JAKANA L. THOMAS

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Chair in International Justice and Human Rights
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PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS

University of California San Diego — *Professor, July 2025-Present*
School of Global Policy and Strategy — *Associate Professor, 2021-25*
Department of Political Science
Center on Gender Equity and Health (Faculty Affiliate)
UC Berkeley Center for Effective Global Action (CEGA) (Faculty Affiliate)

Michigan State University — *Associate Professor, 2017-21*
Department of Political Science — *Assistant Professor, 2012-17*

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

EDUCATION

Pennsylvania State University — *August 2012*
Ph.D., Political Science
Pennsylvania State University — *May 2009*
M.A., Political Science
University of Maryland Baltimore County — *May 2007*
B.A., Interdisciplinary Studies, International & Global Studies

PUBLICATIONS

Books

- Elizabeth Brannon and **Jakana L. Thomas**. 2026. *Legislating Peace? How Gender Diverse Rebel Parties Implement Peace Agreement Provisions.* Cambridge University Press, Elements in Gender & Politics Series

Articles

- **Jakana L. Thomas**. 2026. "Civilian Support and the Escalation of Rebel Demands During Negotiations." *Journal of Peace Research*.
- Tiffany Barnes, Emily Rains, **Jakana Thomas** and Jingwen Wu. 2026. "Gender Digital Divide and Gender Gaps in Protest Participation." *Journal of Peace Research*.
- Julia Fleckman, Lexie Contreras, Andrea, DaViera, Priyanka Patel, Yingwei Yang, **Jakana Thomas**, Jennifer Wagman, and Anita Raj. 2026. "The Need for Protection: Cross-sectional Analysis of Direct Exposure to Firearm Violence, Beliefs and Firearms, and Firearm Acquisition in California and Louisiana." *Injury Epidemiology*
- **Jakana L. Thomas**, Nicole Johns, Annika Li, Gennifer Kully and Anita Raj. 2026. "Intimate Partner Violence and Firearm Purchasing: Cross-sectional analysis of statewide survey data from California and Louisiana Adults." *BMC Public Health*
- Sabrina Boyce, Priyanka Patel, Namratha Rao, **Jakana Thomas** and Anita Raj. 2026. "Self-Report of Sexual Harassment and Assault Differ Based on Political Leanings Among U.S. Adults: A Cross-Sectional Study." *Violence Against Women*.

- Annika Huilin Li, Nicole Johns, Gennifer Kully, Sabrina Boyce, Mai Do, **Jakana L. Thomas** and Anita Raj. 2025. "Violence, Discrimination, and Mental Health among Asian Americans: Findings from a 2023 statewide cross-sectional survey from California." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 08862605251368818.
- 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.

RESEARCH UNDER REVIEW

- "Racial/Ethnic Differences in Experiences of Non-Gender-Based Street Harassment Among U.S. Adults." w/Anita Raj, Namratha Rao and Priyanka Patel *Revise & Resubmit*
- "Political ideology, discrimination and protesting while armed: findings from a state-representative survey of California adults?" w/ Nicole Johns, Gennifer Kully and Anita Raj.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

- *Mind the Gap: Gender Gaps in Political Engagement and the Gender Digital Divide*. w/ Tiffany Barnes, Emily Rains and Jingwen Wu. Under contract with Cambridge University Press, Elements in Comparative Political Behavior series.
- "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."

OTHER SCHOLARLY WORK

- Lianne Urada, Priyanka Patel, Namratha Rao, Gennifer Kully, **Jakana Thomas**, Anita Raj. "Sexual Exploitation in California: Findings from CalVEX 2025. Violence Experiences Study (VEX)." April 2026. University of California San Diego and the Newcomb Institute at Tulane University.
- **Jakana Thomas**, Priyanka Patel, Namratha Rao, Nicole E Johns, Sabrina Boyce, Elizabeth Reed, Jennifer Wagman, Lianne Urada, Gennifer Kully, Anita Raj. "California Violence Experiences (CalVEX) 2025 Report." February 2026. University of California San Diego. Newcomb Institute, Tulane University
- Aditi Morumganti, Priyanka Patel, Namratha Rao, Gennifer Kully, **Jakana Thomas**, Anita Raj. "Violence in Childhood: Findings from the CalVEX 2023 Survey of California Adults." January 2026. University of California San Diego and Newcomb Institute at Tulane University.
- **Jakana Thomas**, Namratha Rao, Priyanka Patel, Gennifer Kully, Anita Raj. "Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) and IPV Risk." October 2025. University of California San Diego, School of Global Policy and Strategy, Newcomb Institute at Tulane University.
- **Jakana Thomas**, Namratha Rao, Priyanka Patel, Gennifer Kully, Anita Raj. "Economic Shocks and Past Year IPV in California." October 2025. University of California San Diego, School of Global Policy and Strategy, Newcomb Institute at Tulane University.
- **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 (CalVEX) 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). UC 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. UC 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.

GRANTS AND AWARDS

- Dialogue for Peace (DFP) Faculty Professional Development Fellowship, UC San Diego, 2026
- Co-PI w/ Aila Matanock, "Can Women's Collective Political Participation Interrupt Conflict." ReCIPE Compact Research Grants, 2025-2026, 24,989 GBP
- Co-PI w/ Anita Raj, "Sustaining and Expanding Nationally the California Study on Violence Experiences Across the Lifespan (CalVEX)" *Blue Shield of California Foundation* Grant, COV-2506-26340, 2025-2028, $750,000
- John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Chair in International Justice and Human Rights, Jul 2025-2030
- Co-PI w/ Anita Raj, "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 w/ Hilary Matfess, "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)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Editorial Service

- Associate Editor, Gender & Politics Series, Cambridge University Press, May 2025- Present
- Associate Editor, Robert Jervis International Security Studies Forum/ H-Diplo, 2021-Spring 2025
- Editorial Board, *American Journal of Political Science*, 2015-2018, 2025-Present
- Editorial Board, *American Political Science Review*, 2020-Present
- Editorial Board, *Security Studies*, 2021-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

Advisory Roles

- Folke Bernadotte Academy, International Research Working Group on Gender Equal Peace Processes, Member, 2025-Present
- Empirical Study of Gender Network (EGEN), Advisory Board, 2018-Present

- Research Advisory Council, RESOLVE Network, 2021-2025
- 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

- Academic Senate Representative Assembly, *UCSD*, Member, 2025-2028
- Five-Year Review Committee for Dean of Undergraduate Studies, *UCSD*, Member , 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
- Foreign Language and Area Studies Program Fellowship Committee, *Michigan State University*, 2015-2019
- MSU Nomination Committee, James Gaither Jr. Fellows Program, *Michigan State University*, 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- 2025
- 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

- Holly Jansen (Political Science, UCSD, *in progress*)
- Alison Boehmer (Political Science, UCSD, *in progress*)
- Wendy Wagner (Political Science, UCSD, *in progress*)
- Inseon Jeong, Chair, (Political Science, UCSD, *in progress*)
- Chichezum Abide, Co-Chair, (Political Science, UCSD, *in progress*)
- Roberto Bonilla, (Political Science, UCSD, *in progress*)
- Taylor Damann, (Washington University Political Science, Rice University)
- Bianca Freeman (Political Science, UC Berkeley/Stanford Post-Doc)
- 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 California Los Angeles*, June 2025
- Department of Political Science, *University of California Irvine*, May 2025
- Department of Political Science/ Center for International Security and Cooperation, *Stanford University*, April 2025
- Maxwell School, *Syracuse University*, February 2025
- Department of Political Science, *University of California Berkeley*, February 2025
- 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 (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

- Multi-method Conflict Consortium, *Florida State University*, March 2025
- 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*