

## **DR. SHADI A. HAMID**

### **EDUCATION**

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY**, St. Antony's College, Oxford, UK  
**DPhil in Politics**, May 2010; Marshall Scholar

**GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY**, School of Foreign Service, Washington, DC  
**M.A. in Arab Studies**, 2006; David L. Boren Fellow  
**B.S. in Foreign Service**, 2004

### **CURRENT POSITIONS**

**Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, Center for Middle East Policy**, Washington, DC, July 2015-Present

**Contributing Writer, *The Atlantic***, October 2019-present

### **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

**Contributing Editor, *The Atlantic***, February 2017-September 2019

**Fellow, Brookings Institution, Center for Middle East Policy**, Washington, DC, January 2014-June 2015

**Director of Research, Brookings Doha Center and Fellow, Brookings Institution, Center for Middle East Policy**, Doha, Qatar, November 2009-January 2014

**Director of Research, Project on Middle East Democracy**, Washington, DC, June 2007-May 2009

**Hewlett Fellow, Stanford University, Center on Democracy, Development & the Rule of Law**, October 2008-June 2009

**Resident Fellow, American Center for Oriental Research**, Amman, Jordan, March 2008-August 2008

**Program Specialist, U.S. Department of State, Office of the Deputy Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy**, Washington, DC, October 2005-May 2006

**Harold W. Rosenthal Fellow, Office of Senator Dianne Feinstein**, June 2004-August 2004

## **FELLOWSHIPS**

**Marshall Scholar**, 2006-9, for graduate study at Oxford University

**David L. Boren Fellow**, August 2005-August 2006, Washington, DC and Cairo, Egypt

**Fulbright Fellow**, September 2004-June 2005, Amman, Jordan

## **GRANTS/ PROJECTS**

Co-principal investigator with Sharan Grewal. Luce Foundation Grant (\$300,000) on Muslims in the West and the rise of the new populists, July 2018-July 2021.

Co-principal investigator with Peter Mandaville. Carnegie Corporation grant; “The Geopolitics of Religious Soft Power,” March 2018-March 2020.

Co-principal investigator with Will McCants. Luce Foundation Grant (\$300,000) on Rethinking Political Islam, January 2015-2017.

Co-principal investigator with Vanda Felbab Brown and Harold Trinkunas. DSIF Grant on Reconstituting Local Orders. April 2015-March 2016.

Co-author with Daniel Byman. Dutch MFA/MOD-commissioned report on “Security Analysis of EU Border Regions: Middle East.” January-April 2015

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Books**

*The Problem of Democracy: America, the Middle East, and the Rise and Fall of an Idea* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2022).

(co-author) *Militants, Criminals and Warlords: The Challenge of Local Governance in an Age of Disorder* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, November 2017)

(co-editor) *Rethinking Political Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017)

*Islamic Exceptionalism: How the Struggle over Islam is Reshaping the World* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, June 2016)

- **Shortlisted for 2017 Lionel Gelber Prize for the year's best book in foreign affairs**
- ***New Statesman* Best Book of 2017**
- Translated into Arabic, Turkish, and Mandarin

*Temptations of Power: Islamists and Illiberal Democracy in a New Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

- **Named a *Foreign Affairs* Best Book of 2014**
- **Foreign Policy Association's "Ten Most Important Books of 2014"**
- **One of *Wall Street Journal's* "10 Must-Read Books on the Evolution of Terrorism in the Middle East"**

### Book Chapters

1. "The Secularism Paradox: Living with Deep Difference in the Middle East," in ed. Chris Seiple and Dennis R. Hoover, *The Routledge Handbook of Religious Literacy, Pluralism, and Global Engagement* (forthcoming 2022)
2. "Taking Religion Seriously in the Study of Islamist Movements," in ed. Natana Delong-Bas, *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Globalized World, A Festschrift in Honor of John O. Voll* (Syracuse University Press, forthcoming 2021)
3. "Resilient Statism in a Changing Middle East," in ed. Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, *Diplomacy and the Future of World Order: Concert or Clash of Nations* (Georgetown University Press, forthcoming 2021)
4. "The Dilemma of 'Normalization': Can Islamists Participate without Polarizing Politics?" in ed. Imad Harb, *The Arab World Beyond Conflict* (Washington, DC: Arab Center-Washington, 2020)
5. "Radicalization after the Arab Spring: Lessons from Tunisia and Egypt," in ed. Nicholas Burns & Jonathon Price, *Blind Spot: America's Response to Radicalism in the Middle East* (Washington, DC: Aspen Institute, January 2016)
6. "Political Party Development Before and After the Arab Spring," in ed. Mehran Kamrava, *Beyond the Arab Spring: The Evolving Ruling Bargain in the Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
7. "Jordan's Islamic Action Front," in eds. John Esposito and Emad Shahin, *Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014).
8. "Syria is Not Iraq: Why the Legacy of Iraq Keeps Us From Doing the Right Thing," in eds. Nader Hashemi and Danny Postel, *The Syria Dilemma* (The MIT Press, October 2013).

9. "Prioritizing Democracy: How the Next President Should Re-Orient U.S. Policy in the Middle East," in ed. Benjamin Wittes, *Campaign 2012: Twelve Independent Ideas for Improving American Public Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2012).
10. "Islamists and the Brotherhood: Political Islam and the Arab Spring," *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011).
11. "Egypt: The Prize," *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East*
12. "Tunisia: The Birthplace of a Revolution," *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East*.
13. "Islamists and the Failure of Nonviolent Action," *Civilian Jihad: Popular Struggle, Democratization, and Governance in the Middle East*, edited by Maria J. Stephan (New York: Palgrave, 2010).
14. "The Myth of the Democratizing Monarchy," *The Struggle Over Democracy in the Middle East*, edited by Nathan Brown and Emad Shahin (New York: Routledge, 2009).

### Journal Articles

1. "Holding Our Own: Is the Future of Islam in the West Communal?" *Plough Quarterly*, Spring 2020
2. "The Lesser Threat: How the Muslim Brotherhood Views Shias and Shiism," *Mediterranean Politics* 2020
3. "Authoritarians Won't Save the Middle East's Religious Minorities," *Providence: A Journal of Christianity and American Foreign Policy*, Summer 2019
4. "Left Populism and the Rediscovery of Agonistic Politics," *American Affairs* 2:4, Winter 2018
5. "Muslim Brothers: The Rivalry That Shaped Modern Egypt," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2018
6. "What is Policy Research For? Reflections on U.S Failures in Syria" *Middle East Law & Governance* 7, 2015
7. "Bringing the United States Back into the Middle East" (with Peter Mandaville), *The Washington Quarterly*, Fall 2013.
8. "Brother President: The Islamist Agenda for Governing Egypt," *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs*, Summer 2012.

9. "The Struggle for Middle East Democracy," *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs*, Spring 2011.
10. "Arab Islamist Parties: Losing on Purpose?" *Journal of Democracy*, January 2011, 22:1.
11. "The Cairo Conundrum," *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, Winter 2010.
12. "Promoting Democracy to Stop Terror, Revisited" (with Steven Brooke), *Policy Review*, February/March 2010.
13. "Parting the Veil." *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, Summer 2007.
14. "Between Orientalism and Postmodernism: The Changing Nature of Western Feminist Discourse Towards the Middle East." *Hawwa: Journal of Women of the Middle East and the Islamic World*, Fall 2006, 4:1.
15. "From Erbakan to Erdogan: The Evolution of Islamist Foreign Policy in Turkey." *Insight Turkey*. January/March 2004, 6:1.

### **Selected Papers & Reports**

1. "The Dark Side of Consensus in Tunisia: Lessons from 2015-2019" (with Sharan Grewal), Brookings Institution, February 2020
2. "The Role of Islam in European Populism: How refugee flows and fear of Muslims drive right-wing support," Brookings Institution, Democracy & Disorder project, February 2019
3. "Islam as Statecraft: How Governments Use Religion in Foreign Policy" (with Peter Mandaville), Brookings Institution, November 2018
4. "Islamism after the Arab Spring: Between the Islamic State and the Nation State," (with Will McCants and Rashid Dar), Brookings Institution, January 2017
5. "The Enduring Challenge of Engaging Islamists: Lessons from Egypt," Project on Middle East Democracy, May 2014.
6. "A Coup Too Far: The Case for Reordering U.S. Priorities in Egypt" (with Peter Mandaville)," Brookings Doha Center, September 2013.
7. "Camp David Peace Treaty Collapse" (with Tamara Wittes). Memorandum to the President, Brookings Institution, January 17, 2013.

8. “Old Friends, New Neighborhood: The United States, the GCC, and their Responses to the Arab Spring,” German Marshall Fund, December 2012.
9. “Between Interference and Assistance: The Politics of International Support in Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya” (with Salman Shaikh),” Project on US-Islamic World Relations and Brookings Doha Center, November 2012.
10. “Beyond Guns and Butter: A U.S.-Egyptian Relationship for a Democratic Era,” Saban Center for Middle East Policy, Brookings Institution, April 2012.
11. “How Stable Is Jordan? King Abdullah’s Half-hearted Reforms and the Challenge of the Arab Spring” (with Courtney Freer), Brookings Doha Center, November 2011.
12. “The Islamist Response to Repression: Are Mainstream Islamist Groups Radicalizing?” Brookings Doha Center, August 2010.
13. “Strategies for Engaging Political Islam” (with Amanda Kadlec). Project on Middle East Democracy and Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung, January 2010.
14. “Resolving America’s Islamist Dilemma: Lessons from South and Southeast Asia.” The Century Foundation, October 2008.
15. “Necessary Risks: How a new U.S. administration can—finally—give us the Middle East policy we need.” Progressive Policy Institute, October 2008.
16. “Engaging Political Islam to Promote Democracy.” Progressive Policy Institute, June 2007.

### **Encyclopedia Articles**

“Abu Musab al-Zarqawi” (with Tom Isherwood). *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press).

“Moqtada al-Sadr” (with Tom Isherwood). *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*.

### **Testimony**

“Human rights in Egypt.” U.S. House of Representatives, Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission. November 3, 2015

### **Selected Essays**

“Resist the Lure of Theological Politics,” *The Atlantic*, December 22, 2018

“When Terrorists and Criminals Govern Better Than Governments” (with Vanda Felbab-Brown and Harold Trinkunas), *The Atlantic*, April 4, 2018

“The Rise of Anti-Liberalism,” *The Atlantic*, February 20, 2018

“The Lessons of American War,” *The Atlantic*, December 15, 2017

“The Political Thrill of Having an Enemy,” *The Atlantic*, October 24, 2017

“How Much Can One Strongman Change a Country?” *The Atlantic*, June 26, 2017

“How to Hate Each Other Peacefully in a Democracy,” *The Atlantic*, June 11, 2017

“Is There a Method to ISIS’s Madness?” *The Atlantic*, November 23, 2015

“France’s False Choice,” *The Atlantic*, January 28, 2015.

“The Roots of the Islamic State’s Appeal,” *The Atlantic*, October 31, 2014.

“The End of Pluralism,” *The Atlantic*, July 23, 2014.

“The Brotherhood Will Be Back,” *New York Times Sunday Review*, May 23, 2014.

“In Egypt, One Coup Leads to Another,” *Washington Post Outlook*, July 12, 2013.

“Morsy and the Muslims: Is Egypt’s Government Getting More Islamist?” *Foreign Policy*, May 8, 2013.

“Is There an Egyptian Nation?” *Foreign Policy*, December 4, 2012.

Profile of Mohamed Morsi. “Brother Number One.” *Foreign Policy*, June 7, 2012.

Profile of Abdel Moneim Abul Futouh. “A Man for All Seasons.” *Foreign Policy*, May 10, 2012.

### **Selected Opeds/Articles**

“What Iran’s 1979 revolution meant for the Muslim Brotherhood” (with Sharan Grewal), Brookings “Order from Chaos,” January 24, 2019

“The difficulty with diversity: Can American pluralism make room for an Islam that is truly different?” *Comment*, December 13, 2018

“The Rise of Islamic Soft Power” (with Peter Mandaville), *Foreign Affairs*, December 7, 2018

“Tunisia’s Tough Lesson for Mohamed bin Salman” (with Sharan Grewal), *Washington Post*, November 28, 2018

“Democratic Tunisia is taking the wrong path in the fight against terrorism” (with Sharan Grewal), *Washington Post*, November 1, 2018

“Tunisia Just Lost Its Anchor of Stability. That’s a Good Thing” (with Sharan Grewal), *Foreign Policy*, October 12, 2018

Can American pluralism make room for an Islam that is truly different?  
“Saudi Arabia is Taunting Trump,” *The Atlantic*, October 11, 2018

“The Rise of the ‘Westernists,’” (with Rashid Dar), *The American Interest*, November 16, 2017

“A peaceful, and palatable, version of Islam,” *Washington Post* Sunday Outlook, November 12, 2017

“What a caliphate really is—and how the Islamic State is not one,” *Washington Post*, October 26, 2016

“Does ISIS really have nothing to do with Islam?” *Washington Post*, November 18, 2015

Tunisia Field Report (II): The Islamist balancing act. Brookings Markaz blog. February 12, 2015.

Tunisia Field Report (I): Where are Islamists headed? Brookings Markaz blog. February 9, 2015.

“ISIS: Ideology and a Conducive Political Environment.” Oxford Islamic Studies Online. January 11, 2015.

“John Kerry won’t call the Islamic State by its name anymore. Why that’s not a good idea” (with Will McCants), *Washington Post*, December 29, 2014.

“After the Arab Spring: The Return of the Generals,” *Der Spiegel*, August 4, 2014.

“Was Mohammed Morsi Really an Autocrat?” (with Meredith Wheeler), *The Atlantic*. March 31, 2014. Quantitative analysis of Morsi’s tenure in office using Polity IV index.

“To Win Arab Trust On Iran, Washington Should Broaden Scope Of Final Deal,” Brookings Iran@Saban, November 24, 2013

“Remember Cairo?” (with Peter Mandaville), *Foreign Policy*, September 30, 2013.

“Egypt’s Liberal Guilt,” *TIME*, August 12, 2013.



“Demoting Democracy in Egypt,” *New York Times*, July 4, 2013.

“The Folly of Waiting for a More Perfect Syrian Opposition,” *The Atlantic*, May 28, 2013.

“Why Is There a 'Red Line' on Chemical Weapons but Not on 70,000 Deaths?” *The Atlantic*, April 26, 2013.

“Middle East Lost,” *Foreign Policy*, November 5, 2012.

“The Rise of Egypt’s ‘Undemocratic Liberals’,” *Foreign Policy*. July 30, 2012

“A Democratic Transition in Trouble: The Need for Aid Conditionality in Egypt,” European Union Institute for Security Studies, July 20, 2012.

“Who Will Save Syria?” *TIME*, March 12, 2012.

### **ADVISORY/ BOARD MEMBERSHIPS**

International Advisory Board, EUSPRING Consortium, 2013-Present

MENA Advisory Committee, World Bank, 2012-Present

Member, Board of Directors, Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED), 2010-Present

### **LANGUAGES**

Advanced proficiency in Arabic (reading, writing, speaking). Proficiency in French (reading).