

HILARY MATFESS

2201 S Gaylord St, Denver, CO 80208

◇ 706.267.7966◇ hilary.matfess@du.edu ◇ hilarymatfess.com

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

The Josef Korbel School of International Studies at the University of Denver September 2021 - Present

· Assistant Professor

United States Institute of Peace, Washington D.C.

September 2020 - June 2021

· Jennings Randolph Peace Scholar Fellow

EDUCATION

Yale University, Ph.D., Political Science

Spring 2021

Dissertation: *“Front Lines and the Home Front: Three Papers on Women’s Contributions to Non-State Armed Groups and the Gender Dynamics of Conflict”*

Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies,

M.A., International Relations, focus on African Regional Studies

2015

Johns Hopkins University, B.A., International Studies

2014

PUBLICATIONS

Books

In Love and at War: Marriage in Non-State Armed Groups, Cambridge University Press Elements Series, (2024).

Women and the War on Boko Haram, Zed Books, (2017).

- Reviewed in *Africa, the Journal of Modern African Studies, Human Rights Quarterly, African Studies Review*, and *Global Africana*

Articles and Chapters

Matfess, Hilary and Meredith Loken. "Women’s Wings in Rebel Organisations: Prevalence, Purposes and Variations." *Civil Wars*. (2024)

Matfess, Hilary. "New Frontiers in Rebel Socialisation: Considering Care and Marriage." *Civil Wars* 25.2-3 (2023)

Matfess, Hilary, Mariam Santara, and Jakana Thomas. "From the public to the private: mapping women’s formal and informal participation in peacebuilding in Mali." *African Affairs* (2023): adad025.

"Proxy Wars in the Horn of Africa." *With Terrence Lyons* In *Routledge Handbook of Proxy Wars*, pp. 311-325. Routledge.

"Introducing the Women’s Activities in Armed Rebellion (WAAR) project, 1946–2015." *With Meredith Loken* *Journal of Peace Research* (2022): 00223433221128340.

"Childcare, Work, and Household Labor During a Pandemic: Evidence on Parents’ Preferences in the United States," *with Sarah Khan and Annabelle Hutchinson*. *Journal of Experimental Political Science* (2020): 1-19.

"Alms, Arms, and the Aftermath: A Case Study of the Legacies of Rebel Provision of Humanitarian Aid in Ethiopia." *African Affairs*. 121.483 (2022):197-220.

“Women’s Participation in Violent Non-State Organizations” *with Meredith Loken. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies* (2022)

“Safety in Numbers? The Relationship between Political Representation and Violence Targeting Women in Kenya” *with Marie E. Berry and Roudabeh Kishi. International Feminist Journal of Politics* 25, no. 3 (2023): 506-528.

“Opportunistic Repression: Civilian Targeting by the State in Response to COVID-19” *with Don Grasse, Mel Pavlik, and Travis Curtice, International Security* 46. no 2 (2021):130-165.

“Tanzania: The Roots of Repression,” *with Nic Cheeseman and an Anonymous Tanzanian Co-Author, The Journal of Democracy* 32. no 2 (2021): 77 -89.

- Findings also described in *The Conversation*

“Part and Parcel? Examining Al Shabaab and Boko Haram’s Violence Targeting Civilians and Violence Targeting Women.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2020): 1-19.

“In Plain Sight: The Neglected Linkage between Brideprice and Violent Conflict.” *with Valerie Hudson International Security*, (2017:) 42(1), 7-40.

- This article was included in the seventh edition of “Essential Readings in World Politics” by Mingst, Snyder, and McKibben.
- See also Hudson and Matfess’ “Response” to Cook and Theis in *Conflict Management and Peace Studies*.

“Suicide Squads: The Logic of Linked Suicide Bombings.” *Security Studies* 28, no. 1 (2019): 25-57, *with Jason Warner and Ellen Chapin*

“Boko Haram: History and Context.” In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*. 2017.

“Institutionalizing instability: The constitutional roots of insecurity in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic.” *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 5, no. 1 (2016).

“Rwanda and Ethiopia: Developmental Authoritarianism and the New Politics of African Strong Men.” *African Studies Review* 58, no. 2 (2015): 181-204.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Books

“From the Backbone to the Backburner: Women and Rebel-to-Party Transitions” *Book Proposal and Draft Manuscript*

Articles and Chapters

“Sweet Nothings: Gender Ideology, Marriage, and Non-State Armed Groups’ Recruitment” *Working Paper*

“Unpacking the Dynamics of ‘Meaningful Participation:’ A Case Study of WPS in Central Mali” *Revise and Resubmit with International Feminist Journal of Politics*

“Women’s Wings in Rebel Organizations: Prevalence, Purpose, and Variations.” *with Meredith Loken, Under Review*

“An Oligarchy of Aid: How non-state armed groups and international aid actors serve ‘ungoverned spaces.’” *With Susanna Campbell, Working Paper.*

“Gender Inequality and Women’s Participation in Rebellion” *With Changwook Jung and Meredith Loken*

SELECTED POLICY PUBLICATIONS

“Center Stage or Behind the Scenes? Measuring and Supporting Women’s Contributions to Peace and Conflict in Central Mali” Contributed research and provided feedback for Mercy Corps.

”Women and Rebel to Party Transitions *FBA Research Briefs* June 2022.

“The Women of January 6th: A Gendered Analysis of the 21st Century American Far-Right” *with Devorah Margolin GWU POE* April 2022.

“Women and Rebel Legitimacy,” with Robert U. Nagel, in “Women and National Security Roundtable,” *Texas National Security Review*. October 2020.

“Brokers of Legitimacy: Women in Community Based Armed Groups (CBAGs) in East Africa,” *United States Institute for Peace*, June 2020.

“Ethiopia and Abiy’s Response to Covid-19” in “oronavirus in Africa: How the Pandemic Will Shape a Continent’s Future” *ISPI*, April 2020.

“‘Terribly and Terrifyingly Normal’: Political Violence Targeting Women,” *ACLEDA*, May (2019), with Roudabeh Kishi and Melissa Pavlik.

“Power, elitism, and history: Targeted Killings in Nigeria 2000-2017,” *Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime*, 2018.

‘Child Soldiers in North East Nigeria,’ *Cradled by Conflict: Child Involvement with Armed Groups in Contemporary Conflict*, United Nations University (2017), with Graeme Blair and Chad Hazlett.

“Exploding Stereotypes: The Unexpected Operational and Demographic Characteristics of Boko Haram’s Suicide Bombers,” *West Point Combating Terrorism Center*, (2017), with Jason Warner.

“Conflict Analysis of Northeast Nigeria: Biu, Bursari, Gombi, Hawul, Hong, Jakusko, Jere and Kaga Local Government Areas,” For USAID Feed the Future, (September 2017) with Chitra Nagarajan.

“Boko Haram’s Campaign Against Women,” *Linking the Security of Women and the Security of States*, Futures Without Violence, (2017).

“Sub-Saharan Africa” in *Charting a New Course Strategic Choices for a New Administration*. INSS (2016).

“The March Is Not Linear: Big Party Politics and the Decline of Democracy Worldwide” with Francis Fukuyama in ”Beyond Convergence: A World Without Order.” CCO (2016).

SELECTED GENERAL AUDIENCE PUBLICATIONS

“Private Military Companies Have Also Complicated Humanitarian Aid” with Anne Lauder *World Politics Review*, July 28, 2023.

“Contextualizing the Nigerian Government’s Forced Abortion Program” with Robert Nagel *Lawfare*, February 12, 2023

“After Agreement in Ethiopia’s Tigray Region, What Stands in the Way of Lasting Peace?” with Anne Lauder, IPI Global Observatory, February 7, 2023.

The Need for a Cooperation Framework between Non-state Armed Groups and Humanitarians *CSIS* December 7, 2022

It’s Time to Rethink What a ‘Feminist Foreign Policy’ Means with Marie Berry and Farida Nabourema. *World Politics Review* November 2, 2022.

”How to Vaccinate Behind Enemy Lines with Susanna Campbell and Jacob Kurtzer. *Foreign Affairs* May 15, 2022.

“Ukrainian Women at War Are Going Viral for All the Wrong Reasons.” *World Politics Review*, March 15, 2022.

“Sexual Violence and the War in Tigray” *Lawfare*, June 16, 2021.

“Autocratic governments are using coronavirus as a pretext to clamp down on opponents,” with Travis Curtice, Melissa Pavlik, and Don Grasse, July 31, 2020. *The Washington Post Monkey Cage Blog*

“Repression in Mozambique Is Stoking an Islamist Insurgency, Risking Wider Unrest,” With Alex Noyes. *World Politics Review*, June 4, 2020.

“Sidama Statehood Vote Throws a Wrench in Abiy Ahmed’s Plans for Ethiopia,” *Foreign Policy*, December 6, 2019.

“COVID and Cooperation: The Latest Canary in the Coal Mine,” With Rebecca Wolfe. *Lawfare*, May 3, 2020.

“What Explains the Rise of Communal Violence in Mali, Nigeria and Ethiopia?” *World Politics Review*, September 11, 2019.

“Why Ethiopia Sailed While Zimbabwe Sank,” with Alexander Noyes, *Foreign Policy*, September 6, 2019.

“The Progressive Case for Free Trade,” *Vox*, August 1, 2019.

“Counterproductive Counterinsurgency: Is Mozambique Creating the Next Boko Haram?” With Alexander Noyes, *Lawfare*, September 1, 2019.

“What’s behind Ethiopia’s recent political violence?” With Terrence Lyons, *Washington Post*, July 15, 2019.

“Can Abiy Keep Reforming?” *Lawfare*, July 14, 2019.

“Gendered Violence and Political Agendas,” with Meredith Loken and Robert Nagel, *Political Violence at a Glance*, February 11, 2019.

“Flagged Down: ‘America First’ Feminism is not the Future” *Bitch Magazine*, August 13, 2018.

“Africa’s Attack on Internet Freedom,” with Jeffrey Smith. *Foreign Policy*. July 13, 2018.

“Fixing Ethiopia Requires More Than a New Prime Minister,” *Lawfare*. April 22, 2018.

“No Justice, No Peace: Why Justice Sector Reform is A Critical Part of Counter-Terrorism,” *Stratfor*, February 12, 2018.

“How Nigeria’s Boko Haram Crackdown Harms Local Economies,” *Foreign Affairs*. July 17, 2017.

“Boko Haram’s War on Women” *Newsweek*, February 8, 2016.

“Women’s empowerment meets male resistance,” *IRIN*. February 22, 2017.

“Boko Haram’s Internal Rift probably isn’t Good News. Here’s Why,” *Washington Post*. August 24, 2016.

BOOK REVIEWS

Hybrid sovereignty in world politics. By Swati Srivastava. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 2022. 280pp. £75.00. ISBN978 1 00920 450 7. Available as e-book. Reviewed in *International Affairs* 2023

“Thematic Review: *The Inclusion Calculation: Why Men Appropriate Women’s Representation*, Melody E. Valdini and *Gender Quotas and Democratic Participation: Recruiting Candidates for Elective Offices in Germany*, Louise K. Davidson-Schmich. Reviewed in *Politics and Gender* 2021

“East Africa After Liberation Conflict, Security and the State Since the 1980s,” Jonathan Fisher, Cambridge University Press. Reviewed in *The Journal of Development Studies* 2020

“Ethnic Politics and State Power in Africa: The Logic of the Coup-Civil War Trap,” Phillip Roessler, Cambridge University Press. Reviewed in H-Diplo Roundtable 2019

“Boko Haram: the History of an African Jihadist Movement,” Alex Thurston, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press. Reviewed in *Africa* 89, no. 2 (2019): 409–11. doi:10.1017/S0001972019000172

“Strong NGOs and Weak States: Pursuing Gender Justice in the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Africa,” Milli Lake, Cambridge University Press. Reviewed in *African Affairs* 118 no. 470 (2019): 210-211.

“Searching for Boko Haram: A History of Violence in Central Africa,” Scott MacEachern, Oxford University Press. Reviewed in *Anthropological Quarterly* 92, no. 2 (2019): 587-590

“Security in Africa: A Critical Approach to Western Indicators of Threat,” Claire Metelits, Rowman Littlefield Publishers. Reviewed in *PRISM*, Vol. 6, No. 4, The Struggle for Security in Africa (2017)

FELLOWSHIPS, RESEARCH GRANTS AND AWARDS

Fellowships

Peace Scholar Fellow, United States Institute of Peace, September 2020-June 2021 \$20,000

Research Grants

Faculty Research Fund, 2023-2025 \$3,000

Korbel Research Support, 2022-203 \$7,500
(with Elizabeth Brannon)

APSA Critical Partnerships, 2021-2022. \$10,000
(with Susanna Campbell)

Folke Bernadotte Academy, 2020-2021 SEK 320,000
(with Jakana Thomas)

Folke Bernadotte Academy, 2020-2021 SEK 396,000
(with Jason Lyall, Travice Curtice, and Mara Revkin)

Program on Refugees, Forced Displacement, and
Humanitarian Responses Research Grant (2018, 2019)

MacMillan Pre-Dissertation Fellowship (2018, 2019)

Lindsay Fellowship for Research in Africa (2018)

Affiliations

Term Member, Council on Foreign Relations

Senior Research Associate, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Affiliate of the Research on International Policy Implementation Lab (RIPIL); Co-PI on “Aiding People: Non-State Armed Group Service Delivery and International Aid” and “Rule-Breakers or Innovators? Bureaucratic Effectiveness in Global Governance.”

Bridging the Gap New Era Workshop Participant 2021 (Virtual due to COVID-19)

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Pre-Doctoral Fellow and Senior Research Associate

- *Center for Global Engagement*
International Republican Institute February 2020 - March 2021
- Completed desk research and remote interviews for research projects on political party adaptation to digital democracy and political party strategies to adapt to closing space
- Provided editorial and research support to US-government funded projects on democracy and governance
- Liaised with country teams and colleagues to further organizational objectives and collaborative projects

Research Analyst

- *Armed Conflict Location and Event*
Data Project (ACLED) August 2018 - November 2019
- Produced weekly analysis of conflict trends in Africa and the Middle East, available [here](#).
- Used Tableau to produce data visualizations to accompany analysis
- Contributed to South Sudan, Sudan, and Sahel portions of ACLED's "10 Conflicts to Watch in 2019" report.

Research Analyst

- *Institute for Defense Analyses* June 2016 - January 2017
- Researched and wrote weekly analysis of political, economic, and social developments in sub-Saharan Africa for *Africa Watch*
- Served as a lecturer at the Foreign Service Institute on non-state actors, humanitarian crises, and counter- insurgency/counter-terrorism efforts across the continent

Research Analyst

- *Center for Complex Operations*
at the National Defense University May 2015 - May 2016
- Co-edited *Beyond Convergence: World Without Order*, a volume on transnational threats to global security. Co-authored an introductory chapter with Michael Miklaucic and a chapter on alternative governance paradigms with Francis Fukuyama
- Conducted independent research related to women in peace and security, illicit networks, and governance, with a particular emphasis on Sub-Saharan Africa, including fieldwork on conflict and reconciliation. Field work included trips to North East Nigeria
- Assisted with the editing and production of *PRISM*, a policy journal dedicated to exploring issues related to development, defense, and diplomacy
- Wrote the Africa portion of the 2016 INSS Strategic Assessment for the incoming administration, addressing American strategic priorities in Sub-Saharan Africa

Selection of Consultancy Work

- For the Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime, I created dataset of targeted killings in Nigeria from 2000-2017 with more than 1600 observations and produced a policy-relevant report on targeted killings in Nigeria
- For the United States Institute for Peace, I produced a report on women's participation in community based armed groups in East Africa.
- For ORB International, I helped design survey questionnaires for conflict affected communities in North East Nigeria
- For CRS, I helped train local enumerators to conduct Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and such conducted interviews in North East Nigeria. I also helped produce a report on the impact of conflict on livelihoods in North East Nigeria.
- For the Center for Democracy and Development - West Africa, I assisted with their deradicalization and countering violent extremism projects, in addition to providing editorial support.

ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS

“Sweet but not Sticky: Women’s Wartime Mobilization and Post-Conflict Power” ISA 2021.

“Grass that Suffers: The Relationship between Political Representation and Violence Targeting Women in Kenya,” FBA Folke Research Working Group on Women Peace and Security, January 22 - 24, 2020.

“Same Tune, Different Verse: Al Shabaab and Boko Haram’s Violence Targeting Women,” ISSS-IS Joint Annual Conference, October 19 2019.

“From the Front Lines to the Home Front: Gendering Rebel to Party Transitions,” at the Swedish Folke Bernadotte Academy’s Politics after War: Rebel-to-Party Transformation and Beyond in Stockholm, April 18-19, 2019.

“Backlash to Women’ Empowerment: The Personal is Political,” The American Political Science Association’s Annual Conference, August 30 - September 2, 2018.

“In Plain Sight: The Neglected Role of Brideprice in Catalyzing Instability and Violent Conflict,” the International Studies Association’s Annual Conference, April 4-7, 2018.

“Brideprice and Social Stability,” International Studies Association Annual Conference, April 2018.

“The Boko Haram Insurgency: A mixed methods approach” with Peter Lewis and Nate Allen, the American Political Science Association Annual Conference, September 3-6, 2015.

INVITED PRESENTATIONS AND INTERVIEWS

Invited lecture (virtual) on women as perpetrators of political violence at John Jay College as a part of their Center on Terrorism’s Seminar Series. March 2023.

Presentation on Rebel Marriage Practices at Princeton University’s Center for International Security Studies seminar series. February 2023.

Guest Lecture on Rebel Marriage Practices at the University of Amsterdam. October 2022.

“Women and Rebel-to-Party Transitions” presented at “DDR Research Briefs Online Seminar with FBA, PAW UN” February 2022.

“The Lawfare Podcast: Making Sense of the Crisis in Ethiopia,” December 8, 2021.

“Women and Rebel Group Legitimacy,” *CISSM Global Forum* May 12, 2021.

“Gender and Security,” *Horns of a Dilemma Podcast*, with Robert Nagel. April 16, 2021.

“Women in Community Based Armed Groups,” United States Institute for Peace RESOLVE network, November 13, 2019.

“Executive Analytic Exchange on the Republic of Nigeria,” United States Department of State, September 27, 2019.

“Does America Need Trade Deals?” *Vox’s The Weeds Podcast*, August 23, 2019.

“Women, War, and Agency,” George Washington University Delta Phi Epsilon Chapter, September 26, 2019.

“Using Body Map Panels to Discuss Sensitive Subjects: A Case Study of South Sudanese Refugees in Uganda,” Yale Council on African Studies and Yale Program on Refugees, Forced Displacement, and Humanitarian Responses, 2019.

“Decoding the Continent,” *CSIS Into Africa Podcast*, January 13, 2019.

Center for Global Development, “Women and the War on Boko Haram,” May 30, 2018.

Ralph Bunch Library Speaker Series at the Department of State, “Women and the War on Boko Haram,” May 24, 2018.

AFRICOM. “Women, Peace, and Security Conference” in conjunction with Operation Flintlock,” April, 2018.

Futures Without Violence, “Implementing Women, Peace, and Security Legislation,” March 2018.

Interview regarding Boko Haram’s Use of Female and Underage Suicide Bombers, *CNN*, August 2017.

“New Research Finds a Link Between the Cost of Getting Married and the Outbreak Violent Conflict,” *Global Dispatch Podcast*, August 2017.

“A conversation with Hilary Matfess on women and Boko Haram.” *Ufahamu Africa Podcast*, November 19, 2017.

AFRICOM, “Gender and Insurgency in Nigeria,” May 2017.

Futures Without Violence. “Linking the Security of Women and the Security of States.” April 27, 2017.

Africa Research Institute. “History and Memory in Boko Haram,” October 5, 2016.