

**Gareth R V Stansfield**  
**BA (Hons) MA PhD FRSA FAcSS**

Al-Qasimi Chair of Arab Gulf Studies and Professor of Middle East Politics  
University of Exeter

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**Biography**

Gareth Stansfield is Professor of Middle East Politics and the Al-Qasimi Chair of Arab Gulf Studies at the University of Exeter, where he was between 2011-2015 the Director of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies (IAIS), standing down for research leave between 2015 and 2018. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (FRSA), Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society (FRGS), and elected Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences (FAcSS). He is also a Senior Associate Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), Global Fellow (2015-17) of the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington DC, and Fellow of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy. He is a Visiting Professor of Northwest University, Xi'an, China, and Soran University, Kurdistan-Iraq. Between 2002 and 2012, he was Associate Fellow of the Middle East and North Africa Programme at Chatham House. From 2012-14, he was the inaugural Honorary Research Fellow attached to the Middle East and North Africa Research Group of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office

A regular commentator and adviser on Middle East politics over the last decade, focusing in particular on the politics and political economy of Iraq, the Kurdish regions of the Middle East, dynamics of Gulf/Arabian peninsular security, and questions of post-conflict stabilization and nation/state building, Stansfield is one of a handful of academics to have lived and worked in pre-regime change Iraq for an extensive period of time, between 1996 and 2001, where he was funded by the UK government to advise the Kurdish leadership. He subsequently was a Leverhulme Trust post-doctoral fellow at Exeter, between 2002-04, where he focused principally on Shi'i politics in Iraq and then the impact of the invasion and occupation of Iraq. He has considerable fieldwork experience in a range of countries in the Middle East and Islamic World, including Iraq, Syria, the Kurdish regions, Morocco, the states of the Gulf, and Afghanistan.

He has engaged extensively with the policy-making community. He is a Senior Academic Adviser in the Command Advisory Group of the Permanent Joint Headquarters of the UK military; a Senior Academic Adviser to the HMG ISIL Task Force; he was part of UK (MoD) horizon-scanning initiatives on Iraq and Libya; and he was invited by ISAF to visit Afghanistan in 2011 to research the reintegration process (APRP). In 2009, he served as a Senior Political Adviser to the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), with special reference to the situation in Kirkuk and Iraq's disputed territories, and has advised several private sector companies on their activities in Iraq and Kurdistan. During his career at Exeter, he has held research grants from the ESRC, Leverhulme Trust, the British Academy, the British Council, and the United States Institute for Peace.

## **Personal information**

Nationality: British  
Date of birth: 26 October 1973

## **Professional career**

### **University of Exeter (2002-)**

2011- HH Shaikh Sultan Al-Qasimi Chair of Arab Gulf Studies and Professor of Middle East Politics  
2012-15 Director of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies  
2011-14 Director of Research of the Strategy and Security Institute  
2009-12 Deputy Director and Director of Research of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies  
2007- Professor of Middle East Politics  
Founding Director of the Exeter Centre for Ethno-Political Studies  
2006-7 Associate Professor of Middle East Politics  
2005-6 Reader in Middle East Politics  
2004-5 Lecturer in Middle East Politics  
2002-4 Leverhulme Special Research Fellow in Political Development  
2002 Honorary Research Fellow

### **University of Durham (1997-2001)**

1997-01 Research Associate of the Centre for Middle East and Islamic Studies

## **Education**

### **University of Durham**

1997-01 PhD Political Science  
1995-96 MA (Distinction) in Middle East Politics

### **University of Durham**

1992-95 BA (Honours) in Geography

### **Hulme Grammar School, Oldham**

1992 4 A levels, all grade A. Governors' Major Leaving Exhibition  
1989-90 10 GCSEs

### **Fellowships, visiting, advisory, and honorary positions**

- 2015-17 Global Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC
- 2015- Associate Fellow of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP)
- 2015- Elected Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences (FAcSS)
- 2014- Senior Adviser, ISIL Task Force, Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
Visiting Professor, Soran University, Kurdistan Region of Iraq
- 2013- Senior Adviser on Middle East politics to the Chief of Joint Operations (CJO), Permanent Joint Headquarters (PJHQ), Northwood
- 2012- Senior Associate Fellow and Director of Middle East Studies, Royal United Services Institute for Security and Defence Studies (RUSI), London
- 2012-14 Honorary Research Fellow, Middle East and North Africa Research Group, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London
- 2011- Visiting Professor, Northwest University, Xi'an, China
- 2009 Visiting Fellow, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, Washington DC, declined  
Visiting Fellow, Department of Political Science and Sociology, and University Centre of Strategic and International Studies, University of Florence
- 2008-09 Senior Political Advisor, UN Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI)
- 2008- Visiting Professor, Iraq Institute for Strategic Studies, Beirut
- 2007- Fellow of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (FRSA)
- 2007-14 Associate Fellow, Penn Program on Ethnic Conflict, University of Pennsylvania
- 2003-12 Associate Fellow, Middle East Programme, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House

### **Educational Scholarships, Awards and Prizes**

- 2006 Hulme Grammar School R A H Mayers Memorial Award for old-boy achievements
- 2002-4 Leverhulme Trust Special Research Fellowship (post-doctoral award)
- 1999 University of Durham PhD Bursary
- 1997-99 University of Durham PhD Scholarship
- 1997 Kuwait University Arabic language scholarship (declined)
- 1996 Hatfield College Full Colours for rowing
- 1995-96 Hatfield College Postgraduate Studies Award
- 1995 University of Durham, Department of Geography, W A Moyes Prize.  
Hatfield College Half-Colours for rowing
- 1992 Hulme Grammar School Governors' Major Leaving Exhibition  
Oldham Metropolitan Borough Council Gerald Pritchard Award for music  
Hulme Grammar School John Chadwick Award for music

## **Administrative experience**

### **University of Exeter**

- 2011-15 Director of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies
- 2010-11 Head of Department of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies  
Director of Research of the Strategy and Security Institute
- 2009-10 Deputy Director of IAIS and Director of Research
- 2007 Member of Military Education Committee  
Director of Centre for Ethno-Political Studies (EXCEPS)  
Co-Director of the Centre for Kurdish Studies (CKS)
- 2006-8 Member of Postgraduate Programme Accreditation Committee
- 2005-8 Director of Graduate Studies of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences  
Director of Undergraduate Studies
- 2004 Director of MRes in Middle East Studies degree
- 2003 Conference Convenor for British Society for Middle Eastern Studies annual conference.

### **University of Durham**

- 1999-01 Programme Manager of the Iraqi Kurdistan Research Programme
- 1997 Acting Programme Manager of the Iraqi Kurdistan Research Programme

### **Royal United Services Institute for Security and Defence Studies (RUSI)**

- 2012- Director of Middle East Studies and Senior Associate Fellow

## **External administrative academic work**

- 2014 Board member of the Kurdish Genocide Task Force of the All Party Parliamentary Group on the Kurdistan Region of Iraq
- 2013 External reviewer of the Institutes of Zayed University, Dubai, UAE
- 2009 Appointments Panel for the President of the University of Kurdistan–Hewlêr (UKH) (Erbil)  
Advisory Board member of the *Kalima* Project, Abu Dhabi, UAE
- 2008 External reviewer of the Higher Education sector of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, at the invitation of the Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government
- 2005 Iraq Institute for Strategic Studies (Beirut) advisory board member
- 2001 Centre for Kurdish Studies (London) advisory board member

## Teaching experience

### *Undergraduate modules taught at Exeter*

International Relations of the Middle East; The Arab World and the West; Nationalisms in the Middle East; History and Political Development of Iraq; Politics and Economics of the Middle East; Geography of the Middle East; Ethnopolitics: Theoretical Considerations and Case Studies; Politics and Reform in the Gulf; Dissertations

### *MA modules taught at Exeter*

History and Politics of Iraq; Critical Kurdish Studies; History of the Kurds; Research Methods in Area Studies; International Relations of the Middle East; State and Society in the Middle East; Security Strategy in History and Theory; Security Strategy: Planning, Process and Product; Security Strategy and Resources; Security Strategy: Implementation, Adaptation and Evolution; Crisis Watch; Simulation Exercises; Dissertations

### *Leadership and Research and Teaching Innovations*

- 2009-14 Appointed to IAIS Management Board to oversee transition from RAE 2008 to REF 2014. Responsibilities included redesigning IAIS research activities and overall performance improvements. REF 2014 saw IAIS returned as highest placed Middle East Studies department, and 3<sup>rd</sup> on Area Studies UoA, with 45% of submission at 4\*, and 'Impact' at 100% 4\*.
- 2013 Led the design of a new Masters degree in Arabic (MArabic), intended to be the UK market leader by 2020, including new 'year abroad' provision, work placements, and increased transferable skills
- 2012 Conceived idea of a new 'Strategy and Security Institute' with Lt Gen Sir Paul Newton, building the concept and presenting it to the University management. The project has since commenced, seeing three professorial, two senior lectureship, one teaching fellow, and administrative support appointments, along with a £2 million investment in a new building.  
Designed new departmental structure, creating disciplinary programmes, tied MA programmes, and a new social science and humanities teaching approach
- 2008 Advised on design of BA in Middle East Studies and Kurdish, and BA in Arabic and Kurdish.  
Led redesign of Social Science Research Methods training programme for MRes degrees, subsequently approved by the ESRC
- 2006 Co-designed new MA degree in Kurdish Studies, and MA level module in 'Critical Kurdish Studies'
- 2006 Led strategy for the Annual Monitoring Review (AMR) of PhD students
- 2005 Co-designed new degree programme, BA in Arabic and Middle East Studies, commencing 2005-06  
Reformed student representation mechanism within the School
- 2005 Restructured ESRC-recognized MRes in Middle East Studies to include new research training programme and regional language pathways
- 2003 Co-designed ESRC-recognised MRes in Middle East Studies

## PhD supervision and examining

PhDs supervised in the disciplines and areas of Politics, Middle East Politics, Arab and Islamic Studies, Gulf Studies, Kurdish Studies, Ethno-Political Studies, and Strategy and Security:

### *Awarded PhDs (25, as of January 2016)*

Awaiting viva	Cemal Ozkahraman	<i>The Securitization of Water: The Social Development Initiative of the South-East Anatolia Project</i>
	Sima Shahraki	<i>The Baluchis and the Iranian State</i>
2016	Morgane Colleau	<i>Iran's Foreign Policy Through the Prism of the Nuclear Issue: The Ahmadinejad Presidency, 2005-2013</i>
2015	Elif Gozler	<i>Turkey's First Participatory Constitution-Making Attempt and its Reflections on Ethnic and Religious Communities</i>
	David Hogarth	<i>Geopolitical Risk and the Oil Industry: Assessing Risk by Applying a Bayesian-Inspired Methodology</i>
	Marjetka Pezdirc	<i>The Terrorism Complex</i>
	Johannes Cerny	<i>Performing Ethnicity, Enacting Sovereignty: The Kurdistan Region of Iraq between Group Solidarity and Statecraft</i> (published by Routledge)
2014	Mohammed Ihsan	<i>From Blueprint to Genocide: The Systematization of State-Engineered Genocide in Iraq</i> (published by Ashgate)
	Rahman Dag	<i>Managing Expectations Between Political Parties of Differing Ideologies: The Interaction of Pro-Kurdish and Pro-Islamist Political Streams in Turkey</i>
	Katherine Ranharter	<i>Gender Equality and Development After Violent Conflicts: The Effects of Gender Policies: A Case Study of the Iraqi Kurdistan Region</i> (published by Palgrave)
	Cornelius O'Driscoll	<i>Throwing Water Over the Tinderbox: An Alternative for Kirkuk</i> (supervised with Mary Alice Clancy)
2013	Christine Difato	<i>An International Relations Analysis of Citizenship and Intercultural Dialogue Among Minority Youth in Berlin and London: A Levels of Analysis Approach</i>
	Kelsey Shanks	<i>Education as an Ethnic Defence Strategy: The Case of the Iraqi Disputed Territories</i> (supervised with Mick Dumper, published by Routledge)
2012	Anaid Flesken	<i>Changing Ethnic Boundaries: Politics and Identity in Bolivia, 2000-2010</i>
	Shorsh Resool	<i>Reactive Nationalism in a Homogenizing State: The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in Ba'athist Iraq, 1963-2003</i>
	Sairan Barzinji	<i>The Role Played by the Kurdistan Regional Government in the Reconstruction of the Iraqi State</i>
	Ali Yusufu	<i>State Building and Constitutional Politics in a Multi-Ethnic Society: The Nigerian Experience</i> (supervised with Klejda Mulaj)
2011	Paul Griffiths	<i>Memories of Violence in Cyprus: Conflicting Perspectives</i>

		<i>and Dynamics of Reconciliation</i>
	Sabah Ghalib	<i>The Emergence of Kurdism with Special Reference to the Three Kurdish Emirates Within the Ottoman Empire, 1800-1850</i> (supervised with Christine Allison)
2010	James Harvey	<i>Over-Stating the Unrecognized State? Reconsidering De Facto Independent Entities in the International System</i>
	Jacob Mundy	<i>Representation, Civil War, and Humanitarian Intervention: The International Politics of Naming Algerian Violence, 1992-2002</i>
	Fanar Haddad	<i>Sectarian Relations in Arab Iraq: Competing Mythologies of People, History, and State</i> (published by Hurst)
2009	Mahir Aziz	<i>Ethno-Nationalism in a De Facto State: An Investigation of National Identity Among University Students in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq</i> (published by I. B. Tauris)
	Marianna Charoundaki	<i>A Study on the Kurds and US Foreign Policy in the Middle East Since 1945</i> (published by Routledge)
2008	Anne Watkins	<i>Weapons, Cash, and Interests: An Analysis of UK Foreign Policy Towards Iraq, 1979-2001</i>
2007	Khalid Al-Dhaheri	<i>An Arabian Approach to Politics: Environment, Tradition, and Leadership in the United Arab Emirates</i>
2006	Hirmis Aboona	<i>The Independent Assyrian Tribes of Tiyara and Hakkari and Their Relations with the Ottomans and the Kurds, 1831-1850</i> (supervised with Youssef Choueiri)

***Current PhD students (in International Relations, Political Science, Middle East and Islamic Studies, and Strategy and Security)***

Enrica Fei	<i>The Rise of Shi'i-stan in the Politics of the Gulf</i>
Tobias Borck	<i>Western Strategic Planning and the Middle East and Gulf Region</i>
Tallha Abdulrazaq	<i>Strategy in the Iran-Iraq War</i>
Sait Keskin	<i>The Political Development of the PKK</i>
Hoshyar Ali	<i>Democratization in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq</i>
Mithat Ishakoglu	<i>The Alevi of Turkey and the managing of dominant nationhood</i>
Hajar Sadoon	<i>The Foreign Policy of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq</i>
Mohammed Kareem	<i>Games of State: The Kurds and the Post-World War One Settlement</i>
Izzettin Sumer	<i>Iranian-Turkish Relations</i>
Jeremy Thomas	<i>Strategies of Environmental Management in the Arab Gulf States</i>
Luay al-Khateeb	<i>Iraqi oil and gas policy</i>

### *External PhD/MPhil examining*

External examiner of PhD theses at: King's College London, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London School of Economics and Political Science, Nottingham University, University of St Andrews, University of Kent, University of Leeds, Birkbeck College University of London, University of Lancaster, University of Cambridge (MPhil), Durham University, Royal Holloway University of London, University of South Australia.

- 2016 Salam Karam, *The Making and Unmaking of the Iraqi Constitution Since 2003*. Department of Politics and International Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London.
- 2015 Jacob Diliberto, *Surging: The Tale of Two Bloody Bailouts: A Comparative Study Between the Outcomes of the American Surges in Iraq (2006-2009) and Afghanistan (2009-2013)*. Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Birmingham.
- Dilshad Khdir, *Dynamics of Kurdish Identity Formation in the Kurdistan Region – Iraq*. Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Nottingham.
- 2014 Sterling Jensen, *Iraqi Narratives of the Anbar Awakening*. Department of War Studies, King's College London.
- Muslih Irwani, *Implementing Social Security Programmes in Post-Conflict Iraqi Kurdistan Region: The Case of 'Social Protection Fund' and the 'Rights and Privileges of to Families of Martyrs and Genocide Survivors' After 2001*. Department of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Nottingham.
- Michael Pye, *In the Belly of the Bear? Soviet-Iranian Relations During the Reign of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi*. School of History, University of St Andrews.
- Farah Shakir, *The Iraqi Federation: Origin, Operation and Significance*. School of Politics and International Relations, University of Kent.
- 2012 Nicholas Krohley, *The Death of the Mahdi Army*. Department of War Studies, King's College London.
- Yaniv Voller, *From Rebellion to De Facto Statehood: International and Transnational Sources of the Transformation of the Kurdish National Liberation Movement in Iraq into the Kurdistan Regional Government*. Department of International Relations, London School of Economics.
- 2011 Harriet Allsopp, *Politics and Parties Among the Kurds of Syria: Historical Development, Factionalism, and Functions*. Department of Politics, Birkbeck, University of London.
- Ahmed M Abdel Hafez Fawaz, *Opportunity, Ethnic Identity and Resources in Ethnic Mobilization: The Case of the Kurds in Iraq and Abkhaz in Georgia*. School of International Relations, University of St Andrews.
- 2009 Annemarie Peen Rodt, *Success? ESDP Military Conflict Management Operations: 2003-2009*. Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Nottingham.
- 2008 Robert Smith, *Iraq: State-Building in an Era of Globalization*. Department of Politics, University of Lancaster.



- 2007 Suleyman Azad Aslan, *Clashes of Agencies: The Formation and Failure of Early Kurdish Nationalism, 1918-1922*. Department of History, Royal Holloway, University of London.
- 2005 Steven Wright, *Analysing United States Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East 1993-2003: Origins and Grand Strategies*. School of Government and International Affairs, Durham University.

*Internal PhD Examining at the University of Exeter*

- 2015 Mustafa Ustun, *Reproduction of Armenianness in Diasporic Spaces: A Comparative Analysis in Turkish, Lebanese, and British Cases*.  
Seevan Saeed, *The Kurdish National Movement in Turkey: From the PKK to the KCK*.
- 2013 Nyaz Noori, *Faces of Economic Inequality in Iraqi Kurdistan, 2004-2010*.  
Syahrul Hidayat, *Islam and Democracy: Managing Moderation: The AKP in Turkey and the PKS in Indonesia*.
- 2012 Norafidah Ismail, *The Political and Economic Relations of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), 1949-2010*.
- 2011 Jeffrey Moore, *The Thai Way of Counterinsurgency*.  
Mohammed Ahmed, *The Legal Status of the Kurds in the Middle East: The Twenty-First Century Policies of Turkey, Iran, Syria, and Iraq Towards the Kurds*.
- 2010 Amira Ben Musa, *Globalisation and National Identity in Libya: The Impact of Satellite Television on University Students*.  
Giacomina De Bona, *The Impact of International Society: The Case Study of Human Rights in Libya Between 1969 and 2008*.
- 2009 Telmo Vieira, *Euro-Mediterranean Securitization and EU Foreign and Defence Policy: Challenges for Mediterranean Regional Security*.
- 2008 Kelly Gandolfo, *The Politics of Identity: The Case of the Palestinian-Jordanian Identity in Jordan*.  
Naif Bin Hethlain, *The Saudi-US Strategic Relationship, 1962-2006*.
- 2006 Mabroka Bobaker, *Political Alienation and Legitimacy: Assessing Citizens' Attitude the Political System in Libya: A Case Study of the Al-Orouba District of Benghazi*.

## Research Grants/Fundraising

*Successful applications (all as Principle Investigator, unless otherwise stated).*

*Over £2 million awarded on grants as Principle Investigator and £1.3 million on grants as Co-Investigator.*

- 2015      £933,246 from Economic and Social Research Council for project *Understanding and Managing Intra-State Territorial Contestation: Iraq's Disputed Territories in Comparative Perspective*. This is a three-year project, with myself as the Principle Investigator, and Professor Stefan Wolff of the University of Birmingham as Co-Investigator.
- £10,000 from Chevron to support book production costs of *The Kurdish Question Revisited*.
- £748 from Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter, to develop project on *Boundaries in the Middle East and North Africa Region*, with Greg Shapland.
- 2014      £35,000 from Chevron and £12,000 from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to hold symposium on the future of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq
- 2013      £43,000 UK government grant for funding of Middle East politics advanced research projects
- 2011      \$130,000 United States Institute of Peace (USIP) unsolicited grant for project *Iraq's Foreign Policy and Regional Relations*. Held at Chatham House
- £50,000 Leverhulme Trust Emeritus Professorship to support a research programme focused upon the disputed territories of Iraq
- 2010      £50,000 Delphi Grant from the British Council for engagement with Iraqi universities
- 2008      £3,500 from University research fund to undertake Palestine Policy Project workshop as part of EXCEPS activities
- £50,000 research grant from Prime Minister's Office of the Kurdistan Regional Government to advise on conflict management strategies
- 2007      £283,000 ESRC grant *Cultures of Repression: the Legacy of Colonial Violence and State Repression in the Maghreb, and its effect on North African Diasporas in Europe* (PI Dr Jonathan Githens-Mazer, Exeter)
- £17,987 extension to ESRC grant *Cultures of Repression* (PI Dr Jonathan Githens-Mazer, Exeter)
- Member of ESRC Seminar Grant award (led by Professor Stefan Wolff, Nottingham) to convene series on 'The EU and the Promotion and Stabilisation of Conflict Settlements'
- £30,000 grant from the Ibrahim Ahmed Foundation to convene a conference entitled *The Kurdish Policy Imperative* at Chatham House
- £29,473 Leverhulme Trust Research Fellowship for two-year research project entitled *Between Kurds, Turkemans, and Arabs: Managing Kirkuk*
- £739,351 Leverhulme Trust Research Leadership Award to establish a research cluster focusing on *Ethnopolitics in a Globalized World*
- Adjunct member of ESRC grant led by Dr Mick Dumper considering *Conflict in Cities and the Contested State*
- 2006      £40,000 ESRC 'Impact Grant' to research *British military intervention and ethical statecraft* (with Professor Tim Dunne, Department of Politics)

- 2005      Awarded £400 Overseas Conference Grant (refereed competition) from the British Academy  
             Awarded \$38,469 grant from United States Institute of Peace (USIP) unsolicited (refereed) grant competition for *Investigating Political Mobilization in Iraqi Kurdistan* (USIP-250-04F), September 2005 – March 2007
- 2003      £2,500 from ESRC (University of Birmingham) for ‘Iraq War Archive’ Arabic language component
- 2002      £65,000 Leverhulme Trust Special Research Fellowship
- 1997      Co-designer of University of Durham proposal to DFID for ‘Policy Planning Unit’ project in Iraqi Kurdistan, assisting the Kurdistan Regional Government(s) (total app. £950,000)

***Contract research***

- 2013      Part of Exeter-Aktis Strategy-RUSI team to provide analysis of Global Urbanisation and security, contracted by Red Scientific on behalf of DCDC/DSTL.
- 2012      Contract to advise on capacity-building of Syrian *de facto* local authorities forming in rebel-controlled areas of the north of Syria, with Coffey International funded by the Department for International Development (DFID)
- 2008      £50,000 PhD scholarship award from the Doctrine, Concepts and Development Centre (DCDC) of the Ministry of Defence, with Professor Tony King and Professor Tim Dunne  
             £5,000 grant from Doctrine, Concepts and Development Centre (DCDC) of Ministry of Defence to undertake research on UK military doctrine planning.
- 2005      Secured £5,000 grant from UK government to consider British military posture in the Middle East

***Grant application reviewing***

I have acted as a referee for the following grant awarding organizations: Arts and Humanities Research Council; Economic and Social Research Council; The European Research Council; The British Academy; The Nuffield Foundation; the Qatar National Research Foundation; The Leverhulme Trust; The Guggenheim Foundation, The Royal Society.

### **Professional memberships/associations**

Academy of Social Sciences, Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures & Commerce; American Political Science Association; Devon and Exeter Institution; Royal Geographical Society; UK Political Science Association; Iraq Institute for Strategic Studies; Durham Geography Graduates' Association; International Studies Association; British International Studies Association; London Middle East Institute; Political Studies Association; Royal Institute of International Affairs; Kurdish Scientific and Medical Association; British Society for Middle Eastern Studies; Middle East Studies Association of North America; Royal United Services Institute for Security and Defence Studies.

### **Editorial and international advisory board positions**

- 2016 Founding Editor of monograph and edited collection series 'Kurdish Studies'.  
London: Hurst & Co.  
Member, Task Force on Iraq, The Atlantic Council (Washington, DC)
- 2015 Member, Task Force on Kurdish Issues, Institute for the Study of Human  
Rights, Columbia University (New York)  
Editorial board of *Middle East Journal* (Middle East Institute, Washington DC)
- 2013 Editorial board of *Kurdish Studies* (London)
- 2012 Editorial board of *Journal of Arabian Studies* (Exeter)
- 2010 Editorial board of *Ethnopolitics* (Birmingham)
- 2009 Editorial board of *Shi'a Affairs* (London)
- 2009-12 Council member of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies  
(BRISMES)
- 2008 Founding Editor of monograph and edited collection series 'Studies in  
Ethnopolitics'. London: Routledge
- 2005 London Middle East Institute Papers on the Contemporary Middle East.  
Editorial board member for politics and international relations
- 2002-4 British Society for Middle Eastern Studies co-opted committee member.
- 2001- Washington Kurdish Institute (WKI) advisory board member  
Centre for Kurdish Studies (London) advisory board member  
Kurdistan Childrens' Fund advisory board member

## Publications

### *Books (monographs and edited collections)*

1. *The Islamic State, the Kurdistan Region, and the Future of Iraq*. London and New York: Hurst & Co, forthcoming.
2. *The Kurdish Question Revisited: Essays on the Transformation of the Kurdish Situation in the Middle East*. London and New York: Hurst & Co and Oxford University Press, forthcoming.
3. *Iraq: People, History, Politics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> updated edition. Cambridge: Polity, forthcoming.
4. *Iraq on the International Stage: Foreign Policy and National Identity in Transition*. Co-authored with Jane Kinninmont and Omar Sirri. London: Chatham House, 2013.
5. *Unrecognized States in the International System*. Co-edited with Nina Caspersen. London: Routledge, 2011.
6. *The Kurdish Policy Imperative*. Co-edited with Robert Lowe. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2009.
7. *Crisis in Kirkuk: The Ethnopolitics of Conflict and Compromise*. Co-authored with Liam Anderson. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009, 298 pp.
  - a. Arabic edition. *Azmat Kirkuk*. Beirut: Iraq Institute for Strategic Studies, 2009.
8. *Iraq: People, History, Politics*. Cambridge: Polity, 2007, 262 pp.
  - a. Arabic edition. Published by the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (ECSSR), Abu Dhabi, UAE, 2009.
9. *An Iraq of its Regions: Cornerstones of a Federal Democracy?* Co-edited with Reidar Visser. London and New York: Hurst & Co and Columbia University Press, 2007, 274 pp.
10. *The Future of Iraq: Dictatorship, Democracy or Division?* Co-authored with Liam Anderson. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 260 pp.
  - a. Revised and updated 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 278 pp.
  - b. Arabic edition. *Iraq al-Mustaqbal: Dictatoriyya, Dimocrattiyya am Taqsim?* London: Al-Warrak Publishers, 2005, 424 pp.
  - c. Kurdish edition in preparation.
11. *Iraqi Kurdistan: Political Development and Emergent Democracy*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, 261 pp.
12. *The 1995-1996 Yemen-Eritrea Conflict over the Islands of Hanish and Jabal Zuqar: A Geopolitical Analysis*. Durham: Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, Occasional Paper No. 66, 2001, 80 pp.

### *Special Issues*

1. *Post-American Iraq*. Editor. *International Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 6 (November), 2010.

### *Journal Articles, refereed*

1. Under review, 'ISIS and the Fall of Mosul: Reflections from Mawslawi society', with Tallha Abdulrazaq, under review by *Middle East Journal*.
2. 'Review Article: Explaining the Aims, Rise, and Impact of the Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham,' *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 70, No. 1, Winter 2016, pp. 146-151.

3. 'Acknowledging the Suffering of Victims of Sexual Violence in Iraq: The Iraqi High Tribunal and Crimes Against Women'. Co-authored with Katherine Ranharter, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 1, January 2016, pp. 27-45.
4. 'The Islamic State, the Kurdistan Region, and the Future of Iraq: An Assessment of UK Policy Options,' *International Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 6, 2014, pp. 1329-1350.
5. 'The Long Term Consequences of Short Term Solutions: The Return of Unresolved Problems in Iraq', in *Annuaire d'Afrique du Nord et du Moyen Orient*. Paris: Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI), 2014.
6. 'Britain, the United Arab Emirates and the Defence of the Gulf Revisited'. Co-authored with Saul Kelly. *International Affairs*, Vol. 89, No. 5, 2013, pp. 1203-1219.
7. 'The Unravelling of the Post-First World War One State System? The Kurdistan Region of Iraq and the Transformation of the Middle East'. *International Affairs*, Vol. 89, No. 2, 2013, pp. 259-282.
8. 'The Political, Cultural, and Military Reawakening of the Kurdish Nationalist Movement in Iran'. Co-authored with Hashem Ahmadzadeh. *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 1, 2010, pp. 11-27.
9. 'The Political Parameters of Post-Withdrawal Iraq'. *International Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 6, 2010, pp. 1261-1268.
10. 'Avoiding Ethnic Conflict in Iraq: Some Lessons from the Åland Islands'. *Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 2010, pp. 219-238.
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  9. 'Unrecognized States in the International System'. Co-authored with Nina Caspersen. In Nina Caspersen and Gareth Stansfield (eds.) *Unrecognized States in the International System*. London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 1-8.
  10. 'Theorizing Unrecognized States: Sovereignty, Secessionism, and Political Economy'. Co-authored with James Harvey. In Nina Caspersen and Gareth Stansfield (eds.) *Unrecognized States in the International System*. London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 11-26.
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2. 'The Challenges that Lie Ahead', in Stansfield and Newton (eds.) *After the Spring*, pp. 16-18.
3. 'The Quiet Revolution: Interview with HE Riadh Bettaieb, Minister for Investment and International Cooperation of Tunisia', in Stansfield and Newton (eds.) *After the Spring*, pp. 59-62.

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5. *Kurdistan: Invest in Democracy*. Editor. An official publication of the Kurdistan Regional Government. London & Washington DC: Newsdesk Publications, 2011.
6. 'Setting a Course for Stability and Success: Interview with HE Dr Barham Salih, Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government', in Gareth Stansfield (ed.) *Kurdistan: Invest in Democracy*, pp. 26-28.
7. 'Looking to the Future', in Gareth Stansfield (ed.) *Kurdistan: Invest in Democracy*, pp. 33-34.
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10. 'Boosting Exports to Balance Trade: An Interview with HE Sinan Chalabi, Minister of Trade and Industry in the Kurdistan Regional Government', in Gareth Stansfield (ed.) *Kurdistan: Invest in Democracy*, pp. 52-53.
11. 'Encouraging Investment: An Interview with Herish Muharram, Chairman of the Board of Investment for Kurdistan', in Gareth Stansfield (ed.) *Kurdistan: Invest in Democracy*, pp. 54-57.
12. 'Building Relationships Across Borders: An Interview with HE Falah Mustafa Bakr, Head of the Kurdistan Regional Government's Department of Foreign Relations', in Gareth Stansfield (ed.) *Kurdistan: Invest in Democracy*, pp. 58-59.
13. 'Turkish Investment: Developing Durable Relationships: An Interview with Aydin Selçen, Consul General for the Republic of Turkey in Erbil', in Gareth Stansfield (ed.) *Kurdistan: Invest in Democracy*, pp. 60-61.
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15. 'Reaping the Rewards of Oil', in Gareth Stansfield (ed.) *Kurdistan: Invest in Democracy*, pp. 88-92.
16. 'Erbil Takes Flight: An Interview with Talar Faiq Salih, Airport Director of the Erbil International Airport', in Gareth Stansfield (ed.) *Kurdistan: Invest in Democracy*, pp. 97-99.
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3. 'The Struggle for the Presidency in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq', *RUSI Analysis*, 2 June 2015.
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11. 'The New Rules of the Game in Iraq', *RUSI briefing*, 18 June 2014.
12. 'Reading the Elections in Iraq', *RUSI Analysis*, 19 May 2014.
13. 'The Transformational Effects of the Oil and Gas Strategy of the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq', *Dossier du Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI)*, March 2014.
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16. *The Remaking of Syria, Iraq, and the Wider Middle East: The End of the Sykes-Picot State System?* Briefing Paper, Royal United Services Institute, July 2013.
17. *A Return to East of Suez? UK Military Deployment to the Gulf*. Co-authored with Saul Kelly, Briefing Paper, Royal United Services Institute, April 2013.

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### **Manuscript/proposal reviews**

I have reviewed manuscripts, book proposals and journal submissions for: Routledge (London), Routledge Curzon (London), Cambridge University Press, Palgrave Macmillan (Basingstoke and New York), University of Florida Press, University of Texas Press, Yale University Press, Hurst & Co. (London), University of Pennsylvania Press, IB Tauris, Polity, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, *Political Studies*, *International Affairs*, *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, *Middle East Journal*, *Journal of Social Affairs* (UAE), *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (US), *Melbourne Journal of International Law* (Australia), *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* (LSE), *Nations and Nationalism*, *Ethnopolitics*, *Middle Eastern Studies*, *The Historian*, *RUSI Journal*, *Publius*.

### **Broadcasting and journalism**

Regular appearances and interviews on UK, European, US, South African, Middle Eastern, and Asian media organizations, including the following networks and programmes:

BBC World Service, BBC Radio 4, BBC Radio 5, BBC Scotland, BBC Wales, BBC News 24, BBC Breakfast, BBC Devon, Channel 4 news, Radio France International, France 24 TV, National Greek Radio, Reuters, Bloomberg, British Satellite Broadcasting, CBC, CNBC, *Jaam-i Jam* (Iran), South Africa Radio, Radio Singapore, *Al-Jazeera*, Juniper Productions, The History Channel, Rudaw (Kurdish). Some 400 appearances since 2002

Regular commentator in newspapers and magazines, including *The Guardian*, *The Observer*, *The Times*, *The Telegraph*, *Sunday Telegraph*, *The Independent*, *Time Magazine*, *Daily Star* (Beirut), *National Geographic*, *New Statesman*, *Prospect Magazine*, *Esquire*.

**Selected public lectures, presentations,  
conference participation, and briefings, 2012-2016**

1. Guest lecture on *The Broken Middle East*. King's Royal Hussars, Tidworth, 31 March 2016.
2. Invited member and participant, The Atlantic Council Task Force on Iraq. Suleimani, Kurdistan Region of Iraq, 15-17 March 2016.
3. Invited participant, the Suleimani Forum. American University of Iraq – Suleimani (AUIS), Kurdistan Region of Iraq, 16-17 March 2016.
4. Invited participant in *Middle East and North Africa Experts Forum on The Arab Spring 5 Years On*. Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 10 March 2016.
5. Paper presenter on *Iraq and the Westphalian State Model* at the seminar *A Westphalia for the Middle East* organized by Professor Brendan Sims of the University of Cambridge. Held at King's College London, 2 March 2016.
6. Co-convenor of ESRC seminar on *Intra-State Territorial Conflicts in Comparative Perspective: Causes and Remedies*. University of Birmingham, 26 February 2016.
7. Public lecture on *The Rise of ISIS* as part of the *Fighting Extremes: From Ebola to ISIS* series of the Imperial War Museum. Imperial War Museum, London, 23 February 2016.
8. Guest lecture on *The 'New' Middle East: The Return of the Nineteenth Century* as part of the University of Exeter's *Global Conversation*. Dr Sultan Al-Qasimi Centre for Gulf Studies, Sharjah, United Arab Emirates, 6 February 2016.
9. Invited witness to the Foreign Affairs Committee's inquiry into *The Fight Against ISIL: The UK's Role*. House of Commons, 26 January 2016.
10. Lecture to the Higher Command and Staff Course (HCSC) course on *Iraq, Syria, and ISIS*. Joint Services Command and Staff College (JSCSC), Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, Shrivenham, 13 January 2016.
11. Invited participant in *Middle East and North Africa Experts Forum on The Balance of Power in the Middle East*. Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 10 December 2015.
12. Presenter on *Western Interventions in the Middle East* at the Centre for Changing Character of Warfare, University of Oxford, 8-9 December 2015.
13. Co-convenor of ESRC seminar on *Iraq's Disputed Territories: Actors, Interests, and Engagements*. University of Exeter, 4 December 2015.
14. Guest lecture on *The Islamic State, the Kurdistan Region, and the Future of Iraq*. St. Antony's College, Oxford University, 27 November 2015.
15. Guest lecture on *Iraq's Integrity, the Rise of the Islamic State, the Consolidation of the Kurdistan Region, and the Response of Baghdad*. The Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Helsinki, 14 October 2015.
16. Guest lecture and panellist at the Royal College of Defence Studies (RCDS) speaking on *Overview of the Middle East and External Powers*. London, RCDS, 13 April 2015.
17. Working Group Moderator of the Brookings Doha Energy Forum *Energy Stability or a False Sense of Security – How Changes in Geopolitics, Political Economy, and Markets Alter the Energy Landscape*. Doha, 25-26 March 2015.
18. Guest lecture at Kuwait Defence Academy, on *Iraqi Politics and Regional Security*. Kuwait City, 24 March 2015.

19. Participant in Imperial War Museum discussion on Operation Shader. London, 23 February 2015.
20. Guest lecture on the politics of Iraq and the Islamic State, Advanced Command and Staff Course (ACSC) at the Joint Services Command and Staff College (JSCSC) of the Defence Academy of the UK. Shrivenham, 27 January 2015.
21. Convenor of policy roundtable *The Future of Kurdish Politics and Long-Term Policy Implications*, held at Chatham House, 14 January 2015.
22. Guest presenter at UK military study day on the politics of Iraq. Nottingham, 16 December 2014.
23. Convenor of symposium 'The Future of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq'. Funded by the FCO and Chevron. Hosted by RUSI, London, 10-11 December 2014.
24. Invited to brief private session of the Defence Select Committee of Parliament on the subject of combating the Islamic State, RUSI, London, 17 November 2014.
25. Royal United Services Institute breakfast briefing on *Geopolitical Trajectories and the Next SDSR – the Middle East*, alongside the Rt Hon Jack Straw, RUSI, London, 12 November 2014.
26. Invited plenary speaker at the inaugural Middle East Research Institute (MERI) Conference, Erbil, Kurdistan Region of Iraq, 5 November 2014.
27. Invited paper presenter at the Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (Italian Institute for International Political Studies) International Conference *The New Middle East (Dis)Order*. Paper presented on 'Old and Emerging Players: Geopolitical and Economic Interests'. Milan, 23 October 2014.
28. Invited to brief the Shell Strategy team and Shell Iraq heads on Iraqi politics, the Islamic State, and the Kurdistan Region. The Hague, 10 October 2014.
29. Paper presenter at seminar on *Perceptions of Security and Governance in de facto and Partially Recognized States*. Presented paper on 'Security Challenged? The Kurdistan Region and the Threat of ISIS'. School of Public Policy, University College London, 11-12 September 2014.
30. Participant and presenter at the Gulf Research Meeting (GRM) workshop on *The Gulf and the US*, presenting paper on *UK-Gulf Relations and the Obama Pivot to Asia*. University of Cambridge, 22-26 August 2014.
31. Presenter at LSE Middle East Centre symposium on *The Future of Iraq After the National Elections*, presenting 'Voter Mobilization within the Kurdish Population'. LSE, 25-26 June 2014.
32. Conference co-convenor of *Syria: What Next?* in conjunction with the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy and the Royal United Services Institute. Symposium held in Amman, Jordan, 6-7 June 2014.
33. Invited participant and presenter in panel on *Turkey's Middle East Foreign Policy* of the Turkish Studies Programme of the London School of Economics and Political Science, London 25 April 2014.
34. Invited lecture on *Kurdistan Rising?* as part of the 'Turbulent World: Maghrib, Mashriq and the Gulf in the New Era of Uncertainty' seminar series, Pembroke College, University of Cambridge, 24 April 2014. For pre-talk interview, see [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xf\\_fueo3THo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xf_fueo3THo)
35. Guest lecturer on the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP) 18<sup>th</sup> Training Course in Security Policy, speaking on *Iraq: Foreign and Security Policy Dynamics*. Geneva, 13 March 2014.



36. Invited expert in seminar on the politics of the Kurdish regions of the Middle East. Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, 28 February 2014.
37. Invited lecture on the Advanced Command and Staff Course (ACSC) of the Joint Services Command and Staff College (JSCSC) of the Defence Academy of the UK, on *Iraq*. Shrivenham, February 2014.
38. Invited presentation to conference organized by Sciences Po and CERI on *The Iraqi Kurdistan and the Kurdish Issue in Near Eastern Politics: New Dynamics and Challenges*. Paper on 'The Oil and Gas Politics of Kurdistan, Iraq, and Turkey'. Sciences Po, Paris, 22 November 2013.
39. Invited to brief the UK Ambassador Designate to Turkey as part of seminar group. Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, 19 November 2013.
40. Invited presentation on 'State-Society Questions: The Case of the Kurds of Iraq' at *Iraq+10: Looking Forward*. Conference at the Institute for Iraqi Studies of Boston University. Boston, 18-19 April 2013.
41. Invited presenter to the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP) 17<sup>th</sup> European Training Course in Security Policy, on *Iraq: Foreign Security Policy Dynamics*. Geneva, 13 March 2013.
42. Guest lecture at King's College London in seminar on *Turkey and the Kurdish Regional Government: Towards Interdependence, Independence, or Crisis?* London, 11 March 2013.
43. Guest lecturer at the Allied Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC) HQ, speaking on *Social Anthropology of Syria and the Wider Region*. Gloucester, 10 March 2013.
44. Invited lecture to the Royal College of Defence Studies (RCDS) on *Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Arab States (GCC): Conservatism and Change*. London, 6 March 2013.
45. Invited lecture on the Advanced Command and Staff Course (ACSC) of the Joint Services Command and Staff College (JSCSC) of the Defence Academy of the UK, on *Iraq*. Shrivenham, February 2013.
46. Co-led seminar on *Iraq's Foreign Policy in a Changing Middle East*. Chatham House, London, 20-21 February 2013.
47. Invited speaker at Kurdistan Regional Government Conference on *The Untold Story: The Kurdish Genocide in Iraq*. Presentation on *Understanding the Silence towards the Kurdish Genocide in Iraq*. London, 17 January 2013.
48. Paper presenter on *British Perspectives on Capacity Building* at the National Strategy Information Center conference on 'Opportunities, Capabilities, and Strategy in North Africa'. Washington DC, 28 November 2012.
49. Lead seminar on *Actors and Processes of Iraqi Foreign Policy*. Chatham House, held at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Washington DC, 26-27 November 2012.
50. Seminar participant on *Revolutions Without Paradigms* at L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS)/Institut d'études de l'Islam et des Sociétés du Monde Musulman, Paris, 15 November 2012.
51. Participant at UK MoD Development, Concepts, and Doctrine Centre seminar focused on the update of the *Global Strategic Trends* publication. Defence Academy of the UK, Shrivenham, 18-19 July 2012.
52. Guest speaker at Wilton Park Conference *Impact and Challenges for the Middle East and North Africa One Year On from the Arab Transitions*. 21-24 May 2012.

53. Invited lecture on the Advanced Command and Staff Course (ACSC) of the Joint Services Command and Staff College (JSCSC) of the Defence Academy of the UK, on *Iraq*. Shrivenham, February 2012.
54. Guest speaker at Wilton Park Conference *Future Trends and Challenges for the Middle East and North Africa: Towards 2030*. 18-20 January 2012.
55. Presented paper on 'Federalism in Iraq' at Foundation for Law, Justice and Society in association with the Centre for Socio-Legal Studies and Wolfson College Oxford, workshop on *The Promise and Pitfalls of Federalism: Constitutional Development in the Twenty-First Century*. Queen's College, University of Oxford, 20 April 2012.