

Madiha Afzal

Experience:

- 2019 – David M. Rubenstein Fellow, Foreign Policy, Center for Middle East Policy, Center for Security, Strategy, and Technology, The Brookings Institution
- 2018 – 2019 Visiting Fellow, Foreign Policy, The Brookings Institution
- 2012 – 2018 Non-Resident Fellow, Global Economy & Development, The Brookings Institution
- 2017 – 2018 Adjunct Assistant Professor of Global Policy, Johns Hopkins SAIS
- 2008 – 2017 Assistant Professor, School of Public Policy, University of Maryland, College Park

Education:

- 2008 Ph.D. in Economics, Yale University
Fields: Development Economics and Political Economy
Dissertation Title: *Understanding Voting in Elections and Legislator Behavior: Exploiting Luck and Restrictions on Candidacy in South Asia*
- 2005 M.Phil., Economics, Yale University
- 2003 M.A., Economics, Yale University
- 2002 BSc (Honors) in Economics (minors: Mathematics & Computer Science), Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS), Pakistan
National Management Foundation Gold Medal, Ranked 1st in graduating class (2002); Gold Medal, Ranked 1st among Economics majors (2002); Dean's Honor List (1998-2002).

Current Affiliations:

- Fellow, Center for Economic Research in Pakistan (CERP)
- Fellow, Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives (IDEAS), Pakistan

Previous affiliations:

- Research Fellow, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM)

Other employment:

- Consultant, The World Bank, Washington DC 2018, 2011-2012, 2004
- Consultant, Department for International Development (DFID) 2013 - 2014
- Visiting Research Fellow, International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) 2013 - 2014

Publications:

Book

- Pakistan Under Siege: Extremism, Society, and the State. 2018. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press (also published by Penguin India in South Asia and Afghanistan).
Reviewed in The New York Review of Books, Foreign Affairs, Survival, Choice, Dawn, The Hindu, The News, The Indian Express, and more.

Journal Articles and Essays

- (1) Afzal, M. 2014. Do barriers to candidacy reduce political competition? Evidence from a bachelor's degree requirement for legislators in Pakistan. *Public Choice*, 161(1-2): 51-72.
- (2) Afzal, M. 2016. Pakistan's Democratic Opportunity. *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs*, No. 23.

- (3) Afzal, M. 2017. Extremism Watch in Pakistan. The Cairo Review of Global Affairs. No. 26.
- (4) Afzal, M. 2019. A Multifaceted Threat Environment for Pakistan's Media. SAIS Review of International Affairs 38(2), 33-41. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Book Chapters

- (1) Afzal, M., G. Garrido, B. Holtemeyer, and K. Kosec. 2016. "Access to Public Services." In: Agriculture and the Rural Economy in Pakistan: Issues, Outlooks, and Policy Priorities, Spielman, D.J., S.J. Malik, P. Dorosh, and N. Ahmed, eds. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- (2) Afzal, M. 2017. "Dissimilar histories: History curricula in government and elite Pakistani schools," in Pande, A. Ed, Handbook on Contemporary Pakistan. Taylor and Francis: Routledge.
- (3) Afzal, M. 2018. "Decentralization and Service Delivery: Education in Punjab." In Institutions in Pakistan, I. Husain and M. Kugelman, eds. Washington, DC: Wilson Center.
- (4) Afzal, M. 2020. "In Pakistan, Another Embassy under Siege," in Maloney, S. Ed. The Iranian Revolution at Forty, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- (5) Afzal, M. 2020. "Reopening Muslim religious spaces," in Reopening the World: How to Save Lives and Livelihoods, J. R. Allen and D. M. West, eds. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Policy Reports and Policy Briefs

- (1) Afzal, M. 2015. Education and Attitudes in Pakistan: Understanding Perceptions of Terrorism. USIP Special Report 367. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- (2) Afzal, M. 2019. An Inflection Point for Pakistan's Democracy. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- (3) Afzal, M. 2019. Saudi Arabia's Hold on Pakistan. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- (4) Afzal, M. 2020. From "Western Education is Forbidden" to the World's Deadliest Terrorist Group: Education and Boko Haram in Nigeria. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- (5) Afzal, M. 2020. "At all costs": How Pakistan and China control the narrative on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- (6) Afzal, M. 2021. A global effort to counter extremism through education (Brookings Blueprints for American Renewal & Prosperity). Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Working papers

- (1) Gender, Education, and Support for Militant Groups: Evidence from Public Opinion Surveys in Pakistan
- (2) Rainfall, Politician Incentives, and Reelection: Evidence from Indian and Pakistani Elections, 2nd round R&R at the Journal of Development Economics
- (3) Does the Education of Politicians Matter? Evidence from a Mandated Minimum Education Requirement for Legislators in Pakistan
- (4) Pakistan's Incumbency Disadvantage

Other Reports

- (1) Afzal, M. (2014). Background Quantitative Report for DFID Election Programs in Pakistan.
- (2) Afzal, M. (2018). Background paper (“An evaluation of Pakistan’s political economy challenges”) for World Bank’s Pakistan at 100 project.

Analysis, policy writing, and commentary

- (1) “On Malala Yousufzai and the Education of Girls”, The Express Tribune, October 12, 2012 (quoted in lead article on CNN.com, October 12/13, 2012)
- (2) “Time to Look Inward”, The Express Tribune, October 26, 2012
- (3) “Pakistan’s Squandered Chance at Education Reform”, Foreign Policy (AfPak Channel), October 29, 2012
- (4) “Drone Strikes and Anti-Americanism in Pakistan”, Brookings (Opinion), February 7, 2013
- (5) “Pakistan will Rise Again”, The Express Tribune, March 10, 2013
- (6) “Can Imran Khan Ride to Victory?”, The Express Tribune, May 10, 2013
- (7) “The Week After”, The Express Tribune, May 21, 2013
- (8) “Who are the Terrorists?”, The Express Tribune, June 23, 2013
- (9) “Terror’s Forgotten Victims in Pakistan”, The Express Tribune, July 7, 2013
- (10) “Punjab’s Education Success Story”, The Express Tribune, July 21, 2013
- (11) “The education-militancy connection”, The Express Tribune, August 4, 2013
- (12) “Tragedy in Egypt”, The Express Tribune, August 18, 2013
- (13) “The ‘evil’ in our textbooks”, The Express Tribune, Sept 1, 2013
- (14) “Understanding the world through our (new) textbooks”, The Express Tribune, Oct 3, 2013
- (15) “The emergency in Pakistan’s schools”, The Express Tribune, Oct 24, 2013
- (16) “On Pakistani anti-Americanism”, The Express Tribune, Nov 14, 2013
- (17) “Six months on, no vision”, The Express Tribune, Dec 10, 2013
- (18) “Imran Khan: True opposition”, The Express Tribune, Dec 26, 2013
- (19) "A failed curriculum reform", The Express Tribune, January 16, 2014
- (20) "The Taliban is winning them over: Time to talk to the Pakistani people, Mr. Sharif", Brookings (Upfront blog), February 26, 2014
- (21) "On talks and peace", The Express Tribune, March 27, 2014
- (22) "On conspiracy theories, education, and the state", The Express Tribune, May 1, 2014
- (23) "Leaders with a misplaced focus", The Express Tribune, May 30, 2014
- (24) "Pakistan needs a revolution", The Express Tribune, September 11, 2014
- (25) “To Beat the Taliban, Pakistan needs schools reform”, Newsweek, January 5, 2015; also published as “Pakistan needs curriculum reform to fight the Taliban”, Brookings (Upfront), December 31, 2014
- (26) "Pakistan's Identity Problem", Foreign Policy (South Asia Channel), March 24, 2015
- (27) "Violence, Pakistan's new Normal", Foreign Policy (South Asia Channel), June 2, 2015
- (28) "Who is to blame for the (Karachi) heatwave deaths?", The Express Tribune, July 7, 2015
- (29) "Curriculum reform in Pakistan: Moving to action", The Friday Times, July 17, 2015
- (30) "The trap of violence", The Express Tribune, August 4, 2015

- (31) "What's the relationship between education, income, and favoring the Pakistani Taliban?", Brookings (Future Development), October 19, 2015
- (32) "One of the San Bernardino terrorists was from Pakistan. Does that country support extremist violence?", The Washington Post (Monkey Cage), December 29, 2015
- (33) "On Trump, Islamophobia, and hate speech", The Express Tribune, January 8, 2016
- (34) "Identity goes beyond Islam in Pakistan", Foreign Policy (South Asia Channel), February 2, 2016
- (35) "Making 'O' Levels Pakistan Studies books available to all", The Express Tribune, February 3, 2016
- (36) "Erased provincial histories," The Express Tribune, March 2, 2016
- (37) "The Lahore bombing should not be defined as an Easter attack", The Express Tribune, April 23, 2016
- (38) "The Pakistani curriculum and extremism", The Express Tribune, May 18, 2016
- (39) "Take One: Beyond the Kabul Process," Jinnah Institute, May 31, 2016 (expert panel commentary)
- (40) "Frankenstein's monsters", The Express Tribune, June 8, 2016
- (41) "How we all reinforce a narrative of Islam versus the west", Brookings (Order from Chaos), August 4, 2016
- (42) "The U.S. example", Dawn, November 24, 2016
- (43) "Redefining Pakistan" (with Anand Patwardhan), Brookings (Upfront), January 11, 2017
- (44) "On Afghan Refugees", Dawn, May 17, 2017
- (45) "Democracy in Pakistan: Elections tell us why legislators behave badly," VoxDev, August 14, 2017
- (46) "Should Nawaz have been allowed due process instead of being sacked?" Dawn, August 16, 2017
- (47) "Why the Trump administration's policy on Pakistan is likely to fail," Brookings, November 22, 2017 (cross-posted on Lawfare)
- (48) "Brookings experts on Trump's National Security Strategy," Brookings, December 21, 2017 (with Brookings scholars)
- (49) "US, Pakistan must move beyond dangerous status quo," The Hill, January 22, 2018
- (50) "Do Pakistanis hold a favorable view of Lashkar-e-Taiba?" Dawn, March 22, 2018
- (51) "Malala is building more schools in Pakistan. That's not likely to reduce support for extremism," The Washington Post (Monkey Cage), April 7, 2018
- (52) "University education and radicalization in Pakistan," Mint (India), April 16, 2018
- (53) "Pakistan's censorship model," Brookings, May 30, 2018
- (54) "A volatile election season in Pakistan," Brookings, July 20, 2018
- (55) "What are the underlying factors you should consider before voting?" Dawn, July 24, 2018
- (56) "Did Imran Khan win a "dirty" election or a real mandate?" Brookings, July 27, 2018
- (57) "Imran Khan and Pakistan's hardliners," Brookings, November 7, 2018
- (58) "Feature: Pakistan in 2019: Recommendations for Navigating Change," Jinnah Institute, January 23, 2019 (expert panel commentary)
- (59) "1979: Another embassy under siege," Brookings, January 24, 2019
- (60) "Imran Khan's failing revolution," Foreign Affairs, February 13, 2019
- (61) "Pressure now on Modi to help defuse India-Pakistan crisis," Axios, February 28, 2019
- (62) "Take One: A deal too far?" Jinnah Institute, September 19, 2019 (expert panel commentary with Sherry Rehman, Salman Bashir, Zahid Hussain)

- (63) “Imran Khan’s incomplete narrative on the Taliban,” Brookings, October 14, 2019
- (64) “Protests in Pakistan could shake prime minister’s mandate: Why street power is particularly effective in the country,” The Washington Post (Monkey Cage), November 15, 2019
- (65) “The curious case of the Pakistani army chief’s extension,” Brookings, December 4, 2019
- (66) “Why Pakistan’s former ruler Musharraf was sentenced to death, and what it means,” Brookings, December 19, 2019 (cross-posted on Lawfare)
- (67) “Around the Halls: Experts react to the killing of Iranian commander Qassem Soleimani,” Brookings, January 3, 2020 (commentary with Ranj Alaaldin, Daniel Byman, Ali Fathollah-Nejad, Jeffrey Feltman, Tanvi Madan, Suzanne Maloney, Michael O’Hanlon, Bruce Riedel, Shibley Telhami, and Tamara Cofman Wittes)
- (68) “2020 Trends to watch: Policy Issues to watch in 2020,” Brookings, January 7, 2020 (with Brookings scholars)
- (69) “Why is Pakistan’s military repressing a huge, nonviolent Pashtun protest movement?” February 7, 2020 (cross-posted on Lawfare)
- (70) “America’s responsibilities on the cusp of its peace deal with the Taliban,” Brookings, February 28, 2020
- (71) “Around the Halls: Brookings experts discuss the implications of the US-Taliban agreement,” March 5, 2020 (with John R. Allen, Bruce Riedel, Michael E. O’Hanlon, and Vanda Felbab-Brown)
- (72) “Pakistan teeters on the edge of potential disaster with the coronavirus,” Brookings, March 27, 2020
- (73) “Pakistan’s dangerous capitulation to the religious right on the coronavirus,” The Washington Post, May 1, 2020
- (74) “The fundamental connection between education and Boko Haram in Nigeria,” Brookings, May 7, 2020
- (75) “With a mix of pandemic denialism and exceptionalism, Pakistan makes a cynical bet on the coronavirus,” Brookings, June 5, 2020
- (76) “Will the Afghan peace process be Pakistan’s road to redemption?” Brookings, June 25, 2020 (cross-posted on Lawfare)
- (77) “The pandemic deals a blow to Pakistan’s democracy,” Brookings, August 6, 2020
- (78) “The Pakistan-Saudi Arabia relationship hits a bump in the road: What happened, and what lies ahead,” Brookings, August 24, 2020
- (79) “America should stay in Afghanistan until an intra-Afghan deal is reached — not forever,” Brookings, October 13, 2020
- (80) “Evaluating the Trump administration’s Pakistan reset,” Lawfare Foreign Policy Essay, October 25, 2020
- (81) “A list of specific, actionable foreign policy ideas for the next president (with Brookings foreign policy scholars),” Brookings, October 27, 2020
- (82) “What leaders overseas will want to ask of the Biden administration (with Brookings foreign policy scholars),” Brookings, November 13, 2020
- (83) “Around the halls: How leaders and public around the world are reacting to events at the Capitol” (with Brookings foreign policy scholars), Brookings, January 8, 2021
- (84) “Terrorism in Pakistan has declined, but the underlying roots of extremism remain,” Brookings, January 15, 2021
- (85) “May 2021 should not be seen as a unilateral deadline for the United States to leave Afghanistan,” Brookings, February 10, 2021

- (86) “Why staying in Afghanistan is the least bad choice for Biden (with Michael E O’Hanlon),” The Washington Post, March 8, 2021
- (87) “Americans are not unanimously war-weary on Afghanistan (with Israa Saber),” Brookings, March 19, 2021

Grants

- United States Institute of Peace, Education and Radicalization in Pakistan, 2013
- Finn Church Aid, Education and Boko Haram in Nigeria, 2019-2020

Honors, Fellowships, and Awards

- Inaugural recipient of LUMS Vice Chancellor’s Alumni Achievement Award, 2018
- Named to Lo Spazio della Politica's list of Top 100 Global Thinkers of 2013
- School of Public Policy Semester Research Fellowship, 2013-14
- School of Public Policy Special Initiative Research Grant, 2012-13
- School of Public Policy Summer Research Grant, 2010, 2011
- John F. Enders Fund Award, Yale University, 2008
- Yale University Dissertation Fellowship, 2007
- Sasakawa Research Award, Yale University, 2006, 2007
- Ryoichi Sasakawa Fellowship, Yale University, 2005-2006
- Yale University Doctoral Fellowship, 2002-2006
- Department of Economics Prize, Yale University, 2002-2006
- NMF Gold Medal, Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS), 2002 (Ranked 1st in graduating class)
- Gold Medal in Economics, LUMS, 2002 (Ranked 1st in graduating Economics majors)
- Dean’s Honour List, LUMS, 1998-2002
- Chaudhry Nazar Mohammad Scholar (Highest GPA), LUMS, 2001
- Manzur-ul-Haq Scholar (Highest GPA), LUMS, 2000
- Full Merit Scholarship, LUMS, 1999-2002
- ABN-AMRO Bank-LUMS Merit Scholarship, 1998
- Pakistan National Merit Scholarship, 1998 (declined)
- Gold Medal, Lahore Board, Fellow of Arts Examination, 1998 (Ranked 1st in Punjab)

Teaching

- Pakistan Familiarization Course lectures, Foreign Service Institute, U.S. State Department
- Comparative Politics for the Master’s in Global Policy, Johns Hopkins SAIS
- Policy Lab on Extremism (UMD)
- Winter semester UMD study abroad course in Morocco (Morocco: Political and Social Development)
- Quantitative Methods for Public Policy (UMD)
- International Development Policy Master’s Thesis Course (UMD)
- Guest lecturer, PhD Research Methods Course (UMD)
- Teaching Fellow at Yale, 2004-2007

School and University Service (at UMD)

- PhD dissertation committee member for 10+ students
- PhD Program Committee

- PhD Admissions Committee
- PhD Program Quantitative Exam Director
- International Development PhD Comprehensive Exam Co-Examiner
- Master's Admissions Committee
- International Development Faculty Search Committee
- International Economic Policy Faculty Search Committee

Invited Seminar Presentations/Conferences/Panel Discussions

2021: Stanford, The Diplomat, Modern War Institute, USIP (upcoming)

2020: Brookings, NATO Defense College (Rome), Foreign Policy Association Great Decisions Discussion (Reston, VA), World Affairs Council of Richmond, Middle East Institute, Observer Research Foundation, Council on Foreign Relations of Afghanistan, National Defense University, Center for Global Policy.

2019: Brookings, SAIS, GWU, Lahore Literary Festival (New York), National Security Agency, World Bank.

2018: Brookings, Wilson Center, Johns Hopkins SAIS, UMD Public Policy, UCSD, American University, ICFJ, World Affairs Council of Jacksonville, World Affairs Council of Council of San Antonio, New America Foundation, National Defense University, Lahore Literary Festival (London), Meridian International Center, Busboys & Poets

2017: Wilson Center, Harvard Pakistan conference, ICFJ

2016: MPSA; Georgetown South Asia conference; William & Mary program in DC; CISSM Forum, UMD; UMD Government & Politics; ICFJ; World Learning

2015: USIP; IFPRI Pakistan Program Annual Conference (Islamabad); FC College (Lahore); CERP/IDEAS (Lahore); International Center for Journalists (ICFJ); World Affairs Council, DC

2014: National Defense University, NESAC Center; IFPRI; UMD Public Policy; Pakistan Penn Conference; Lahore College for Women University, Pakistan

2013: APPAM Annual Conference; FC College Center for Public Policy and Governance (Lahore); APSA Annual Meeting; UCSD; UMD Public Policy; CISSM Forum, UMD

2012: Wilson Center; NPSA Annual Meeting; University of Kentucky Patterson School; ISAC/ISSS/TISS Annual Conference; APSA Annual Meeting; CGD; Brookings Institution; MPSA Annual Meeting; IFPRI

2011: UMD CISSM Forum; START Terrorism Research Center

2010: AEA Annual Meeting; CGD/SAIS Seminar; MPSA Annual Meeting

2009: CGD/SAIS Seminar; NEUDC Conference; UMD Public Policy

2008: UMD (Economics, Public Policy); CGD; NERA Economic Consulting; Cornerstone Research; Hamilton College; Williams College; University of Virginia

2007: Yale Econ; NEUDC Conference; Yale Leitner Political Economy Workshop; Pacific Development Conference

2006: NBER Student Political Economics Conference; UC Berkeley Econ; Yale Economics

Notable Media Interviews and Mentions

The Economist, BBC World TV, BBC radio, BBC Urdu, CNN.com, NPR, PBS News Hour, Vox, LA Times, Bloomberg, Voice of America, CBC, WUSA9, Axios, The Hindu, Dawn, Al Jazeera, ABC radio, Committee to Protect Journalists, The Diplomat, The New Republic, The Indian Express, Political Violence at a Glance, TRT World, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Sirius XM, The Juggernaut, VOA Urdu, Dunya News, Aaj News, Express News, Dawn News, Samaa

Notable Podcast Interviews

War on the Rocks' Warcast, Vox's Today Explained, The Washington Post's Can He Do That?, Brookings 5 on 45, Brookings The Current, Brookings Unpacked, Brookings Cafeteria, New Books Network, Middle East Institute Podcast, World Affairs Council Cover to Cover, Wilson Center/RFERL's Af-Pak File

Referee Service:

International Studies Quarterly, Review of Economics and Statistics, Journal of Development Economics, World Politics, Public Choice, Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence, Rationality and Society, Journal of Human Development and Capabilities, Public Budgeting & Finance, United States Institute of Peace, Brookings

Professional Service: MPSA Annual Meeting, 2013

Languages: English (native); Urdu (native); Punjabi (good); French (intermediate); Hindi (spoken)