Assistance and the Quest for Security, 1953-1993* in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 28:3 (1995), pp. 665-667.

Brian L. Job, ed., *The Insecurity Dilemma: National Security of Third World States* in the *American Political Science Review* 87:1 (March 1993), p. 259.

Christopher Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, John W. Harbeson, *The Ethiopian Transformation: The Quest for the Post-Imperial State*, Edmond J. Keller, *Revolutionary Ethiopia: From Empire to People's Republic* in *The American Political Science Review* 84:1 (March 1990), pp. 354-55.

Michael Clough, ed., *Reassessing the Soviet Challenge in Africa* in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 21:3 (1988), pp. 576-77.

### **Grants**

Co-Principal Investigator, "The Arab Uprising in Comparative Perspectives," International Studies Association Catalytic Research Grant, 2014.

Co-Principal Investigator, "The Arab Spring and Globalization: Diffusion of Ideas and Models," Center for Global Studies, George Mason University, Research Grant, 2014.

Faculty Study Leave, project on "The Puzzle of Ethiopian Politics," Fall 2014.

Principal Investigator, project on a Horn of Africa Diaspora Dialogue Workshop, 2012, \$4,700 grant from the Point of View Committee, School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University.

Co-Principal Investigator for a project on "Global Migration and Transnational Politics," 2007-2009. \$200,000 grant from the MacArthur Foundation's Program on Global Security and Sustainability for research, conferences, workshops, and publications.

Principal Investigator for a project on "Strengthening the Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Rwandan Reconciliation," 2000-2002. \$165,000 grant from the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State to conduct a series of workshops in Kigali with a network of Rwandan NGOs engaged in peacebuilding.

Principal Investigator for United States Institute of Peace grant to conduct research on post-conflict elections and their capacity to promote the dual goals of war termination and democratization. 1998. Grant no. SG-60-98 for \$34,000.

### **Consultant Reports**

"Political Scenarios in Ethiopia in the Context of May 2015 Elections." Burlington, Vt.: TetraTech for the United States Agency for International Development, 2015.

"Jordan Situational Assessment." Team Leader. Washington D.C.: Democracy International for the United States Agency for International Development, 2014.

"Sudan Conflict Assessment: New Dynamics to a Deeply Protracted Conflict." Team Leader. Washington, D.C.: Social Impact for the United States Agency for International Development, 2013.

"Ethiopia Democracy and Governance Assessment." Team Leader. Washington, D.C.: Management Systems International for the United States Agency for International Development, 2011.

“Evaluation of USAID’s Elections and Political Processes Strengthening Program in Liberia.” Co-author with Sue Nelson, Evan B. Smith, and Sekou W. Konneh. Washington, D.C.: Democracy International for the United States Agency for International Development, October 2008.

“Somalia Conflict Assessment.” Co-author with Ken Menkhaus. Washington, D.C.: Management Systems International for the United States Agency for International Development, May 2008.

“Transition from War to Capacity for Development.” Co-author with Gilbert Khadiagala. World Bank Project on Post-Conflict Leadership, March 2005.

“Sudan Conflict Assessment.” Co-author. Washington, D.C.: Management Systems International for the United States Agency for International Development, May 2003.

“Eritrea Conflict Assessment.” Co-written with Wendy Marshall and Stevens Tucker. Washington, D.C.: ARD for the United States Agency for International Development, April 2002.

“Toward Managing the Crisis in Zimbabwe: A Conflict Assessment.” Co-written with Michael Lund. Washington, D.C.: Management Systems International for the United States Agency for International Development, April 2001.

“Elections Assistance in Ghana and Mali.” Co-written with Franca Brilliant and Denise Dauphanais. Washington, D.C.: Management Systems International for the United States Agency for International Development, October 1999.

“Mozambique: From Post-Conflict to Municipal Elections.” Co-written with John Blacken. Washington, D.C.: Management Systems International for the United States Agency for International Development, April 1999.

“Technical Assistance for Elections Administration.” Co-written with Catherine Barnes, Franca Brilliant, Benjamin L. Crosby, Nicole Dannenberg, and Stephen Nix. Washington, D.C.: Management Systems International for the United States Agency for International Development, July 1999.

“Observing the 1997 Special Elections Process in Liberia.” Atlanta: The Carter Center, 1997.

“Final Analytical Summary of Donor Election Unit Reports: The 7 May 1995 Ethiopian Elections.” Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, May 1995.

### **Conference Presentations and Invited Lectures (recent selection)**

“The Role of the United Nations.” Presentation to the Social Science Research Council Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum meeting on Emerging Threats to Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa, New York, September 18, 2015.

“Governing after Conflict: Lessons from South Sudan.” Presentation for the Christian Michelsen Institute and the University of Bergen, March 18, 2015.

“Successful Peace Implementation: Plans and Processes.” Paper presented at the International Studies Association meeting, Toronto, March 2014.

“Framing the Global Debate: Transnational Mobilization and Ethiopian Politics.” Paper presented at the conference on “The Politics of Permanent Flux: State-Society Relations in the Horn of Africa,” University of Florida, March 2013.

“Peace Implementation and Quality Peace.” Paper presented at the conference on Quality Peace, Notre Dame University, May 2012.

“Governance and Security: The Politics of Civil War Onset, Endurance, and Resolution.” Paper presented at the International Studies Association meetings, Montreal, March 2011.

“Global Migration and Transnational Politics.” Co-written with Peter Mandaville. Paper presented at the 21<sup>st</sup> World Congress of Political Science, sponsored by the International Political Science Association, Santiago, Chile, July 2009, at the International Studies Association/Associação Brasileira de Relações Internacionais meeting in Rio, Brazil, July 2009. Earlier draft presented at the International Studies Association meeting, San Francisco, March 2008.

“Conflict in Africa: What Have We Learned?” Keynote address to the 2008 Tswalu Dialogue, Tswalu, South Africa, May 2008.

“Prospects for Peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea.” Invited lecture to the Peacebuilding Centre for the Horn of Africa, Asmara, Eritrea, October 16, 2007.

“Violence in the Ogaden: National and Regional Links.” Invited presentation to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Academy for Genocide Prevention Monitoring Roundtable, August 21, 2007.

“Somalia’s Second Chance.” Presentation to the Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, D.C., February 22, 2007. Broadcast by C-Span, available at <http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/id/170217>

“Conflict-Generated Diasporas and Peacebuilding.” Presentation to the George Washington University Diaspora, Policy and Development Seminar, October 10, 2006. Earlier drafts presented at the International Studies Association, Montreal, Quebec, March 19, 2004 and the Washington Area Workshop on Contentious Politics, April 2004.

Panelist. “More Than Just Iraq: New Thinking on Global Issues in 2007.” National Press Club, September 29, 2006.

“Post-Conflict Unrest in Ethiopia/Eritrea.” Presentation sponsored by the Conflict Prevention and Resolution Forum, Washington, D.C., June 13, 2006.

“Voting for Peace: The Use of Elections as a Tool in Peace Implementation.” Invited lecture at International Alert, London, January 10, 2006.

“Demilitarizing Politics: Elections and the Transformation of the Institutions of War.” Paper presented at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 2005.

“Ethiopia’s Elections and Their Aftermath.” Presentation sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars and the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC, June 15, 2005.

### **UNIVERSITY SERVICE:**

Co-Director, Center for Global Studies, George Mason University, 2008-2013. Coordinated the Center’s work, including managing staff assistants, graduate research assistants, and interns. Responsible for the Center’s grants program, publications, annual reporting, proposal development, co-sponsorship of annual conference, and outreach to profile the work on global studies across the disciplines at George Mason.

### **Courses Taught:**

#### Undergraduate Courses:

Conflict and Our World (2007, 2010, 2011, 2013)  
 Global Conflict Analysis and Resolution (2014)  
 Global Migration (2010)  
 Integration: Research and Scholarship (2016)

#### Graduate Courses:

Introduction to Conflict Analysis (1999 - 2002, 2004, 2006, 2010-2011, 2015)  
 Theories of Social Harmony and Cooperation (1999 - 2005)  
 Theories of Conflict and Conflict Resolution (2000-2002, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2015)  
 Structural Theories of Conflict and Conflict Resolution (2007-2009)  
 Conflict in Development (2000, 2002)  
 Workshop on Facilitation of Extended Dialogues (2001-2002)  
 War Termination (2004, 2007, 2010, 2012)  
 The Political Economy of Civil War and Peacebuilding (2012-2013, 2013-2014, 2015)  
 PhD Proposal Writing Seminar (2004)  
 The Political Economy of Civil War (2005)  
 Conflict in Africa (2016)

PhD Committee Chair: Natalia Mirimanova (2000-2007), Tracy Breneman (2001-2011), Monica Jakobsen (2002-2008), Kevin DeBell (2003-2006), Patricia Maulden (2004-2007), Venashri Pillay (2004-2010), Ibrahim Sharqieh (2004-2006), Maneesha Pasqual (2005-2011), Krista Rigalo (2006-2009), Roba Sharamo (2006-2012), Khadija O. Ali (2009-2014), Fatima Hadji (2010-2015), Ashad Sentongo (2010-2013), Sam Johnson (2013-present), Tres Thomas (2015-present).

PhD Committee Member: Valery Perry (1999-2006); Shireen Kadivar (2000-2002); Ercan Yilmaz (2000-2002); Mohammed Maundi (Johns Hopkins University, 2000-2001); Tony Kargbo (2001-2006); Mohamed Ebrahim Al-Naqbi (2001-2002); Cynthia Irmer (2001-2003); Lulseged Abebe (2002-2007), Melissa Burn (2002-2006); Catalina Rojas (2003-2006) Amal I. Khoury (American University, 2003-2006), Inga Watkins (2003-present), Katherina Vogeli (Johns Hopkins University, 2005-2010); Ismael Muvingi (2005-2007); Samee Desai (George Mason University School of Public Policy, 2005-2008); Kwaku Nuamah, (Johns Hopkins University, 2007); Martha Mutisi (2009-2011); Jana El-Horr (2009-2012); Joseph Sany (George Mason University School of Public Policy, 2009-2013); Ashley Bybee (George Mason University School of Public Policy, 2009-2011); Nazia Hussain (George Mason University School of Public Policy, 2012 – present); Raja M. Ali Saleem (George Mason University School of Policy, Government, and International Affairs, 2012-2015), Katy Collin (American University, 2012 – present); Erin Reed (2013 – present); Etsegenet Endale (Kennesaw State University, 2015-present); Dharendra Nalbo (2015-present).

External evaluator for doctoral dissertation: Imogen Parson, (London School of Economics, 2006); Mimmi Söderberg-Kovacs, (Upssala University, 2007); Fabio Oliva (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, 2010); Daniel Douek (McGill University, 2011), Johanna Söderström (Upssala University, 2011); Johnny Thabo Pitsoane (University of Witwatersrand, 2013).

Master's Thesis Committee Chair: David Cunningham (2001), Patricia Grooms Maulden (2001), Andrea Tracy (2001), Min Oo (2002), Vlada Alekinka (2003), Joseph Sany (2004), Tiare Cross (2004), Yves-Renee Jennings (2007), Priscilla Ateyo (2008), Vigny Nimuraba (2014).

Master's Thesis Committee Member: James Adams (2000), Ngozi Robinson (2000), Mark Finney (2002), Åse Lunde (2003), Olga Prygoda (2003), B.J. Brown (2004), Laura Richter (2004), Tomokazu Serizawa (2004), Ciara Rhodes (2005), Cary Morrison (2006); Santos Bangura (2007), Jeff Fischer (School of Public Policy, 2008), Ethan Finley (2008), Gulnur Bolyspayeva (2009), Mitchell Shue (2009), Ramzi A. Zeineddine (2010), Edi Jurkovic (2013), Eric Johnson (2014), Homayun Yaqub (2014), Marcella Morris (2015), Manal Daher-Mansour (2016), Lindsay Burr Singla (2016).

Masters of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies (MAIS) Chair: Lily Beshawred (2004).

Member, Search Committee for Global Studies, George Mason University, 2011-2012.

Chair, Search Committee for Director of Global Affairs Program, George Mason University, 2010, 2012.

Chair, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution Faculty Board, 2008-2010.

Member of the ICAR Executive Committee, 2008-2010, 2015-present.

Delegate to the George Mason University Faculty Senate, 2009-2010.

ICAR Curriculum Committee, Chair, 2003-2005; Member, 2007-2008; Chair, 2008-2013.

Student Aid Coordinator, ICAR, 2007-2008.

Research and Scholarship Committee Member, ICAR, 2006-2007.

Doctoral Coordinator, ICAR, 2005 - 2007.

Director of Doctoral Program, SCAR, 2015-present

ICAR Publications Committee, Chair, 1999-2003.

Representative to the George Mason University Graduate Council, 2005-2007.

Member, Global Affairs Masters' Degree Advisory Committee, 2008-2013.

Faculty Sponsor, Ethiopian Students Association, George Mason University, 2000-2003.

Faculty Sponsor, Eritrean Students Association, George Mason University, 2007-2009.

### **OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

Consulted for the U.S. government, United States Institute of Peace, World Bank, United Nations, International Crisis Group, Freedom House, Global Integrity, Council on Foreign Relations, Carnegie Corporation of New York, National Democratic Institute, Fulbright Commission, and other government and non-governmental organizations on issues relating to conflict and democratization.

Fulbright Senior Specialist, "The International Politics of Human Rights and Democratization," Center for Human Rights, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia, January 2012.

Lecturer, "United States Foreign Policy toward Africa," Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia, May 2011.

Lecturer, Rift Valley Institute, Course on the Horn of Africa, Djibouti, October 2008; Lamu, Kenya, June 2009; Mombasa, Kenya, June 2012; Lamu, Kenya, June 2014.

Resource Person and Panelist, United Nations Peacebuilding Commission Working Group on Lessons Learned, Sierra Leone meeting on Elections, February 2007.

Expert Resource Person, University for Peace Expert Forum on Capacity Building for Peace and Development: Roles of Diasporas, Toronto, 19-20 October 2006.

Senior Advisor, The Carter Center Election Mission, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, January – September 2005 and on-going. Designed and conducted delegate briefings, consulted with President Jimmy Carter, drafted interim and final reports of findings, participated in project evaluation. Continued to consult with the center on its Civil Society Dialogues Process and on evaluation of 2010 elections.

Course Director, Survey of Conflict Studies, United Nations University of Peace Central Asia Program, June 2002, Budapest, Hungary.

Senior Researcher and Program Leader for Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding, The International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO), August 1998-August 1999.

Fellow, Brookings Institution Foreign Policy Studies program, May 1990 – July 1998. Coordinated the conflict resolution in Africa project and published a series of books and articles on African security, humanitarian intervention, democratization, and U.S. foreign policy. In addition to coordinating the publication of and contributing to 16 books, helped organize a regular series of policy briefings, conferences, and workshops.

Senior Program Advisor, The Carter Center Election Mission, Monrovia, Liberia, February – September 1997. Served as the Project Director, responsible for designing and leading a forty-member international observation mission led by President Jimmy Carter, writing final evaluation study.

Senior Advisor and Project Director to the Donor Election Unit that observed the May 1995 national and regional elections in Ethiopia, March – June 1995.

Delegate on election observation missions to the June 1992 Ethiopian regional elections, April 1993 Eritrean referendum, March 1996 presidential election in Benin, June 1996 elections in Bangladesh, and December 1996 elections in Ghana.

Advisor to The Carter Center's mediation in Ethiopia, 1994, and to the Congressional Task Force on Ethiopia, 1995.

Associate Editor: *Security Dialogue* (1999-2008); *Northeast African Studies* (1995 – ongoing).

Advisory Editorial Committee: *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*; *African Security*; *African Peace and Conflict Review*, *Journal of Modern African Studies*.



Manuscript Reviewer: *Northeast African Studies, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Modern African Studies, International Negotiation, World Development, Security Dialogue, Journal of Democracy, Journal of Peacebuilding and Development, Studies in Comparative International Development, Democratization, African Studies Review, American Behavioral Scientist, Comparative Politics, International Studies Quarterly, African Affairs, World Politics, Ethics and International Affairs, Journal of Elections, African Security, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, European Journal of International Relations, Comparative Social Research, Oromo Studies Review, Peace Research: Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict, Globalizations, British Journal of Political Science, Comparative Political Studies, International Security, Conflict, Security and Development, Perspectives on Politics, Review of International Studies, United States Institute of Peace Press, Brookings Institution Press, Lynne Rienner Press, University of California Press, McGraw-Hill, Polity Press, University of Notre Dame Press, United Nations University Press, Palgrave/Macmillan, Routledge, Praeger, Westview, Polity Press, International Peace Institute, McGill-Queen's University Press, Nordic African Institute, Ashgate, Politikon, Conflict Management and Peace Science, Hurst, Journal of Eastern African Studies, International Area Studies Review, Civil Wars, International Political Science Review.*

Proposal Reviewer: United States Institute of Peace, Ford Foundation, Humphrey Fellowship Program, National Science Foundation, Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Educational Partnerships Program, National Endowment for Humanities, Norwegian Research Council, Social Science Research Council of Canada, National Science Foundation, Fulbright Program.

Public Outreach: Interviews on CNN, NPR, BBC, Fox, CBS, al-Jazeera, C-Span, Great Decision TV, VOA Horn of Africa Service, VOA Burmese Service, Washington Post, New York Times, Times of London, Christian Science Monitor, AP, Bloomberg, Foreign Policy, and many others.

Invited speaker at the Department of State, United States Agency for International Development, Council on Foreign Relations, Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Brookings Institution, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and the National Endowment for Democracy.

Provided a briefing for the White House press corps from the White House briefing room and broadcast on C-Span prior to President Clinton's trip to Africa, 13 March 1998.

Guest Lecturer at various universities, including Georgetown University, American University, George Washington University, University of Bergen, Addis Ababa University, City University of New York, University of Maryland, National Defense University, and the U.S. Foreign Service Institute.

Professorial Lecturer, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C. Graduate seminar on "The Political Economy of East Africa," Fall 1992, Fall 1993, Spring 1996, graduate seminar on "U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Africa," Fall 1996, Fall 1997.

Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, African Studies Program, Washington, D.C. Professorial Lecturer, undergraduate seminar on "Transitions in the Horn of Africa," Spring 1994.

Testified on "The Transition Toward Democracy in Ethiopia: Observations on the Elections in Welega, June 1992," before the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, 17 September 1992.

U.S. Senate Budget Committee, Economic Analyst, September 1985 – April 1986, Legislative Analyst, September 1981-September 1983.

The American Embassy, N'djamena, Chad. U.S. Department of State internship working with the embassy's political officer, June 1986 – September 1986.