

# JAKANA L. THOMAS

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

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## PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS

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### **University of California San Diego**

School of Global Policy and Strategy

Department of Political Science

Center on Gender Equity and Health (Faculty Affiliate)

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

*Professor, July 2025-Present*

*Associate Professor, 2021-25*

### **Michigan State University**

Department of Political Science

*Associate Professor, 2017-21*

*Assistant Professor, 2012-17*

### **Centre for Study of Civil War**, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)

*Visiting Researcher, 2010*

## EDUCATION

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### **Pennsylvania State University**

Ph.D., Political Science

*August 2012*

### **Pennsylvania State University**

M.A., Political Science

*May 2009*

### **University of Maryland Baltimore County**

B.A., Interdisciplinary Studies, International & Global Studies

*May 2007*

## PUBLICATIONS

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

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- *Legislating Peace? How Gender Diverse Rebel Parties Implement Peace Agreement Provisions*. w/ Elizabeth Brannon. *Revise & Resubmit*, Cambridge University Press, Elements in Gender & Politics Series
- “Civilian Support and the Escalation of Rebel Demands During Negotiations” *Revise & Resubmit*
- “Gender Digital Divide and Gender Gaps in Protest Participation” w/ Tiffany Barnes, Emily Rains and Jingwen Wu. *Revise & Resubmit*
- “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 *Revise & Resubmit*
- “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
- “Racial/Ethnic Differences in Experiences of Non-Gender-Based Street Harassment Among U.S. Adults.” w/Anita Raj, Namratha Rao and Priyanka Patel

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

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

## OTHER SCHOLARLY WORK

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- **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

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- Co-PI “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, “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)

## PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

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### 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**

- 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
- 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- 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**

- Alison Boehmer (Political Science, *UCSD*, *in progress*)
- Wendy Wagner (Political Science, *UCSD*, *in progress*)
- Inseon Jeong (Political Science, *UCSD*, *in progress*)
- Chichezum Abide (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*