

## Anne Marie Baylouny

Associate Professor  
National Security Affairs  
Naval Postgraduate School  
1411 Cunningham Rd, GL-393  
Monterey, CA 93943

Work: 831-656-2739  
Fax: 831-656-2949  
Email: [ambaylou@nps.edu](mailto:ambaylou@nps.edu)  
<http://www.faculty.nps.edu/ambaylou/home.htm>

### ACADEMIC POSITIONS

---

2010 - present	Associate Professor National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California
Jan-Dec 2011	Visiting Scholar Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies, Stanford University
2003 - 2010	Assistant Professor National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California
2008	Visiting Scholar Division of International Comparative & Area Studies, Stanford University
2003 - 2004	Research Associate Center for Middle East Studies, University of California, Berkeley
Fall 2002	Visiting Professor Political Science Dept., University of California, Berkeley

### EDUCATION

---

Ph.D.	University of California, Berkeley. Political Science. Summer 2003 Privatizing Welfare, Creating Families: The Politics of Social Provision in Jordan ( <i>Advisors</i> : Kiren Chaudhry, Chair; David Collier, and Beshara Doumani)
M.A.	University of California, Berkeley. Political Science. May 1996 State Revenue and the Politics of Economic Liberalization in Syria and Iraq
Certificate	Pontifical Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies. Rome, Italy Certificate of Arabic Grammar, <i>Cum Laude</i>
B.A.	Rutgers College. Political Science Minor in Women's Studies

### RESEARCH FOCUS

---

- Security implications of refugees and large-scale forced migration
- Institutional creation and grassroots organizing for collective goods and services

- Protest, Islamism, and the influence of constituencies
- Framing and emotions in mobilizing

## PUBLICATIONS

---

### Book

*Privatizing Welfare in the Middle East: Kin Mutual Aid Associations in Jordan and Lebanon* (Indiana University Press, 2010).

### Peer-reviewed Articles

"Born violent: armed political parties and non-state governance in Lebanon's civil war," *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 26-2, 2014.

"Hizbollah's Women: Internal Transformation in a Social Movement and Militia," chapter in *Social Movements, Mobilization and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*, eds. Joel Beinin and Frédéric Vairel, 163-180. Stanford University Press, 2011.

"Authority Outside the State: Non-State Actors and New Institutions in the Middle East." In *Ungoverned Spaces? Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty*, edited by Anne L. Clunan and Harold Trinkunas, 136-52. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010.

"Not Your Father's Islamist TV: Changing Programming on Hizbullah's al-Manar," *Arab Media & Society* (Issue 9, Fall 2009). <http://www.arabmediasociety.com/?article=728>.

"Fragmented Space and Violence in Palestine," *International Journal on World Peace* 26:3 (September 2009), 5-34.

"Seeing Other Sides: Non-game Simulations and Alternative Perspectives of Middle East Conflicts," *Journal of Political Science Education* 5:3 (July 2009), 214-232.

"Militarizing Welfare: Neo-liberalism and the Jordanian Regime," *Middle East Journal* 62:2 (Spring 2008), 277-303.

Also translated into Arabic.

"Creating Kin: New Family Associations as Welfare Providers in Liberalizing Jordan," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38:3 (August 2006), 349-368.

"Jordan's New 'Political Development' Strategy," *Middle East Report* 236 (Fall 2005), 40-43. (editorial board reviewed)

### Book Chapters

"Building an Integrated Military in Post-Conflict Societies: Lebanon," in Thomas Bruneau and Cristiana Matei eds., *Handbook on Civil-Military Relations*, Routledge, 2012.

"American Foreign Policy in Lebanon," In *Handbook on U.S. Middle East Relations*, edited by Robert Looney, 310-23: Routledge, 2009.

"Countering Arab Television? Assessing the Effect of Alhurra, the U.S. Satellite Station." In *The Ideological War on Terror: Worldwide Strategies for Counter-Terrorism*, edited by Anne Aldis and Graeme Herd. New York: Taylor & Francis Books Ltd, 2007.

"Oslo's Success, a Militarized Resistance: Changing Opposition Tactics in the Palestinian Territories." In *Critical Issues in Middle East Security*, ed. James Russell, 77-102: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

"Human Rights Considerations in the United States-Israeli Relationship." In *Israel: Opposing Viewpoints*. Connecticut: Greenhaven Press, 1994.

### **Solicited Articles, Reports, and Essays**

Blogger for SkepticalAsia.org, October 2016 – present

Review (2012) of James Midgley and Mitsuhiro Hosaka (eds) (2011) *Grassroots Social Security in Asia*, Routledge. *Journal of Social Policy* v.41, issue 3: 644-645.

"The Palestinian Intifada." In *The International Encyclopedia of Peace*. edited by Nigel Young. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. (*Book of the Year, by the Conflict Research Society*)

"From Chechnya to Israel: Social Movement Analyses of Opposition Groups," Introduction to the Special Issue: Social Movement Analyses of Opposition Groups, *Strategic Insights* v. VII, Issue 2, April 2008, <http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2008/Apr/baylounyApr08.asp>

"Politics, Poverty, and Rage: Misconceptions About Islamist Movements." *Arches Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (2007): 6-10.

"Al Manar and Alhurra: Competing Satellite Stations and Ideologies." *Occasional Paper Series No. 2*: George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, 2006. [http://www.marshallcenter.org/site-graphic/lang-en/page-pubs-index-1/static/xdocs/research/static/occpapers/occ-paper\\_2-en.pdf](http://www.marshallcenter.org/site-graphic/lang-en/page-pubs-index-1/static/xdocs/research/static/occpapers/occ-paper_2-en.pdf).

Reprinted in "Al Manar and Alhurra: Competing Satellite Stations and Ideologies" Jan 2007, (in Russian). <http://www.agentura.ru/press/almanar/>

"Alhurra, the Free One: Assessing U.S. Satellite Television in the Middle East," *Strategic Insights* v. IV, Issue 2 (Nov 2005). <http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2005/Nov/baylounyNov05.asp>

"Introduction to the Special Issue: Social Mobilization Theory From Bosnia to Bolivia," *Strategic Insights*, v. IV, Issue 5 (May 2005); Guest Editor for the Special Issue. <http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2005/May/baylounyMay05.asp>

"Islamists in Democratic Elections: Threat or Solution?" *Connections* III, N. 3 (September 2004): 69-77. [http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/co/co\\_sep04/co\\_sep04g.pdf](http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/co/co_sep04/co_sep04g.pdf)

"Democratic Inclusion: A Solution to Militancy in Islamist Movements?" *Strategic Insights* v. III, Issue 4 (April 2004). <http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2004/apr/baylounyApr04.asp>

"Emotions, Poverty, or Politics? Misconceptions about Islamic Movements," *Connections* III, N. 1 (March 2004): 41-47. [http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/co/co\\_mar04.html](http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/co/co_mar04.html)

Also published in *Strategic Insights*, Volume III, Issue 1 (January 2004), <http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2004/jan/baylounyJan04.asp>

### **Journal Special Issues**

Social Movement Analyses of Opposition Groups, Special Issue of *Strategic Insights* v. VII,

Issue 2, April 2008 (Guest Editor)

Social Mobilization Theory From Bosnia to Bolivia, Special Issue of *Strategic Insights*, v. IV,  
Issue 5, May 2005 (Guest Editor)

### **Publications in Progress**

“Financing Fragmentation: Patron Competition and Private Donations in the Syrian Civil War”  
(with Creighton Mullins)

“No More Water Wars? Resource Conflicts, State Capacity, and the Syrian Refugees” (with  
Stephen Klingseis)

### **CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

---

“Framing the Revolution: Dégage, Dignity, and Death,” Paper presented at the International  
Studies Conference, San Diego, 2 April 2012

“When Militaries Disobey: Armed Forces Responses to Government Orders to Repress,”  
Roundtable, Western Political Science Association Conference, Portland, 22 March 2012

"Hizbollah's Women: Member Influence in a Social Movement and Militia," Paper presented at  
the 10th Mediterranean Research Meeting, European University Institute, Montecatini  
Terme, Italy, 26 March 2009

"Pride and Participation: Emotions and Voice in Islamist Television," Paper presented at the  
Middle East Studies Association conference, Washington, DC, 24 November 2008

"Social Protection Possibilities and the Characteristics of Labor in the Middle East," Paper  
presented to the Labor, Economic Crisis and the Future of Social Policy in the Arab  
World conference, sponsored by the Center for Democracy and Civil Society,  
Georgetown University and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Cairo, Egypt, 7 July 2008

"Authority Outside the State: Non-State Actors and New Institutions in the Middle East," Paper  
presented to the International Studies Association Conference, San Francisco, CA, 29  
March 2008

"Keepin' it Real: Teaching the Middle East with Role-plays," Paper presented at the APSA  
Teaching and Learning Conference, San Jose, CA, 22 February 2008

“Ungoverned Spaces in the Middle East: Non-state actors and new institutions,” Paper presented  
at the Ungoverned Spaces Conference, Naval Postgraduate School, 2 August 2007

“Al-Manar and Alhurra: Competing Satellite Stations and Ideologies,” Working paper for the  
Marshall Center, project on Countering Ideological Support for Terrorism. Garmisch,  
Germany, 20 September 2005

“Explaining Islamist Violence: A Research Agenda,” Paper presented at the conference  
Terrorism and Islamic Extremism in the Middle East: Perspectives and Possibilities,  
Center for Naval Analysis, Alexandria, VA, 22 February 2005

“Oslo and Militarized Islam: Implementing Disaster In Palestine,” Paper presented to Middle  
East Studies Association, San Francisco, November 2004

“Reinventing Family: Structural Adjustment and the Rise of Kinship Associations in Jordan,”

- Paper presented to American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 2004
- “Kinship Associations as Welfare NGOs in Liberalizing Jordan,” Paper presented at Middle East Studies Conference, Washington, DC, November 2002
- “Structural Adjustment and the Rise of Formal Family Associations in Jordan,” Poster presented at the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 2002
- “Formalizing the Family: The Institutionalization of Kinship in Jordan,” CERMOC, Amman, Jordan, April 2000
- “State Revenue and the Politics of Economic Liberalization in Syria and Iraq,” Middle East Studies Conference, San Francisco, CA, August 1997
- "Obstacles to the entry of Arab American women in the political process," National Organization of Arab-American Women's Annual Conference, New York, NY, Fall 1993

### **INVITED TALKS**

---

- “Religious Freedom and National Security: Strange Bedfellows?” Religious Ministries Department, Naval Postgraduate School, 26 October 2016
- “The Syrian Refugee Crisis,” San Francisco State University, 11 February 2016.
- “Kin Associations as Social Insurance,” ESCWA (UN’s Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia), Beirut (teleconference), Arab Forum “Towards a New Welfare Mix? Rethinking the Roles of the State, Market and Civil Society in the Provision of Basic Social Services,” 20 December 2012
- Conference on civil-military relations at the Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, University of California, San Diego, 4 May, 2012
- Presentation on “Hizbullah’s Women in the Media,” Modern Middle East and Central Asia Workshop, Stanford University, 24 April 2012
- “The Force of Faith: Conflict in the Abrahamic Traditions,” movie produced by Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center, 2012
- “And the Beat Goes On: The Jordanian State after the November Elections,” Program on Arab Reform Research Seminar, Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University, 18 November 2010
- Speaker at several films, "Windows to the World: A Cultural Education Film Symposium," Monterey, CA, 16 & 18 October 2008
- "Problems of Civil Society in the Middle East," American University of Cairo, July 2008
- “Lebanon: Current Crisis, Old Problems,” World Affairs Council of the Monterey Bay Area, 25 September 2007
- “Islamist Motivations, Civil Society Islamist Organizations, and Islamic Feminism,” World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco, 24 May 2005
- Presentations on Tunisia, Morocco, and Jordan for the State Partnership for Peace program, 2004-05

Media, documentary, and news interviews on current Middle East politics

Numerous invited presentations to university, military, government personnel on the Middle East and political Islam

Spokesperson on human rights; interviewed in national and international media. American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Washington, DC, 1993-1995

---

#### **SELECTED AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS**

Minerva R-DEF research grant, 2016-2017

Research Initiation Program grant, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2004-2005

Sultan Committee on Arab Studies dissertation writing grant, Center for Middle East Studies, Berkeley, 2001

Fulbright, Institute for International Education dissertation research fellowship, 1999-2000

Simpson Memorial Dissertation Research Fellowship, Institute for International Studies, Berkeley, 1999-2000

Social Science Research Council, Near & Middle East Section pre-dissertation grant, 1998

Mellon Foundation Moral Economy of Islam travel grant, Institute for International Studies, Berkeley, 1997-1998

Center for Middle East Studies Mellon Foundation travel grant, Berkeley, 1997-1998.

Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Arabic language grant. Middlebury College, 1996

Henry Rutgers Honors Scholarship, Rutgers College

National Political Science Honor Society, Rutgers College

Rutgers University Honors Program, Rutgers College

---

#### **TEACHING FIELDS**

Comparative Politics	Political Economy and Development
Middle East and North Africa	Comparative Methodology
Social Movements & Terrorism	Islam
Refugees and Forced Migration	Political Islam

---

#### **CLASSES**

Comparative Politics of the Middle East

Comparative Politics

Social Mobilization and Conflict in the Middle East

Refugees and Diasporas: Conflict, Repatriation, and Integration

Politics and Security in the Levant

Islam: History & Culture

---

#### **NON-TRADITIONAL TEACHING**

Organized and delivered numerous talks at seminar on Refugees and Security Issues, Monterey, August 2016

Organized seminar on the Syrian Refugees and Security Issues to the Lebanese Armed Forces,

Beirut, January 2016  
Organized and led Joint FAO conference for Near East, Washington, DC., April 2015  
Presentation on the relevance of the Hizbullah-Israel conflict and its lessons to current US fighting in Afghanistan, 75<sup>th</sup> Fires Brigade, Ft. Sil, Oklahoma, 2011  
Wrote distance learning courses for degree programs and for FAOweb (Foreign Area Officer continuing education), 2010-11, 2013  
Presentations on Lebanon, the Palestinian Authority, and informal settlements in the Middle East at the Ungoverned Spaces and the Empowerment of Non-state Actors Conference, Joint Forces Command, Norfolk, VA, 28-29 August 2007  
RSEP (Regional security and education program) educating officers and enlisted while in theater, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2009 (led and organized 2009 RSEP in Monterey)

### **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND POSITIONS**

---

Member, Women in Conflict Studies  
Member, Middle East Sociology Working Group  
Affiliate, Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies, Stanford University  
Member, American Political Science Association, 1995  
Member, Middle East Studies Association, 1995  
Member, Phi Beta Kappa Society, 1985

### **FIELD RESEARCH**

---

Numerous visits and residence throughout the Middle East including:  
Jordan (1998, 1999-2000): residence; (2005, 2008, 2010, 2015): research visits  
Syria (1985-86, 1998): residence; (2005, 2008): research visits  
Lebanon (1986; 1999): residence; (2005, 2010; 2016): research visits  
Turkey (2015): research visit

### **LANGUAGES AND TRAINING (SELECTED)**

---

Distance Learning: Online Distributed Learning course, Winter 2006  
The Institute for Qualitative Research Methods, Consortium for Qualitative Research Methods, Arizona State University, January 2003  
Arabic (classical and Levantine dialect): fluent; Italian: near fluent; French: intermediate; Spanish: intermediate

### **OTHER PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

---

Manuscript reviewer for: *Journal of Comparative Politics, Terrorism and Political Violence, International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES), Arab Studies Journal, Studies in Comparative International Development, Journal of Political Science Education, Small Wars and Insurgencies, Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions, Politics & Gender, Qualitative Sociology, Anthropological Quarterly.*  
Book reviewer for: Stanford University Press, Lynne Rienner.  
*Strategic Insights* (E-journal) editorial board member, 2003-11

Consultant, Kinection, Inc., Assessment of Cultural Awareness Training, 2007  
Created and recorded interactive, multi-media pilot dual-language Arabic country course for the  
Joint Intelligence Virtual University, 2005  
Director of Media and Public Relations, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee,  
Washington, DC, 1993-95

#### **UNIVERSITY SERVICE**

---

NS department Ph.D. committee 2016 - present  
Department Academic Associate for Middle East, Africa, and South Asia curricula, 2013-2016;  
and for Latin America, 2015  
University representative to the NSA's pilot cultural analysis course, August 2009, at the Center  
for Advanced Study of Language (CASL), the University of Maryland campus  
Faculty Council Executive Board Member, 2006-07  
Department Representative to the Faculty Council, 2006-08  
Hiring committee service, and various other department and school committees and service,  
ongoing