

JAKANA L. THOMAS

School of Global Policy and Strategy
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Professional Positions

Associate Professor, *University of California San Diego*

School of Global Policy and Strategy, 2021-Present.

Department of Political Science, 2021-Present.

Center on Gender Equity and Health, Faculty Affiliate

UC Berkeley Center for Effective Global Action (CEGA), Faculty Affiliate

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, *Michigan State University*, August 2017-July 2021.

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, *Michigan State University*, August 2012-July 2017.

Visiting Researcher, Centre for Study of Civil War, *Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)*, Fall 2010.

Instructor, W.E.B. DuBois Scholars Institute, *Princeton University*, Summer 2008

Education

Ph.D., Political Science, *Pennsylvania State University*, August 2012.

M.A., Political Science, *Pennsylvania State University*, May 2009.

B.A., Interdisciplinary Studies, International & Global Studies, *University of Maryland Baltimore County*, May 2007

Publications

Elizabeth Brannon, **Jakana L. Thomas** and Lora DiBlasi. 2024. "Fighting for Peace? The Direct and Indirect Effects of Women's Participation in Rebel Groups on Peace Negotiations" *Journal of Politics* 86(2): 507-520.

Jakana L. Thomas. 2023. "Sisters Are Doing it for Themselves: How Female Combatants Help Generate Gender-Inclusive Peace Agreements in Civil Wars." *American Political Science Review* 111(2):831-847.

Hilary Matfess, Mariam Santara and **Jakana L. Thomas**. 2023. "From the Public to the Private: Mapping Women's Formal and Informal Participation in Peacebuilding in Mali." *African Affairs*. 122(489):491-511.

Jakana L. Thomas. 2022. "Terrorism by Insurgents and Rebels." in *Contemporary Terrorism Studies*, Diego Muro and Tim Wilson, Eds. Oxford University Press.

Jakana L. Thomas. 2021. "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: Assessing the Effect of Gender Norms on the Lethality of Female Suicide Terrorism." *International Organization* 75(3):769–802.

Jakana L. Thomas. 2021. "Duty and Defiance: West African Women's Participation in Community-Based Armed Groups" (Resolve Network, United States Institutes of Peace) [peer reviewed]

Anna O. Pechenkina and **Jakana L. Thomas.** 2020. "Battle Stalemates and Rebel Negotiation Attempts in Civil Wars." *Security Studies* 29(1):64-91.

Reprinted in *Revisiting the "Ripeness" Debate.* (2022). Tetsuro Iji and Siniša Vuković, Eds. Routledge, 98-125.

Jakana L. Thomas. 2018. "Women's Participation in Political Violence" in *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*, Derek S. Reveron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and John A. Cloud, Eds. Oxford University Press.

Jakana L. Thomas and Reed M. Wood. 2018. "The Social Origins of Female Fighters." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 35(3):215-232.

Reed M. Wood and **Jakana L. Thomas.** 2017. "Women on the Frontline: Rebel Group Ideology and Women's Participation in Violent Rebellion." *Journal of Peace Research* 54(1):31-46.

Runner up for The Nils Petter Gleditsch JPR Article of the Year Award, 2018

Jakana L. Thomas, William Reed and Scott Wolford. 2016. "The Rebel's Credibility Dilemma" *International Organization* 70(3):477-511.

Jakana L. Thomas and Kanisha D. Bond. 2015. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations" *American Political Science Review* 109(3):488-506.

Jakana L. Thomas. 2014. "Rewarding Bad Behavior: How Governments Respond to Terrorism in Civil War" *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4):804-818.

Other Scholarly Work

Jakana Thomas, Namratha Rao, Priyanka Patel, Sabrina Boyce, Jennifer Wagman and Anita Raj. "Sexual Harassment and Assault in California: Findings from the MeToo 2024 Survey." UC San Diego Center on Gender Equity and Health and Newcomb Institute, Tulane University. January 2025.

Anita Raj, Priyanka Patel, Clare Daniel, Aidan Smith, Namratha Rao and **Jakana Thomas.** "Biased Beliefs May Be Impeding U.S. Women's Progress in Political Leadership." August 2024. Newcomb Institute at Tulane University.

Jeni Klugman, Li Li, **Jakana Thomas** and Anita Raj. "The Costs of Intimate Partner Violence in California". July 2024. UC San Diego Center on Gender Equity and Health and Newcomb Institute at Tulane University.

Anita Raj, Huilin Li, Wendy Cheung WW, Nicole E Johns, Kalysha Closson, Jennifer B Yore, Gennifer Kully, **Jakana Thomas.** "Violence and Discrimination Against Asian Californians: Findings from the Asian California Violence Experiences (CaVEX) Survey 2023." January 2024. UC San Diego Center on Gender Equity and Health and Newcomb Institute at Tulane University.

Jakana Thomas, Nicole Johns, Julia Fleckman, Katherine Theall, Gennifer Kully, Jennifer Yore, Jennifer Wagman, Anita Raj. December 2023. "Cal-VEX 2023: Firearms in California: Statewide Experiences and Beliefs." California Study on Violence Experiences Across the Lifespan (Cal-VEX). University of California, San Diego.

Anita Raj, Nicole Johns, Jennifer B Yore, **Jakana Thomas**, Jennifer Wagman. November 2023. "Cal-VEX 2023: Intimate Partner violence in California." CalVEX: California Experiences of Violence Study. University of California, San Diego.

Mobina Akbari, Nadina Christopoulou, Ivy Delacion, **Jakana Thomas**, Charlemagne Gomez, Anita Raj. *Reclaiming Lost Power: The Political Trajectory, Despair, and Aspirations of Exiled Afghan Women Leaders*. Newcomb Institute, Tulane University. (November 2023).

Anita Raj, Nicole Johns, Jennifer Yore, Kalysha Closson, Gennifer Kully, **Jakana Thomas**. "California Violence Experiences Survey (CalVEX) 2023." September 2023. Center on Gender Equity and Health, University of California San Diego and Newcomb Institute, Tulane University

Rida Lyammouri, **Jakana Thomas** and Lauren Van Metre "Community-Based Armed Groups: A Problem or Solution?" *United States Institutes of Peace*, February 2022.

Jakana Thomas. "Gendered Security Sector Reform: What Can We Learn from Women's Participation in Community-Based Armed Groups?" *Resolve Network*, February 2022.

Jakana Thomas. "Capitol mob wasn't just angry men- there were angry women as well." *The Conversation*. January 22, 2021.

Jakana Thomas. "Actually, sometimes terrorism does work," *Monkey Cage/ The Washington Post*. April 22, 2014.

Research in Progress

Book Manuscripts

Legislating Peace? How Gender Diverse Rebel Parties Implement Peace Agreement Provisions. w/ Elizabeth Brannon. Under contract with Cambridge Elements, expected completion February 2025

Gender Digital Divide & Women's Political Behavior w/ Tiffany Barnes, Emily Rains and Jingwen Wu

Women for War and Peace: How Women Gender Civil War Settlement

Article Manuscripts

Under Review

"Civilian Support and the Escalation of Rebel Demands During Negotiations"

"Violence, Discrimination, and Mental Health among Asian Americans: Findings from a 2023 statewide cross-sectional survey from California" w/ Huilin Li, Nicole Johns, Gennifer Kully, Sabrina Boyce, Mai Do and Raj, Anita Raj (Revise and Resubmit)

"The Gender Digital Divide and Gender Gaps in Protest Participation" w/ Tiffany Barnes, Emily Rains and Jingwen Wu

"Intimate Partner Violence and Firearm Purchasing: Cross-sectional Analysis of Statewide Survey Data from California and Louisiana Adults" w/ Anita Raj, Nicole Johns, Huilin Li, Gennifer Kully

"Self-Report of Sexual Harassment and Assault Differ Based on Political Leanings Among U.S. Adults: A Cross-Sectional Study." w/Sabrina Boyce, Priyanka Patel, Namratha Rao and Anita Raj

In Preparation

"The Effectiveness of Sanctioning Terrorist Organizations" w/ Benjamin Appel

"A Women's Work: The Effects of Women's Participation in Rebellion on Women's Post-Conflict Labor Force Participation"

"The Costs of Intimate Partner Violence" w/ Anita Raj, Jeni Klugman and Li Li

"Who Brings Firearms to Political Demonstrations?" w/ Anita Raj, Nicole Johns and Gennifer Kully

Grants and Awards

Co-PI, "Survey on Gender-Based Violence and Discrimination in California (CalVEX Survey)" *Blue Shield of California Foundation* Grant, R-COV-2207-18216, 2022-2025, \$800,000

Co-PI, "Frontlines, Sidelines, and Behind the Scenes: Women's Involvement in Communal Violence in Africa" *Folke Bernadotte Academy* Grant (DNR 21-00246), 2021-2022, 320,806 SEK

Patriot Award, *U.S. National Guard*, 2020

Presidential Visiting Scholars Fellowship, *Princeton University*, 2020-2021 (Declined)

President's Postdoctoral Fellowship, *University of Michigan*, 2012-2013 (Declined)

Bunton-Waller Graduate Fellow, *Pennsylvania State University*, 2007-2012

Miller-LaVigne Graduate Fellow, *Pennsylvania State University*, 2010-2011

Helene S. Runtagh Dissertation Grant *Pennsylvania State University*, Fall 2010

RGSO Dissertation Release Grant *Pennsylvania State University*, Fall 2010

Summer Research Award *Pennsylvania State University*, Summer 2010

John A. Garcia Scholarship *ICPSR Summer Program*, Summer 2009

Professional Service

Disciplinary Service

Editorial Service

Associate Editor, Gender & Politics Series, Cambridge University Press, Present

Associate Editor, Robert Jervis International Security Studies Forum/ H-Diplo, 2021-Spring 2025

Editorial Board, *Security Studies*, 2021-Present

Editorial Board, *American Political Science Review*, 2020-Present

Editorial Board, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 2019-Present

Editorial Board, *International Organization*, 2018-2024

Editorial Board, *Journal of Politics*, 2021-2023

Editorial Board, *Political Behavior*, 2019-2023

Editorial Board, *International Interactions*, 2014-2021

Editorial Board, *American Journal of Political Science*, 2015-2018

Advisory Roles

Empirical Study of Gender Network (EGEN), Advisory Board, 2018-Present

Research Advisory Council , RESOLVE Network, 2021-Present

Advisory Board Member, American Bar Association's Rule of Law Initiative, Women and Girls Empowered Consortium, 2022- 2024

Advisory Board, Correlates of War, 2018-2021

Panelist, Security and Preparedness Section, National Science Foundation

Professional Committees

Conflict Processes Lifetime Achievement Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 2023

Robert O. Keohane Award Committee, *International Organization*, 2021-2023

Executive Committee, Conflict Processes Section, American Political Science Association, 2022- Present

Nominating Committee, Peace Science Society, 2020- 2022

Professional Development Committee, International Studies Association, 2019-2021

Conference Organizing

Conference Organizer, 2022 Empirical Study of Gender Research Network, San Diego, CA

Section Chair, 2022 American Political Science Association Conference, Montreal

Section Chair, 2018 Southern Political Science Association Conference, New Orleans, LA

Section Chair, 2015 Midwest Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, IL

Conference Organizer, 2012 Peace Science Society Annual Meeting, Savannah, GA

Assistant to the Director, Peace Science Society, *Pennsylvania State University*, Spring 2009-Summer 2010
 Editorial Assistant, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Fall 2008

University Service

Dean of Undergraduate Studies Five-Year Review Committee, *UCSD*, 2022

College of Social Science Research Committee, *Michigan State University*

Member, 2020-2021

Chair, 2017-2019

University Committee on Faculty Tenure, *Michigan State University*, 2014-16

Dismissal and Discipline Policy Review Committee, 2016

Foreign Language and Area Studies Program Fellowship Committee, *Michigan State University*, 2015-2019

MSU Nomination Committee, James Gaither Jr. Fellows Program, 2017-2019

College of Social Science Scholarship Committee, *Michigan State University*, Summer 2014

Departmental Service

Search Committees

IR Security Hiring Committee, co-chair, *UCSD*, 2023- Present

Latinx-Chincanx Cluster Hiring Committee, member, *UCSD* 2023

Department of Political Science Advisory Committee, member, *Michigan State University*, 2018-2019

Sociology/ESPP Water Search Committee, member, *Michigan State University*, 2013

Political Science/ESPP Water Search Committee, member, *Michigan State University*, 2013

Other Committees & Service

Equity, Diversity and Inclusion Committee, member, *UCSD*, 2021-present

GPS-Political Science relations committee, chair, *UCSD*, 2023-present

GPS Admissions Committee, member, *UCSD*, 2021-2023

Climate, Inclusion and Diversity Committee, member, *Michigan State University*, 2014-2021

Co-Director, Study Abroad in London, *Michigan State University*, 2019

Dissertation Committee Member

Taylor Damann, (Washington University Political Science, Rice University)

Bianca Freeman (Political Science, UC Berkeley/Stanford (Post-Doc))

Alison Boehmer (Political Science, UCSD)

Wendy Wagner (Political Science, UCSD)

Elizabeth Brannon, Chair, (Political Science, Indiana University)

Caleb Lucas, Chair, (Political Science, Indiana University)

Thomas Bentley, Chair (Political Science, Department of Defense)

Lora DiBlasi, Chair, (Political Science, Citibank)

Nate Smith, (Political Science, Nebraska Wesleyan University)

Hyun Jin Choi (Political Science, Kyunghee University)

Brian Crothers (Political Science, Air Command and Staff College)

Petra Hendrickson (Political Science, Centre College)

Gregory Wallsworth (Economics, Amazon)

Sarah St. George (Criminal Justice, University of Akron)

Invited Talks and Workshops

Invited Talks

- Department of Political Science, *University of Florida*, November 2024
- Newcomb Institute, *Tulane University*, April 2024
- Department of Political Science, *Pennsylvania State University*, March 2024
- Women, Public Policy Seminar, *Harvard University*, November 2023
- IPE Days, *Palomar College*, April 2023
- International Politics and Economics Symposium, *Middlebury College*, November 2022
- *U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO)*, March 2022 (V=virtual)
- Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, *George Washington University*, April 2022 (virtual)
- SSP Wednesday Seminar, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, April 2021 (virtual)
- Diversity Series on Black Scholars in International Relations, *University of Pittsburgh*, March 2021 (virtual)
- IR Colloquium, *Princeton University*, February 2021 (virtual)
- PSAC, *Cornell University*, December 2020 (virtual)
- International Relations Seminar, *Harvard University*, November 2020 (virtual)
- International Relations Thoughts Series, *University of California, Berkeley*, October 2020 (virtual)
- Perry World House Seminar, *University of Pennsylvania*, October 2020 (virtual)
- IR Workshop, Department of Political Science, *Yale University*, September 2020 (virtual)
- Keynote Address, *Midwest Peace and Conflict Workshop, University of Michigan*, February 2020
- Comparative Politics Workshop, *Ohio State University*, January 2020
- College of William and Mary, January 2020
- Political Science Department, *Washington University in St. Louis*, March 2019
- Browne Center for International Politics Speaker Series, *University of Pennsylvania*, January 2019
- Empirical Study of Gender Research Network, *Vanderbilt University*, May 2018
- *University of California Merced*, March 2018
- International Politics Seminar, *Columbia University*, October 2017
- Blalock Lecture, *Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research*, July 2017
- Program on International Security, *University of Chicago*, May 2017
- Department of Political Science/Center for International Development & Conflict Management, *University of Maryland*, March 2017
- Department of Political Science, *University of Wisconsin*, October 2016

- Sie Cheou-Kang Center for International Security & Development, *University of Denver*, January 2016
- Department of Political Science, *Pennsylvania State University*, November 2015
- School of Government and Policy, *University of Arizona*, December 2014
- Department of Peace and Conflict Research, *Uppsala University*, December 2010
- Centre for the Study of Civil War, *Peace Research Institute Oslo*, November 2010
- Junior Researchers Forum, *Peace Research Institute Oslo*, October 2010

Invited Workshops, Roundtables and Consultancy

- Engineering Peace Side Event, United Nations Office for Countering Terrorism (UNOCT) and CEGA, November 2024
- Africa Evidence Summit in Dar es Salaam, *UC Center for Effective Global Action*, July 2024
- Summer Policy Institute, Bridging the Gap, June 2024
- Consensus Study on Women's Empowerment, Population, Dynamics and Socioeconomic Development, *National Academies Sciences Engineering and Medicine*, June 2023
- Report of the UN Secretary-General on the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa, March 2023
- USAID/Interagency, U.S. implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security, February 2023
- Carana! Adapt Simulation, *University of San Diego*, November 2022
- Principles for Peace Stakeholder Meeting, *Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights*, March 2022
- Human Security Lab Rapid Experts Group, Women, Peace and Security in Afghanistan, January 2022
- 'Gendering the ICRC Workshop, *International Committee for the Red Cross*, November 2018
- Gendered Dynamics of International Security Conference, *University of Central Florida*, February 2017
- Workshop on Non-state Actor Perpetrated Mass Atrocities, US Holocaust Memorial Museum's Simon-Skjodt Center for the Prevention of Genocide, January 2017
- How does Gender Shape Violence and Coercion Conference, *Arizona State University*, October 2015
- Empirical Implications of Bargaining Theory Conference, *Princeton University*, May 2015
- Women in Violent Political Organizations Conference, Radcliffe Institute, *Harvard University* September 2014

Media

[KCBS Radio](#)

[State of the State Podcast](#)

[Al Jazeera America, Consider This](#)

[The Lily \(Washington Post\)](#)

[mlive](#)

[De Volkskrant \(Netherlands\)](#)

[Flat Hat](#)