Risa Alexandra Brooks, Ph.D.

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Department of Political Science Marquette University

Senior Fellow

Modern War Institute United States Military Academy

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International Security Program
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PRIMARY RESEARCH INTERESTS

International Security/Security Studies; U.S. and Comparative Civil-Military Relations; Political Violence and Militant Organizations; Middle East and North Africa region.

EDUCATION

Ph.D. Political Science, University of California, San Diego, 2000.

B.A. International Relations (major) and Economics (minor), Mills College, Oakland, CA,

1991. Honors awarded at graduation.

PRIOR EMPLOYMENT AND PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2013-2021	Associate Professor of Political Science, Marquette University
2011-2013	Assistant Professor of Political Science, Marquette University.
2001-2010	Assistant Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University.
2000-2001	Visiting Assistant Professor of Government, Mills College, Oakland, CA and Center
	for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University, Affiliated Scholar.
1999-2000	Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University,
	Predoctoral Fellow fall 1999; Postdoctoral Fellow winter and spring 2000.
1997-1998	International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, U.K.,
	Research Associate and contributor to Adelphi Paper Publication Series.
1998	Summer Workshop in Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS),
	Ithaca, NY, participant.
1996-1997	John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University, Pre-doctoral
	Affiliate.
1995	Hoover Summer Institute on International Politics, Stanford University, participant.
1993	Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, Summer Program,
	Ann Arbor, Michigan, participant.

PUBLICATIONS

NOTE: ALL ITEMS EXCEPT THOSE INDICATED BY AN ASTERISK ARE PEER-REVIEWED.

Books

- Lionel Beehner, Risa Brooks and Daniel Maurer, eds., Reconsidering American Civil-Military Relations: Society, Politics and Modern War (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).
- Risa Brooks, Shaping Strategy: The Civil-Military Politics of Strategic Assessment (Princeton University Press, 2008).
- Risa Brooks and Elizabeth Stanley, eds., Creating Military Power: The Sources of Military Effectiveness (Stanford University Press, 2007).

Journal Articles

- *Risa Brooks, "The Best they Could Do? Assessing U.S. Military Effectiveness in the Afghanistan War," *Armed Forces & Society* (article commentary), first online, August 10, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0095327X221116876
- Risa Brooks and David Pion-Berlin, "Slow Rolls, Shoulder-Taps and Coups: Building a Research Program in Military Dissent Across Regime Types," *Journal of Global Security Studies*, forthcoming.
- Risa Brooks, "Beyond Defection: Explaining the Tunisian and Egyptian Militaries' Divergent Roles in the Arab Spring" *Journal of Strategic Studies*, first online, May 24, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2022.2073996
- Risa Brooks and Sharan Grewal, "Twice the Citizen": How Military Attitudes of Superiority Undermine Civilian Control in the United States" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, first online, March 1, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1177/00220027211065417
- Risa Brooks and Peter B. White, "Oust the Leader, Keep the Regime?: Autocratic Civil-Military Relations and Coup-Behavior in the Tunisian and Egyptian Militaries during the 2011 Arab Spring," *Security Studies*, first online, February 21, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2022.2040585
- Risa Brooks and Nate Allen, "Unpacking 'Stacking': How Manipulating Identity in Security Forces Safeguards Regime Security" *Armed Forces & Society*, first online, February 8, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X211058765
- Risa Brooks and Peter M. Erickson, "The Sources of Military Dissent: Why and How the U.S. Military Contests Decisions about the Use of Force" *European Journal of International Security*, 7, 1 (February 2022), 38-57. https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2021.34

- Risa Brooks, "Tying the Hands of Militants: Civilian Targeting and Societal Pressures in the Provisional IRA and Palestinian Hamas" *Journal of Global Security Studies* 7, issue 1 (March 2022).
- Risa Brooks, Michael Robinson and Heidi Urben, "What Makes a Military Professional? Evaluating Norm Socialization in West Point Cadets," *Armed Forces & Society* (online first 20 June 2021). https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0095327X211026355
- *Risa Brooks, Jim Golby and Heidi Urben, "Brooks, Golby and Urben Respond to their Critics," Foreign Affairs (Sept./Oct. 2021), print edition, 235-238.
- *Risa Brooks, Jim Golby and Heidi Urben, "Crisis of Command: America's Broken Civil-Military Relations Imperils National Security," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2021), print edition, 64-75.
- Risa Brooks, "Through the Looking Glass: Trump Era U.S. Civil-Military Relations in Comparative Perspective," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 15, 2 (May 2021), 69-98.
- *Risa Brooks, "Beyond Huntington: Military Professionalism Today," *Parameters* 51, 1 (Spring 2021), 65-77.
- Risa Brooks, "Paradoxes of Professionalism: Re-Thinking Civil-Military Relations in the United States" *International Security* 44, 4 (April 2020), 7-44.
- Risa Brooks, "Integrating the Civil-Military Relations Subfield," *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (May 2019), pp. 379-398.
- *Risa Brooks, "The Perils of Politics: While Staying Apolitical is Good for Both the U.S. Military and for the Country," *Orbis* 57, 414 (Spring 2013), 369-79.
- Risa Brooks, "Abandoned at the Palace: Why the Tunisian Military Defected from the Ben Ali Regime in January 2011" *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 36, no. 2 (2013), 205-220.
- Risa Brooks, "Muslim 'Homegrown' Terrorism: How Serious is the Threat in the United States?" *International Security* 36, no. 2 (Fall 2011), 7-47.
- "Researching Democracy and Terrorism: How Political Access affects Militant Activity" *Security Studies* 18:4 (December 2009), 756-788.
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- Risa Brooks, "The Military and Homeland Security," *Public Administration and Management* 10, no. 2 (2005), 130-152.
- Risa Brooks, "Making Military Might: Why Do States Fail and Succeed: A Review Essay" *International Security* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2003), 149-191. [reprinted in *Do Democracies Win their Wars: An International Security Reader*, Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté, Sean Lynn-Jones and Steven Miller, eds. MIT Press, June 2011.]

- Risa Brooks, "Sanctions and Regime Type: What Works and When?" *Security Studies* 11, no. 4 (Summer 2002), 1-50.
- *Risa Brooks, "Liberalization and Militancy in the Arab World" Orbis 26:4 (Fall 2002), 611-621.

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- *Risa Brooks, "Understanding Shifts in Egyptian Civil-Military Relations: Lessons from the Past and Present" Egypt Civil-Military Conference Series Paper 2, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces, 2015. Online at:

 http://issat.dcaf.ch/content/download/94204/1653714/file/Understanding-Shifts-in-Egyptian-Civil-Military-Relations-Lessons-from-the-Past-and-Present.pdf
- *Risa Brooks, "Terrorist Behavior and Societal Tolerance for Violence: How Community Ties
 Influence Terrorist Targeting of Civilians," National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism
 and Responses to Terrorism (START) Research Brief (27,000 words) (2013).

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 http://www.start.umd.edu/sites/default/files/publications/local_attachments/START_CS_TAB_HowCommunityTiesInfluenceTerroristTargetingofCivilians_ResearchBrief_Nov2013.pdf
- *Political-military Relations and the Stability of Arab Regimes, The Adelphi Papers, vol. 38, No. 324, International Institute for Strategic Studies (Oxford University Press: London, 1998).

Book Chapters and Encyclopedia Articles

- Risa Brooks, Egypt and Tunisia: Political Control of the Military under Mubarak and Ben Ali. In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. R. August 31, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1890
- Risa Brooks, "Civil-Military Relations and Grand Strategy" in Thierry Balzacq and Ronald Krebs, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Grand Strategy* (Oxford University Press, 2022).
- Risa Brooks, "Huntington's Paradoxes of Professionalism," 17-40; "The Implications of Emerging Technology for Civil-Military Relations," 221-244; and "Conclusion," 283-298. In Lionel Beehner, Risa Brooks and Dan Mauer, eds., Reconsidering American Civil-Military Relations: The Military, Society, Politics and Modern War (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).
- Risa Brooks, "Explaining the Limited ISIS and Al-Qaeda Threat in the United States," in Tom Smith and Kirsten Schulze, eds. Exporting Global Jihad: Critical Perspectives from the Periphery; Asia & America Volume (IB Tauris, 2020), 139-155.
- Risa Brooks, "ISIS's Territorial Sanctuary and the Risk of Terror Attacks in the United States," in Feisal Istrabaldi and Sumit Ganguly, eds., *The Future of ISIS* (Brookings Institution Press, June 2018), 201-221.

- Risa Brooks, "What is 'Good' Strategic Assessment?" in Heidi B. Demarest and Erica D. Borghard, eds. US National Security Reform: Reassessing the National Security Act (New York: Routledge, 2018), 26-45.
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- *Risa Brooks, "Donald Trump's National Security Process: Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy and International Relations" TRENDS Working Paper (July 2017), 1-20.
- Risa Brooks, "Military Defection and the Arab Spring," Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics (Feb. 27, 2017), 1-25.
- Risa Brooks, "The Tunisian Military and Democratic Control of the Armed Forces," in Holger Albrecht, Aurel Crossaint and Fred Lawson, eds., *Armies and Insurgencies in the Arab Spring* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 203-224.
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- Risa Brooks, "Scrutinizing the Internet in Search of Homegrown Terrorism." In Joseph Soeters, Patricia M. Shields and Sebastiaan Rietjens, Routledge Handbook of Methods in Military Studies (Routledge Press, 2014), 165-176.
- Risa Brooks "Militaries and Political Activity in Democracies" Essay for inclusion in *American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era* edited by Suzanne Nielson and Don Snider (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 213-238.
- Risa Brooks, "Civil-military Relations" in Nora Bensahel and Daniel Byman, eds. Security Trends in the Middle East and the Implications for the United States (RAND Corporation, 2004), 129-162.

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- Risa Brooks and Erica De Bruin, "18 Steps to Democratic Breakdown" *Washington Post*, 10 December 2021. https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/interactive/2021/january-6-next-coup-signs/
- *Risa Brooks, "The Escalating Politicization of the Military," Inkstick, Sept. 21, 2021. https://inkstickmedia.com/the-escalating-politicization-of-the-us-military/
- *Risa Brooks, "A Key Player in Trump's First Impeachment Tells His Insider Story, Review of Alexander Vindman's, *Here Right Matters, Sunday New York Times Book Review,* Aug. 3, 2021. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/03/books/review/here-right-matters-alexander-vindman.html
- Risa Brooks, "Civil-Military Relations in Sisi's Egypt," Malcom H. Kerr Carnegie Middle East Center, in Yezid Sayigh with Nathan Toronto, *Politics of Military Authoritarianism in North*

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- *Risa Brooks, Michael Robinson and Heidi Urben, "Biden has picked a retired general for Defense Secretary. Here's Why it Matters," *Washington Post* Monkey Cage, Dec. 9, 2020. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/12/09/biden-has-picked-retired-general-defense-secretary-heres-why-it-matters/
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- Risa Brooks and Michael Robinson, "Let the Generals Speak? Retired Officer Dissent and the George Floyd Protests," War on the Rocks, October 9, 2020.

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- *Risa Brooks, "Donald Trump's Unhealthy Relationship with the U.S. Military," International Politics and Society, journal of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, June 22, 2020. https://www.ips-journal.eu/regions/north-america/donald-trumps-unhealthy-relationship-with-the-us-military-4446/ [published in German and English]
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- Risa Brooks, "What can Military and Civilian Leaders do to Prevent the Military's Politicization," War on the Rocks, April 27, 2020. https://warontherocks.com/2020/04/what-can-military-and-civilian-leaders-do-to-prevent-the-militarys-politicization/
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- *Risa Brooks, Essay for ISSF/H-Diplo Roundtable on Sheena Greitens, *Dictators and their Secret Police* Cambridge University Press (2019). (2,200 words). https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-10-26-dictators-and-their-secret-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-10-26-dictators-and-their-secret-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-10-26-dictators-and-their-secret-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-10-26-dictators-and-their-secret-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-10-26-dictators-and-their-secret-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-10-26-dictators-and-their-secret-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-10-26-dictators-and-their-secret-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-10-26-dictators-and-their-secret-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-10-26-dictators-and-their-secret-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-10-26-dictators-and-their-secret-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-10-26-dictators-and-their-secret-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-10-26-dictators-and-their-secret-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-10-26-dictators-and-their-secret-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-roundtable-police#">https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/4007637/h-diploissf-r
- Risa Brooks, "Technology and Future War Will Test U.S. Civil-Military Relations," *War on the Rocks*, November 26, 2018. https://warontherocks.com/2018/11/technology-and-future-war-will-test-u-s-civil-military-relations/
- *Risa Brooks, "Trumps' National Security Process: Five Emerging Trends," in *The Changing International Order*, TRENDS Report, 26 June 2017.
- *Risa Brooks, "What Should Military Leaders Do in the Event of an International Crisis?"

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- *Risa Brooks, "Hussein Regime Left Only Dregs to Lead Army," Chicago Tribune, June 27, 2004.
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Podcasts

- Podcast, "The Erosion of Civil-Military Relations" Cato Power Problems, 16 November 2021. https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-erosion-of-civil-military-relations/id1282100393?i=1000542119198
- Podcast, "Dr. Risa Brooks, MAJ Michael Robinson and Dr. Heidi Urben on the Socialization of Civil-Military Norms and Non-Partisanship," SOSH Podcast @West Point, January 28, 2021. https://www.westpoint.edu/academics/academic-departments/social-sciences/sosh-research-lab/podcast
- Podcast, "How Trump Damaged U.S. Civil-Military Relations and How to Repair Them," Trend Lines Podcast, World Politics Review, November 25, 2020.

 https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/podcast/29248/how-trump-damaged-u-s-civil-military-relations-and-how-to-repair-them
- Podcast, "The Military and the Election," Thank You For Your Service Podcast, October 30, 2020. https://www.csis.org/node/58716

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- Podcast, "Civil-Military Relations Under Trump," Politics, Politics, Politics podcast, July 1, 2020. https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/breaking-down-bidens-first-public-appearance-in-months/id1051566354?i=1000481720814; https://politicspolitics.fireside.fm/79
- Podcast, "The [Four] Stars and the State: Civil-Military Affairs in 2019," War on the Rocks, 11 Nov. 2019 (with Peter Feaver, Alice Hunt Friend & Jim Golby; Moderated by Ryan Evans). https://warontherocks.com/2019/11/the-four-stars-and-the-state-the-state-of-civil-military-affairs-in-2019/

MEDIA INTERVIEWS (2020-ON)

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Other: Paul D. Shinkman, "Military Tests the U.S. Commitment to An Apolitical Military," U.S. News and World Report, June 8, 2020. https://www.usnews.com/news/national-news/articles/2020-06-08/trump-tests-the-us-commitment-to-an-apolitical-military; Jarod Taylor, "The U.S. Military must be Non-Partisan, but not Apolitical," World Politics Review, February 3, 2021. <a href="https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/29399/the-u-s-military-must-be-nonpartisan-but-not-apolitical: David H. Freedman," Millions of Armed Americans Stand Ready," December 10, 2021, Newsweek. https://www.newsweek.com/2021/12/31/millions-angry-armed-americans-stand-ready-seize-power-if-trump-loses-2024-1660953.html; Wisconsin Public Radio, "The History, Purpose of Civilian Control of the Military," Sept. 15, 2021; The Big Picture with Edwin Eisendrath, Chicago Radio WCPT, Dec. 18, 2021.

CURRENT PROJECTS

Comparative Civil-Military Relations

- Civil-Military Relations in Autocracy: How Dictators Control their Militaries. (with Peter White; book project in progress).
- "Military Professionalism and Politicization: Survey Evidence from North Africa." (with Sharan Grewal; working paper).
- "The Military before the March: Autocratic Civil-Military Relations and the Emergence of Mass Protest." (with Peter White; R&R).
- "Towards a New Conceptualization of Security Forces," (with Erica De Bruin; working paper)

- "Revisiting the Janus-Face: Civil-Military Relations and Strategic Assessment," draft chapter (for inclusion in the Elgar Research Handbook on Civil-Military Relations.
- "Success Inside Failure: Egypt's Military Effectiveness in the 1973 Arab Israeli War," draft chapter.

U.S. Civil-Military Relations

- "Speaking Out: Why Retired Flag Participate in Political Discourse" (with Michael Robinson and Heidi Urben) (working paper).
- "To Support and Defend? Assessing Democratic Norm Endorsement by Future Military Officers," (with Michael Robinson and Heidi Urben) (under review).
- "Problems of Professionalism: Explaining U.S. Military (in)effectiveness in the Afghanistan War," (working paper)

Terrorism And Political Violence

"Dispelling the Terrorist Safe Haven Myth" (working paper).

INVITED UNIVERSITY TALKS IN SEMINAR SERIES (LAST 10 YEARS)

- "Failure is an Orphan: Explaining U.S. Military Ineffectiveness in the War in Afghanistan" University of Chicago, Workshop in International Politics, April 21, 2022.
- "Beyond Coup-Proofing: Rethinking Political Control of the Military in the Middle East and North Africa," Cornell University, PSAC seminar, April 30, 2021.
- "Civil-Military Relations and Grand Strategy," Notre Dame International Security Center's Hans J. Morgenthau Fellows program, University of Notre Dame, April 23, 2021.
- "Twice the Citizen: How Military Attitudes of Superiority Undermine Civilian Control in the United States," University of St. Andrews, ISWS Seminar, November 2, 2020.
- "Dispelling the Terrorist Safe Haven Myth: Why Americans are Safer Than They Think," University of Notre Dame, International Security Center (NDISC), February 26, 2019.
- "The Limits of Sanctuary: Assessing the Implications of Terrorist Safe Havens for Attacks on the United States," University of Chicago, Program on Internal Political Economy and Security (PIPES), October 5, 2017.
- "From Mubarak to Morsi: The Rise and Fall of the "Grand Bargain" in Egyptian Civil-Military Relations, University of Chicago Program on Politics, Economics and Security (PIPES), May 21, 2015.

- "Military Defection from Political Rule in the 2011 Arab Uprisings: Comparing the Tunisian and Egyptian Experiences," UW-Madison International Relations Colloquium, March 17, 2015.
- "Societies and Terrorist Violence: How Communal Ties Influence the Targeting Choices of Militant Organizations," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, March 19, 2014.
- "Should We Stay or Should We Go? Explaining Patterns of Leadership Defection Among Arab Militaries in the 2011 Uprisings," Center for American and Global Security, Indiana University, Bloomington, November 2013.
- "Civil-Military Relations and The Arab Revolts of 2011: Explaining Variation in the Responses of Militaries to Popular Protest," Program in International Security Policy (PISP), University of Chicago, May 29, 2012.
- "Civil-Military Relations and The Arab Revolts of 2011: Explaining Variation in the Responses of Militaries to Popular Protest," D.F. Textor Lecture Series, Lehigh University International Relations Department, April 25, 2012.
- "Communities and Terrorist Violence: How Communal Ties Influence Militant Group Targeting Choices," Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, George Washington University, December 12, 2011.
- University of California, Berkeley, Monday International Relations Thought Series (mIRth), "Why do Terrorists Kill Civilians versus Soldiers? The Dilemmas of Terrorist Targeting." October 25, 2010.
- Stanford University, Social Science Research Seminar, Center for International Security and Cooperation, "Why Do Terrorists Kill Civilians versus Soldiers?" October 28, 2010.
- University of Notre Dame, International Security Center (NDISC), "Assessing the Threat of 'Homegrown' Terrorism: Is the Conventional View Correct?" October 6, 2010.
- Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Strategic Use of Force Working Group, "What is the Threat Posed by Terrorist Safe Havens?" May 5, 2010.

OTHER SCHOLARLY AND PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

- "Problems of Military Professionalism," Working Group on Military Professionalism, Swedish Defense University, (via Zoom), May 23, 2022.
- "Civil-Military Relations and Military Professionalism," Strategic Thinkers Program, Johns Hopkins SAIS, April 20, 2021 and April 2022 (solo seminar presenter and discussion leader).
- Keynote for conference, "New Perspectives on Military Politics," Copenhagen, Denmark, 1 November 2021.
- "The Military Before the March: Autocratic Civil-Military Relations and Mass Protest," Milwaukee Area Political Science Association, October 23, 2020. https://uwm.edu/political-

- science/event/mapss-risa-brooks-the-military-before-the-march-autocratic-civil-military-relations-and-the-emergence-of-mass-protest/
- "Rethinking Civil-Military Relations: The Perils of Apolitical Professionalism and Why Military Officers Need to (Constructively) Engage with Politics," Naval War College (at Naval Postgraduate School) February 25, 2020 (sole seminar presenter).
- "Foreign Policy and Civil-Military Relations in the Biden Administration," Modern War Institute, West Point, February 24, 2021 (panelist).
- "Civil-Military Relations the Law, Post 2020" Mershon Center for International Security, The Ohio State University, January 29, 2021 (panelist).
- "Military Defection from Political Rule in the 2011 Uprisings," Sudanese Researchers in Civil-Military Politics in MENA Working Group, December 18, 2020 (sole seminar presenter).
- "Let the Generals Speak: The Implications of Retired Officer Political Speech," Air Force Fellows Program, December 11, 2020 (seminar co-presenter; with Michael Robinson).
- "U.S. Civil-Military Relations," Air War College, December 3, 2020 (panelist).
- "Let the Generals Speak: The Implications of Retired Officer Political Speech," Civil-Military Relations Working Group, Belfer International Security Program, Harvard Kennedy School, November 23, 2020 (seminar co-presenter; with Michael Robinson).
- "The Military in American Politics: The Election and What Comes After," on October 28, 2020. Matthew B. Ridgway Center for International Security Studies, University of Pittsburg (panelist).
- "Civil-Military Relations and Democracy in Polarized America," Clements Center, University of Texas at Austin, October 27, 2020 (panelist).
- "How Does Unprecedented Domestic Political Polarization Affect the American Military as an Institution?" Council on Foreign Relations, McCloy Roundtable, October 13, 2020 (panelist).
- "Discussion of Civil-Military Relations PART 1" Harvard Kennedy School veterans working group, October 7, 2020 (panelist).
- "State Security and Citizen Security," Triangle Institute for Security Studies, University of North Carolina, Sept. 17, 2020 (panelist).
- "Civil-Military Norms and History of Military Involvement in Elections," at conference "The Ballot and the Sword: The 2020 Election and the U.S. Military," The Ohio State University, Mershon Center for International Security Studies and Election at Moritz, July 27, 2020 (panelist).
- "America's Civil-Military Crisis," MIT Starr Forum, June 11, 2020 (panelist). https://calendar.mit.edu/event/US-CivilMilitaryCrisis#.X0wWZMhKju8

- "Civil-Military Relations," Beyond the Headlines @BUPardeeSchool at Boston University, July 1, 2020 (panelist). bu.edu/pardeeschool/2020/07/01/bth-civil-military-relations/
- "Covid-19 and the Military," Future Strategy Forum, Center for Strategic and International Studies (panelist). https://www.csis.org/podcasts/smart-women-smart-power-podcast/future-strategy-forum-covid-19-and-military
- "Civil-Military Relations Beyond the United States," at the Johns Hopkins University Merrill Center for Strategic Studies and Duke University's Program in Grand Strategy conference, "Reflections on Civil-Military Relations: Crises, Comparisons and Paradoxes," Washington D.C., Feb. 11, 2020 (panelist).
- "Insights from Recent Literature: Civil-Military Relations," Teaching Strategy Workshop, Naval War College, Newport, RI, September 25-27, 2019 (panelist).
- "Intelligence and Civil-Military Relations," at the "TISS at Sixty: Intelligence in a National Security Context," conference by Triangle Institute for Security Studies, Duke University April 11-13, 2019 (panelist).
- "War Crimes: Causes, Excuses and Blame: An Interdisciplinary Discussion," Marquette University, October, 25 2018 (panelist).
- Colloquium on "Military Culture" at the Swedish Defense University, Stockholm, Sweden, October 17, 2017 (seminar presenter).
- "Military Effectiveness," for Senior Expert Workshop on Strategic Military Culture and Military Modernization in the Arabian Gulf, RAND Corporation, Washington D.C. 10 July 2017 (guest speaker).
- "Political Violence and Terrorism in the United States Today," Conference on Christian-Muslim Relations, Marquette University, March 27, 2017 (panelist).
- "U.S. Interests?" at "ISIL and its Regional and International Implications," conference sponsored by the center for the Study of the Middle East and Center on American and Global Security, Indiana University, Bloomington, October 7-8, 2016 (paper presenter).
- Presentation on "What is Accurate Strategic Assessment," at Conference on "Reassessing Threat Assessment," A Tobin Project Meeting, May 20, 2016 (panelist).
- Presentation on "Is the Threat Posed by ISIS Truly Novel," at Constructions of Terrorism: Confronting the Challenges to Global Security Created by Daesh/Islamic State, conference sponsored by The Stimson Center, The Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies and TRENDS Research & Advisory, Abu Dhabi, UAE, held at The Stimson Center, Washington D.C., April 27-29, 2016 (paper presenter).

- "Emerging Challenges (Terrorism)," at Senior Conference 52, "National Security Reform For a New Era: Reassessing the National Security Act of 1947," United States Military Academy, West Point, NY, Apr 24-26, 2016 (panelist).
- "The Charlie Hebdo Attack in Context." Marquette University (with other MENA faculty), March 24, 2015 (panelist).
- Speaker at Conference on Egyptian Civil-Military Relations, The Geneva Center for Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva, Switzerland, April 2014 (invited speaker).
- "Reflections on Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland," Soup with Substance, Center for Peacemaking Marquette University, December 2013 (presenter).
- "Politics and the Military in the Contemporary United States" Command and General Staff College, Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, March 14, 2013 (panelist)
- "Norms and the Politics of Officership," U.S. Naval War College Ethics Conference, Newport, Rhode Island, February 2013 (invited speaker).
- "Religion and Foreign Policy Summer Workshop," on panel on "Extremism Here and Abroad." July 17 & 18, 2012, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, July 18, 2012 (panelist).
- "Homegrown Terrorism," John J. McCloy Roundtable on Setting the National Security Agenda, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, May 31, 2012 (solo seminar presenter and discussion leader).
- "Evaluating the Homegrown Terrorism Threat" on Panel I: The Homegrown Threat in the United States, Cato Institute conference, April 13, 2012 (panelist).
- "Why Self-Starter Terrorists in the United States are Mostly Incapable of Launching Deadly Attacks." Mershon Center, Ohio State University, May 23, 2011 (guest lecture).
- Brown Bag Seminar Presentation, "Politics and the U.S. Military" National War College, Washington D.C., March 10, 2010.

(SELECT) SMALL CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS

- Paper Presenter, "Military Organizations in a Changing World: How New Operational Experiences Shape Civil-Military Relations," workshop sponsors: Christoph Harig, Nicole Jenne, Chiara Ruffa, January 27-28.
- Paper Presenter, "Huntington, Janowitz, or None of the Above? Conceptions of Professional Norms by Future Army Officers," and "Professional Norms, Civil-Military Relations, and Democracy" both at "Conference on Cadet Attitudes" (with Michael Robinson and Heidi Urben), January 15, 2021.
- Presenter at Book Workshop for Philip Martin's "Insurgent Armies: Commander Loyalty and State Formation after Rebel Victory," October 9, 2020.

- Paper Presenter, "In Name Only? Military Professionalism and Politicization in Algeria, Egypt, and Tunisia," Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association 2020 (with Sharan Grewal).
- Paper Presenter ""Does Professionalization Politicize or Depoliticize the Military? Survey Evidence from Algeria, Egypt, and Tunisia" (with Sharan Grewal) at the Biannual Meeting of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces & Society, Reston, VA, 8 Nov. 2019.
- Paper Presenter, "Huntington's Paradoxes of Professionalism" at the Biannual Meeting of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces & Society, Reston, VA, 8 Nov. 2019.
- Paper presenter "The Military before the March: Autocratic Civil-Military Relations and the Emergence of Mass Protest." (based on paper co-authored with Peter White) at the Workshop on International Training Activities, Montreal, Canada, 14-15 Nov. 2019.
- Presenter at Book Workshop for Eric Hundmann's "Military Disobedience in China," New York University, 1 Nov. 2019.
- Discussant for "Lawyers with Guns & Money: Legitimizing Coups as Revolutions in the Middle East" by Drew Holland Kinney, Workshop for Security Force Loyalty Working Group (via Skype).
- Presenter on "Civil-Military Relations" at the "Oxford Handbook of Grand Strategy Workshop," West Point, NY, May 8-9, 2019.
- Discussant for "Emerging Scholars" Workshop held by University of Notre Dame, International Security Center (NDISC), Palmer House, Chicago, IL, May 22-24, 2019.
- Moderator for evening keynote discussion with Mary Kaldor and MG Mick Ryan on "New Wars, Old Doctrines: Rethinking Future Warfare" at conference "Potential Disruptors to the 'American Way of War" West Point, November 4-6, 2018
- Speaker on panel, "Isolation or Integration? Debating Huntington's The Soldier and State," at Modern War Institute's conference "Blurred Lines: Civil-Military Relations and Modern War," West Point, NY, March 25-27, 2018.
- Speaker on "Best Military Advice in the Trump Administration Roundtable," Bi-Annual Meeting of the Inter-University Seminar in Armed Forces, Reston, VA, November 4, 2017.
- Presenter at Book Workshop on Chapter on "Special Operations and Battle of Anbar," for Jon Lindsay, *Shifting the Fog of War: Information Technology and the Politics of Control*, Munk School, University of Toronto. Sept. 30, 2016.
- Presentation on "Measuring Variation in Autocrats' 'Strategies of Political Control" Peace Science Workshop on Civil-Military Relations, University of Notre Dame, October 20, 2016.

- Participant, "Teaching Grand Strategy," at the U.S. Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, August 3-5, 2016 (also attended prior workshop August 6-8, 2014).
- Participant, Senior Conference 50, "The Army We Need: the Role of Landpower in an Uncertain Strategic Environment, June 1-3, 2014, West Point, New York.
- Participant, Lone Star National Security Forum, Bush School, Texas A&M University, March 21-23, 2014.
- Speaker, "Engaging Islam and Muslims: Multidisciplinary Perspectives" Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Studies Conference, Marquette University, March 19-20, 2013.
- Participant, "Carnegie Cult of the Irrelevant Project" February 27-March 1, 2013, Austin, Texas.
- Participant, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), annual conference, September 20-21, 2012, Bethesda, Maryland.
- Participant, Tobin Project, "Workshop on the National Intelligence Council Report: *Global Trends* 2030: Alternative Worlds." August 22 & 23, 2012, Boston, MA.
- Moderator (breakout section on terrorism), Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism and New America Foundation conference, "Cutting the Fuse: Moving beyond the War on Terror," October 12, 2010.
- Panelist, "War and Military Operations in the 21st: Civil-Military Implications" Conference by Triangle Institute of Security Studies, Department of War Studies, Kings College London, Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense, UNC-Chapel Hill, UNC-Chapel Hill Campus, April 8-9, 2010. Presentation on "What to Teach Undergraduates?"
- Panel Moderator, Tobin Project Conference, "America & the World: Power through its Prudent Use," on panel "A Grand Strategy of Restraint," December 4-6, 2009.
- Discussant, Inter-university Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, panel on "Exploring Civil-Military Principles in Contemporary National Security Affairs" October 24, 2009.
- Panelist on "Realism and the Next U.S. President: National Interests, Grand Strategy, and the Use of Force; A conference to celebrate, honor, and recognize the contributions of Professor Robert J. Art to International Relations, Security, and U.S. Policy." Georgetown University, April 11, 2008. Presentation on "Terrorism and U.S. Policy."
- Paper presenter, "Democracy and Terrorism: What are the Links?" Chicago Project on Suicide Terrorism, (CPOST), University of Chicago, September 28, 2007.
- Panelist on "American Civil-Military Relations: Fifty Years after The Soldier and the State," presentation on "Political Strategies of the Military in Democracies," United States Military Academy, West Point, NY, May 31-June 2, 2007.
- Participant, "Measuring National Power" Rand Corporation and U.S. Government sponsored conference, Washington D.C., September 28-29, 2004.

- Presenter, "Junior Faculty Workshop," Georgetown University, presentation on "Civil-Military Relations and Strategic Assessment," October 23-24, 2003.
- Presenter, "North-South" Workshop (Collaboration between International Relations Faculty at University of Chicago and Northwestern University), presentation on "Military Institutions, Strategic Assessment and War," at Northwestern University Law School, May 2003.
- Presenter, "New Faces in International Security Conference," Triangle Institute for Security Studies (a consortium of Duke University, UNC-Chapel Hill, and NCSU), paper presented on "Institutions at the International and Domestic Nexus: the political-military origins of military effectiveness, strategic integration and war," Regal University Hotel, Durham, NC. September 21-23, 2000.
- Participant, "Conference on the October 1973 War," Middle East Institute, Washington D.C., Oct. 9-10, 1998. Participant.
- Panelist, "Armed Forces and Society in the Middle East," presentation for International Institute for Strategic Studies Conference, Beirut, Lebanon, September 27-29, 1998.
- Presenter, "A Crisis in Civilian Control? Contending Theories of American Civil-Military Relations," Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, presentation on "Political-Military Relations, Endogenous Institutions and Grand Strategy: the political origins of oversight and policy coherence," June 11-12, 1996.

DISCIPLINE WIDE CONFERENCES (SINCE 2009)

- Discussant for panel "Author Meets Critics: Military Coups and Regime Survival," at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Seattle Washington, Sept. 29-Oct-2, 2021.
- Poster presented "Subverting Civilian Control: Military Resistance to Non-Conventional Operations," (with Pete Erickson) at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Seattle Washington, Sept. 29-Oct-2, 2021.
- Discussant for panel "Military Training, Norms and Professionalization," at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Seattle Washington, Sept. 29-Oct-2, 2021.
- Paper Presented "Mapping Military Dissent: Insubordination in a Comparative Context,")with David Pion-Berlin) at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Seattle Washington, Sept. 29-Oct-2, 2021.
- "Under-Explored Sources of Grand Strategy," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Virtual Platform, April 6-9, 2021.
- "Does Professionalization Politicize or Depoliticize the Military," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Virtual Platform, April 6-9, 2021 (with Sharan Grewal).

- Discussant for panel, "The Military and Society: Sources of Trust and Confidence," at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Virtual Platform, April 6-9, 2021.
- Discussant for panel, "Challenges in Comparative Civil-Military Relations," at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Virtual Platform, September 9-12, 2020.
- "Military Socialization and The State of Civil-Military Norms," (with Heidi Urben and Michael Robinson) at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Virtual Platform, September 9-12, 2020.
- "Rethinking Authoritarian Civil-Military Relations in the Middle East," at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Virtual Platform, September 9-12, 2020.
- "The Military Before the March: how autocratic civil-military relations affect protest incidence," (with Peter White) paper presented for the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C. August 29-September 2, 2019.
- "Unpacking 'Stacking': How Manipulating Identity in Security Forces Safeguards Regime Security" (with Nate Allen), paper presented for the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C. August 29-September 2, 2019.
- "Civil-Military Relations in Autocracy: How Dictators Control Their Militaries" (with Peter White) paper presented for the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C. August 29-September 2, 2019.
- "The Military Before the March: how autocratic civil-military relations affect protest incidence," (with Peter White), paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, Canada March 27-30, 2019.
- "Competing for Social Support: How Militant Groups Tailor their Targeting Practices to Win the Allegiance of their Social Bases," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, Canada March 27-30, 2019.
- Discussant for panel, "Democratic Institutions and Civil-Military Relations," at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, Canada March 27-30, 2019.
- "Mapping Variation in Strategies of Political Control of the Military in Authoritarian Regimes," (with Peter White) paper presented for the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, September 2, 2018.
- Discussant for panel on "Militant Violence in Conflict," at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, September 1, 2018.
- "Governance Versus Coup-Prevention in Authoritarian Civil-Military Relations" (with Peter White), paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, April 4-7, 2018.

- Speaker on "Best Military Advice in the Trump Administration Roundtable" at the bi-annual Meeting of the Inter-University Seminar in Armed Forces, Reston, VA, November 4, 2017.
- "Rethinking the Causes of Military Responses to Popular Revolts" at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA September 2, 2017.
- Speaker on "General Officers in U.S. Politics Roundtable," Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL April 7, 2017.
- "Who Does the Islamic State Group Target in Its Attacks, and Why?" (with Craig Whiteside) paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Baltimore, MD Feb 25, 2017.
- "Beyond Coup-Proofing: Rethinking Political Control in Authoritarian Regimes," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Baltimore, MD, Feb. 24, 2017.
- Discussant for Panel "The Maverick is Dead: Long Live the Maverick! Old Battlefields and New Frontiers in Military Innovation Scholarship," at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Baltimore, MD, Feb. 23, 2017.
- "General Officers in U.S. Politics Roundtable," Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL April 7, 2017.
- "Who Does the Islamic State Group Target in Its Attacks, and Why?" (with Craig Whiteside) presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Baltimore, MD Feb 25, 2017.
- "Beyond Coup-Proofing: Rethinking Political Control in Authoritarian Regimes," presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Baltimore, MD, Feb. 24, 2017.
- Discussant for Panel "The Maverick is Dead: Long Live the Maverick! Old Battlefields and New Frontiers in Military Innovation Scholarship," at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Baltimore, MD, Feb. 23, 2017.
- "Reconceptualizing Civil-Military Relations in Arab Autocracies," at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 3, 2016.
- "Reconceptualizing Civil-Military Relations in Autocratic Regimes: Lessons from the Arab Uprisings of 2011," Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 7, 2016.
- "Why Isn't There More Scholarly Evaluation of U.S. Wars?" Cato sponsored panel, annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2-6, 2015.
- "Civil-Military Relations and the Politics of Security Sector Reform," paper presented; discussant for panel, "Terrorism and Violence in the MENA," Midwest Political Science Association, April 16-19, 2015, Chicago, IL.

- "The Tunisian Military and Democratic Control of the Armed Forces," annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-31, 2014.
- "Debating the Role of Civil-Military Relations in the Undergraduate Curriculum," Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Chicago, IL, October 24, 2013.
- Discussant for panel, "Fiscal Crisis and Civil-Military Relations," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 28, 2013.
- "Civilians are in the Eye of the Beholder: How Militant Groups Sell their Messages to Constituencies," annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 28, 2013.
- "Should We Stay or Should We Go? Explaining Patterns of Leadership Defection in the Arab Uprisings of 2011," International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, April 3, 2013.
- "Community Ties and Terrorist Targeting" paper presented at the annual meetings of the International Studies Association, San Diego, CA, April 1-4, 2012.
- "Thwarted Terrorist: Explaining the Limited Capabilities of Homegrown Terrorists in the United States" paper presented at the annual meetings of the International Studies Association, San Diego, CA, April 1-4, 2012.
- "Homegrown" Terrorism: How Serious is the Threat?" The American Political Science Association, Washington D.C, September 2-5, 2010.
- "Societies and Terrorist Violence" paper presented at the annual meetings of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, LA, February 17-20, 2010.
- "Researching Terrorism: Some Steps Forward" paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada, September 3-6, 2009.
- "Roundtable: Shaping Strategy: Civil-Military Relations and Foreign Policy," [panel organized by section chair to discuss *Shaping Strategy*], Midwest Political Science Association Meetings, Palmer House Hilton, Chicago IL, April 2, 2009.
- "Political Strategies of the Military," paper presented at the annual meetings of the International Studies Association, New York, NY, February 15-18, 2009.

(SELECT) SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

Associate Editor, International Security (November 2017 to November 2020)

Associate Editor, Security Studies (2015-2017); Member of the Editorial Board (2017-present)

Editorial Board Member, Journal of Strategic Studies

Editorial Board Member, Armed Forces & Society

Program Co-Chair, International Security Division, American Political Science Association, 2013-2014

Governing Board, International Security Studies Section, International Studies Association (2007-2010); Book Award Committee

Academic Outreach Committee, Council on Foreign Relations (2004-2007)

Division Program Chair for 2010 APSA meetings, International History and Politics Section