

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **WORK IN PROGRESS**

*The Yemeni Civil War: The Arab Spring, State Formation and Internal Instability*, UK: University of Exeter Press, Forthcoming.

*Gulf Rivalry and the Yemeni Civil War*, UK: University of Exeter Press, in progress.

### **EDITED BOOKS**

With Sandra Kostner, *Lehren aus 9/11: Zum Umgang des Westens mit Islamismus, Reihe: Impulse. Debatten zu Politik, Gesellschaft, Kultur, 3, Ibidem, September 2021.*

### **BOOKS**

*The Perils of Nonviolent Islamism*, Telos Press, New York, February 2021 (English Translation of *Der Alltägliche Islamismus*).

*Der Alltägliche Islamismus*, München, Random House Deutschland, 2018, 280p.

*Women and Shari'a Law: The Impact of Legal Pluralism in the United Kingdom*, London: I.B.Tauris, 2016, 300p.

*The Arab State and Women's Rights. The Trap of Authoritarian Governance (Yemen, Syria, and Kuwait)*. London: Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics, 2011, 200 p.

*Regional Politics in the Gulf: Saudi Arabia, Oman, Yemen*. London: Saqi Books, 2005, 192 p.

*Political Parties and Organizations in Yemen, 1948-1993* (in Arabic). Sana'a: The Athawabit Book Series #2, 1994, 336 p.

### **NON-FICTION**

*Ich will nicht mehr Schweigen: Der Islam, der Westen und die Menschenrechte*. Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 2009, 200 p.

### **NOVELS**

*Sins* (in Arabic). Beirut: Dar Al Saqi, 2008

*Echo* (in Arabic). Beirut: Dar Al Saqi, 2005

### **PAPERS AND CHAPTERS**

“Women and Shari'a Law: The Impact of Soft Legal Pluralism in the UK”, in Samia Bano (2023) (ed.), *The Sharia Inquiry, Religious Practice and Muslim Family Law in Britain*, London: Routledge, pp. 27-59. [DOI: 10.4324/9781003090410-3].

“Absence of Violence or Sustainable Peace? Yemen's Pathway Forward”, MAP Middle East and Asia Project on Transitional Justice, *Middle East Institute*, January July 6, 2021, [<https://www.mei.edu/publications/absence-violence-or-sustainable-peace-yemens-pathway-forward>].

“Gender in Post-War Power-Sharing, Governance Arrangements, and Restoration of State Institutions” (June 2021), Background Commissioned Paper for the *Gender Unit of the Office of the Special Envoy of the UN Secretary General for Yemen* (OSESgy).

“Absence of Violence or Sustainable Peace? Yemen’s Road to Peace”, part two, pm perspektive mediation: Beiträge zur Konfliktkultur, No.2, Mai 2021, [<https://doi.org/10.33196/pm202102013801>].

“Absence of Violence or Sustainable Peace? Yemen’s Road to Peace”, part one, pm perspektive mediation: Beiträge zur Konfliktkultur, No.1, Februar 2021, [<https://doi.org/10.33196/pm202101005901>].

“Application of Islamic Law in the UK and Universal Human Rights”, *Revista de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos (Journal of International Mediterranean Studies)*, No. 29, December 2020, pp. 72-87  
[<https://doi.org/10.15366/reim2020.29.006>]

“Wie das Schuldbewusstsein «der Weissen» dem Islamismus Vorschub leistet”, in Sandra Kostner (Hrsg.), *Identitätslinke Läuterungsagenda: Eine Debatte zu Ihren folgen für Migrationsgesellschaften*, Stuttgart: *Ibidem*, 2019.

“Eine Kritik des essentialistischen Paradigmas”, in: Schröter, Susanne (Hrsg.), *Normkonflikte in pluralistischen Gesellschaften*, Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2017.

“Jemen: Die Geschichte eines fragilen Staates”, in: Krieger, Helmut & Magda Seewald (Hrsg.), *Krise, Revolte und Krieg in der arabischen Welt*, Wiener Institut für Entwicklungsfragen (VIDC): Vienna, 2017.

“Defining the Phenomenon of Jihadist Radicalisation: Drivers and Catalysts Local & Global”, in: *The challenge of Jihadist Radicalisation in Europe and Beyond: How to Respond*, European Policy Centre: Brussels, 2017.

“In the Name of Culture and Religion: The Political Function of Blasphemy in Islamic States”, *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 27:1, 2016, pp. 117-127  
[<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2015.1114241>]

“Images of the Muslim Woman and the Construction of Muslim Identity: The Essentialist Paradigm”, *Journal for Religion, Film and Media JRFM*, Vol 2, No 1, 2016, pp. 91-110.  
[[http://143.50.35.102/ojs-jrfm/index.php/ojs\\_jrfm/article/view/54](http://143.50.35.102/ojs-jrfm/index.php/ojs_jrfm/article/view/54)]

“Legal Pluralism and Islamic Law in the West: When States Legally Sanction Discrimination”, in: Berlis, Angela Berlis and Bratt, Douglas (eds.), *From Encounter to Commitment: Interreligious Experience and Theological Engagement*, IKZ- Berner Interreligiöse Ökumenische Studien, Band 2. 2015.

“Yemen’s Arab Spring: Outsmarting the Cunning State?”, in: Sadiki, Larbi (ed.). *Routledge Handbook of the Arab Spring*, London: Routledge Studies on Middle Eastern Politics, 2014.  
[<http://www.routledge.com/books/details/9780415523912/>]

“Yemen’s Contentious Transitional Justice and Fragile Peace”, MAP Middle East and Asia Project on Transitional Justice, *Middle East Institute*, January 2014.

“The Arab Popular Uprising from a Gender Perspective”, *Zeitschrift für Politik*. No.1, 2014.

“The Significance of Gender in Arab-Spring Transitional Justice”, in: Fisher, Kirsten and Stewart, Robert (eds.), *Transitional Justice and the Arab Spring*. London: Routledge Studies on Middle Eastern Politics, June 2014.  
[<http://www.routledge.com/books/details/9780415826365/>]

“Syria”, in: DeLong-Bas, Natana J., (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Islam and Women*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

“Der arabische Staat und die Politik des Überlebens: Das Beispiel Kuwait”, in: Schröter, Susanne (Hrsg.), *Geschlechtergerechtigkeit durch Demokratisierung? Transformationen und Restaurationen von Genderverhältnissen in der islamischen Welt*. Bielefeld: Transcript, Februar 2013.

“The Arab State: State Formation, Features, and Implications for the Arab Spring”, in: Auer, Andreas (Hrsg.), *Demokratisierung im arabischen Raum*. Zentrum für Demokratie Aarau, Zürich: Schulthess Juristische Medien, 2013

“Saudi Arabia, the Arab Spring and the Regional Context”, *Orient, German Journal for Politics, Economics and Culture of the Middle East*, IV/2012.

“The Perils of Yemen’s Cunning State”, NOREF Report, Oslo: Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre. September 2012.

“Europa und seine muslimischen Migranten: Integration oder Assimilation”, in: Kreis, Georg (Hrsg.): *Europa in der Welt*, Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2012.

“Hopes, Expectations and Outcomes in Yemen”, in: Schmidt, Armando Garcia and Hauke Hartmann (eds.), *The Arab Spring: One Year After: Transformation Dynamics, Prospects for Democratization and the Future of Arab-European Cooperation*, Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012.

“Rereading the Qur’an: A Muslim Woman’s Perspective”, *Journal of the Dutch-Flemish Levinas Society*, Vol. XVI, December 2011, pp. 21-29.

“Societal Dynamics and Fragility: Yemen”, Background paper for Societal Dynamics and Fragility: Engaging Societies in Responding to Fragile Situations. Washington, DC: World Bank, 2010.

“Islam and Human Dignity: a Consequence-Based Approach to Human Dignity and Rights”, In: Deimann, Dorothee und Mugier, Simon (Hrsg.): *Entgegensprechen: Texte zu Menschenwürde und Menschenrecht*, Teil 1, Basel: Edition Gesowip, 2010, pp. 499-521.

“Yemen: Gender Situation”, *Women Rights in the Middle East and North Africa*, Washington DC: Freedom House, February 2010, 24 p.

“The Arab State and Women’s Rights: The Case of Saudi Arabia - The Limits of the Possible”, *Orient, German Journal for Politics, Economics and Culture of the Middle East*, July 2008, pp. 15-25.

“We do not Speak the same Language!”, in: Debatin, Bernhard (Hrsg.): *Der Karikaturenstreit und die Pressefreiheit: Wert- und Normenkonflikte in der globalen Medienkultur*, Reihe Kultur und Technik, Schriftenreihe des Internationalen Zentrums für Kultur- und Technikforschung der Universität Stuttgart, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2007, pp. 45-47

“Überleben und Übergeben: Familienherrschaften auf der Arabischen Halbinsel”, in: Fährdrich, Hartmut (Hrsg.): *Vererbte Macht: Monarchien und Dynastien in der arabischen Welt*, Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2005, pp. 81-102.

“La tribu et l’Etat au Yémen”, in : Kilani, Mondher (ed.): *Islam et changement social*, Lausanne: Editions Payot, 1998, pp. 205-218.

“The Arab National Security between Theory and Reality” (in Arabic), Sana'a: Althawabit Periodical, 1993, pp. 197- 231.

“The Algerian Electoral Experience” (in Arabic), In: *Proceedings of the Symposium on the Electoral System and the Future of Democracy in Yemen*, Sana'a, February 16&17, 1992, pp. 79-104.

### **BOOK REVIEWS (Sample)**

“Nationalism, Transnationalism, and Political Islam: Hizbullah's Institutional Identity”, *Reading Religion, American Academy of Religion*, June 23, 2018

“Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations: Religious Pluralism and Islamic Law: Dhimmis and Others in the Empire of Law”, *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 2013  
[<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2013.854971>]

Rezension "Länderkunde Jemen", *Geographica Helvetica* (Swiss Journal of Geography), Heft 1, 2007, pp. 57-58

### **OPINION ARTICLES AND ESSAYS**

“Die Verweigerung des Handschlags ist nur der Anfang”, *NZZ am Sonntag*, 10 April 2016

“Tackling militant Islamism means also confronting its non-violent forms”, *Europe's World*, 5 May 2015

“Human Rights Are Universal Without a ‘But’”, *Huffington Post*, March 2015

“We Are All in This Together, Like It or Not: On Raif Badawi, Charlie Hebdo and Non-violent Islamism”, *Huffington Post*, January 2015.

Time to Face the ISIS Inside of Us, *Huffington Post*, August 2014.

“**Sheikhdown: Why Tribes aren't the Answer in Yemen**”, *Sada: Online Magazine for Carnegie Endowment for Peace*, 21 March 2012.

[<http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/2012/03/21/sheikhdown-why-tribes-aren-t-answer-in-yemen/a436>]

“**When States Legally Sanction Discrimination**”, *Qantara*, 19 March 2012.

[<http://en.qantara.de/When-States-Legally-Sanction-Discrimination/18676c19508i1p1414/index.html>].

“**The Gulf Initiative and the Yemeni Conflict: Putting the Cart before the Horse**”, *Qantara*, November 29, 2011.

“Islamisches Recht in der Schweiz ist gefährlich”, *NZZ am Sonntag*, 3 July 2011.

“Yemeni Protests have created a Melting Pot”, *The Guardian*, 19 March 2011.

“Am Anfang war der Stamm”, *Inamo 62*, Jahrgang 16, 2010, pp. 4-8.

“Is Yemen the Next Failed State?”, *The Guardian*, 29 December 2009.

“Islamisches Recht in der Schweiz wäre verheerend”, *NZZ am Sonntag*, 4 January 2009.

“Diary of an Arab Woman: For a Humanistic Islam” (in Arabic), published in a series of online articles in *Middle East Transparent*, September 2005 - September 2006.

“Back to Islam!” *Yemen Observer*, Vol. IX, issue 29, 15 August 2006.

“Falsche Toleranz Diskriminiert die Mädchen”, *NZZ am Sonntag*, 12 February 2006.

“Im Jemen Streiten Staat und Stämme um die Macht”, *Tages Anzeiger*, 18 January 2006.

### **SAMPLE OF LECTURES AND PANEL-DISCUSSIONS IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND FORUMS**

Arab Spring in Yemen and the Gulf, The Yemen and Gulf Exchange – Situating Yemen in Regional Politics, Online Conference, *The Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies and the Exchange Foundation*, 16-27 January 2023.

Elites Pacts and Its Detractors, How MENA elite pacts stand in the way of reform (Workshop), *Chatham House*, Minster Lovell, Oxfordshire, 2–4 November 2022.

Muslim Minorities in Western Liberal Democracies: A Critical Realist Approach, Ringvorlesung (141014 WS 2022), Institut für Orientalistik an der Universität Wien, 03ed October 2022.

Der Arabische Frühling und die “Youth Bulge“, Elder Mediation Symposium, Haus Der Religionen, Bern, 06-07 May 2022.

Yemeni Civil War: Can mediation/peace dialogue support to settle this conflict? And how to achieve sustainable peace in the country? 17<sup>th</sup> (International) Colloquium of the Research Group on Mediation from 22<sup>nd</sup> to 23<sup>th</sup> October 2021, Online, Forschungsgruppe Mediation, October 2021

Macron und der Islamismus: Den Boten erschießen? (Keynote Speech), Achter Großer Konvent der Schader-Stiftung 2020: Das Erleben der Anderen, 6. November 2020, online aus dem *Schader-Forum* in Darmstadt.

Women's Rights in Muslim Majority Countries: The Case of Arab MENA Region, AIESEC, *Luzern University*, 29 October 2019.

Women and Children in the Ideology of Islamism, (Keynote Speech), Glocal Islamism 2019: Phenomena, Interdependencies, Prevention, *German Federal Agency for Civic Education*, Postdam, 15-17 October 2019.

The Impact of Legal Pluralism in the UK, Sharia in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Challenges, Actors, Stages, *Euro-Arab Foundation for Higher Studies*, Granada: Spain, 26-27 September 2019

The Political Function of Blasphemy Laws, **From** the Political to the Personal: (Mis)understandings of Freedom of Religion or Belief and Freedom of Expression Across the World, A side event to the 41<sup>st</sup> session of the *UN Human Rights Council*, 24 June 2019.

On Non-Violent Islamism, *The Finnish Institute for International Affairs*, Helsinki, 8 April 2019.

How Can We Make a Difference, Panel Discussion, Geneva Summit for Human Rights, *Human Rights Council*, 27 March 2019.

History of Women's Activism in the Changing Political Landscape of MENA region, Under Same Skies: Gender Perspectives in Arab Countries and Beyond, Symposium 10. und 11. November 2018, Rote Fabrik, Zürich.

US Universities Lecture Tour on Non-Violent Islamism April 2018, Princeton (American Whig-Clisophic Society), 2<sup>nd</sup> April, Cincinnati University 4 April; Portland State University (Critical Thinking Unit, the AHA Foundation's Campus Program) 7 April, Stanford (Critical Thinking Unit event) 10 April.

Islamisches Recht und Frauen - Legitimation systematischer Diskriminierung, Symposium „Europa in Bewegung. Gesellschaften, Werte und Frauenrechte im Aufbruch“ im Rahmen der Europäischen Kulturtage Karlsruhe 2018, 5. Mai 2018.

Islamisches Recht im Westen? Scharia und Grundgesetz, Frankfurter Forschungszentrum Globaler Islam am Exzellenzcluster ‚Normative Ordnung‘, *Goethe-Universität Frankfurt*, 5 May 2017.

Women and Sharia Law: The Impact of Legal Pluralism, The Pluralistic Society and its Enemies, 21. Karlsruher Gespräche, *Centre for Cultural and General Studies*, 4 March 2017.

Women’s rights, Fiqh Jurisprudence and Gender Equality, Forum on Pluralism, *Swedish Institute Alexandria*, Egypt, December 2016.

Menschenrechte in Saudi Arabien: Das Schicksal von Raif Badawi, *Der Grüne Klub im Parlament*, Vienna, 14 November 2016.

Sharia Councils: Addressing the Practice and Impact on British Muslim Women in the UK, *House of Lords*, UK, 24 October 2016.

„Religion und Gewalt“: Islamisches Recht und Gewalt gegen Frauen, *Haus der Religionen*, Bern, 20. Oktober 2016.

Moderating a Human Rights Council’s Side Event, “Saudi Arabia’s Midterm UPR Assessment“, *Human Rights Council*, Americans for Democracy and Human Rights in Bahrain & Bahrain Institute for Rights and Democracy (BIRD), Geneva, 16 June 2016.

Radicalisation in the Gulf: Local drivers and Regional Repercussions. The Geostrategic Aspects of Radicalisation, *European Policy Centre*, Brussels, 25 May 2016.

Women and Shari’a Law, Sharia Law, Legal Pluralism and Access to Justice, *Women’s Rights Organizations’ Coalition*, London, 30 April 2016.

Are U.S. Counterterrorism Partners Preventing the Spread of Violent Extremism? 2015 Human Rights Summit, *Human Rights First*, Washington DC, 14 December 2015.

Societal Islamism versus Political Islam and the Role of Women, Gender Dimension of Violent Extremism, *COTER Council of the European Union*, Brussels, 21 October 2015.

Blasphemy Laws and Freedom of Expression (in Arabic), Egyptian Conference against Blasphemy Laws, *Egyptian Secular Party in cooperation with Campaign No to the Blasphemy Laws*, Alexandria, 29 October 2015.

[<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vSd1bGCXh7I>]

Disintegration, Federation or Planned Separation? Yemen on a Cross Road: The Future of Yemen’s Unity, Gulf Research Centre, *Cambridge University*, 25 August 2015.

Moderating a Human Rights Council’s Side Event, “Women’s Rights in Saudi Arabia”, , *Human Rights Council*, Americans for Democracy and Human Rights in Bahrain, Bahrain Institute for Rights and Democracy (BIRD), Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and the European-Saudi Organization for Human Rights (ESOHR), Geneva, 25 June 2015.

Key Note Speech on behalf of Raif Badawi for the Geneva Summit Courage Award, *Geneva Summit for Human Rights and Democracy*, Geneva, 24 February 2015.

[<http://www.raifbadawi.org/news/item/690-we-stand-united-in-our-humanity-dr-elham-manea.html>]

“How to deconstruct the Radical Narrative? An Alternative Discourse of Academics and Activists of Muslim heritage”, Conference on International Terrorism, *University of Brescia*, Italy, 24 March 2015.

“The Construction of South of Arabia: Internal factors for the failure of the Federation of South Arabia (FSA)”, Conference Aden and South Arabia: A Retrospective Study in the

Failure of State Creation, *Durham University*, UK, 15 January 2015.

“The Dimension of Islamic Law and Women’s Rights”, Diskriminierung in der Schweiz und in Österreich. Aktuelle Fragen und Lösungsansätze, *Konferenz der österreichischen und Schweizer Sektionen der Internationalen Juristenkommission*, St. Gallen, 23 January 2015.

“A Critical Review of the Essentialists Paradigm”, Safeguarding Democracy: Contests of Values and Interests, *Swiss-South African Joint Research Programme (SSAJRP)*, *University of Bern*, 17-19 June 2014.

“Transitional Justice and the Arab Spring from a Gender Perspective”, Popular Movements in the Middle East and Islamic World, *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, Dublin, 24-26 June 2013.

“How is Tribal Society changing”, Tribes and Tribalism in Yemen, *FCO Research Analysts and Stabilisation Unit Workshop*, *Foreign Office*, London, 26 April 2012.

“The Arab State and Women's Rights: the Trap of Authoritarian Governance”, Gender and Women's Studies in the Arab Region, *The American University*, Sharjah, 7 March 2012.

“Yemen's Arab Spring: outsmarting the Cunning State?” *Yemen in Transition: Challenges and Opportunities*, *Harvard University*, Cambridge, USA, 19-20 October 2012.

“Transitional Justice and the Arab Spring from a Gender Perspective”, Webinar, Transitional Justice and the Arab Spring, *University of Ottawa*, Canada, 15 October 2012.

“Rechtspluralismus: Legitimation systematischer Diskriminierung“ (Keynote Speech), From Encounter to Commitment: Interreligious Experience and Theological Reflection: Second International Conference on Interreligious Relations and Ecumenical Issues, *University of Bern*, 8-10 November 2012.

“The Arab State and the Politics of Survival: The Case of Kuwait”, Islam, Gender and Social Transformation, Frankfurter Forschungszentrum Globaler Islam am Exzellenzcluster ‚Normative Ordnung‘, *Goethe-Universität Frankfurt*, 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2011.

“The Arab Spring: Saudi Arabia and the Regional Context”, Transformation of the Arab World: Where is it heading to? NCCR Democracy, *Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS)*, Zurich, 27-28 October 2011.

## CONCLUDED PHD SUPERVISIONS

Muslim Women between Community and Individual Rights: The case of legal pluralism on marriage in South Africa, *Luzern University*, Second Supervisor, **concluded in 2020 with Cum Laude**.

Global Diffusion of Women’s Rights Norms within a Transnational Advocacy Network: The Case of Amnesty International, *Zurich University*, First Supervisor, **concluded in 2019 with Cum Claude**.

Transnational Human Rights Pressure and the Behaviour of a Target State: Insights from a Qualitative Case Study on Ethiopia, *Zurich University*, First Supervisor, **concluded in 2018 with Sum Cum Laude**.

Imagining, negotiating and transforming space. Women’s human rights struggles in Honduras in a global context, *Bern University*, Second Supervisor, **concluded in 2018 with Sum Cum Laude**.

## SAMPLE RECORD OF MASTER SUPERVISIONS

**2021**

Embracing Unipolarity: The Strategy of the United States in Iraq from 2003 to 2011

**2020**

Who to bomb? How Ideology influences Terrorists' Target-Choice

Politische Macht jenseits des Nationalstaates: Politischer Islam und Populismus in der Türkei

**2019**

Exporting Shiism: Iran's Mission to propagate the Shia Identity

Segregated Suspect Communities and their Influence on the Perception of Security

Who to bomb? How Ideology influences terrorists' target-choice

**2018**

Wieviel Islam ist die Lösung? Unter welchen Bedingungen funktioniert die Demokratie, wenn eine islamistische Partei die Regierungen übernimmt?

**2017**

Woran die Terrorismusbekämpfung in Europa teilweise scheitert und wo die Chancen liegen: Ein Handbuch über den Jihadismus, seine Ausbreitung in Europa und die Herausforderungen in der praktischen Radikalisierungsprävention

**2016**

Democratization and Women's Rights: Can Women Benefit from Political Transitions? A Comparative Analysis of Iraq and Tunisia

How Does Fundamentalism Around the World Influence Civil Liberties? An Analysis of Fundamentalist Movements and Gender-Related Restrictions on Civil Liberties

The Development of Online Activism in Tunisia and Egypt since the Arab Spring

Islamic State as a Fascist Movement

**2015**

External Actors and Political Change in Post Revolution Tunisia: A Comparative Investigation

**2014**

Die Frau in der grünen Bewegung: Rolle und Einfluss der Iranischen Frauen in der Protestbewegung 2009

**2013**

Sunniten und Demokraten in Jordanien und im Libanon – über den Zusammenhang von Religiosität und politischer Weltanschauung

**2012**

Die Rentierstaaten der arabischen Halbinsel: Die Wirkung des Ölreichtums auf die sozioökonomische Entwicklung und die Regierungssysteme der Golfstaaten