

YANIV VOLLER

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

University of Kent, School of Politics and International Relations	
Senior Lecturer in Middle East Politics	2020 – present
Lecturer in Middle East Politics	2016-2020
University of Edinburgh, School of Social and Political Science	
Leverhulme Early Career Fellow	2013-2016

EDUCATION

PhD, International Relations, London School of Economics and Political Science	2012
MSc, Middle East Politics, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, upper 2:1	2007
BA, Middle East and Islamic Studies, Tel Aviv University, <i>magna cum laude</i>	2006

FURTHER TRAINING

Postgraduate Certificate in Higher Education – Full Level, London School of Economics and Political Science	2011
Certificate in Ottoman and Modern Turkish Studies, Koc Universitesi-Harvard summer school, Ayvalik, Turkey	2008

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS (three most relevant publications underlined)

Books

2022. *Second-Generation Liberation Wars: Rethinking Colonialism in Iraqi Kurdistan and Southern Sudan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Reviewed by *Perspectives on Politics, International Review of Social History*)

2014. *The Kurdish National Liberation Movement in Iraq: From Insurgency to Statehood*. Abingdon: Routledge (paperback published in 2019) (Reviewed by *Choice, Review of International Law and Politics, Bustan and Kurdish Studies*)

Journal articles (peer-reviewed)

2024. 'Pro-Government Militias, Identity Leadership, and Ethnic Defection: Evidence from Israel's Recruitment of the South Lebanese Army.' *Political Psychology*, Early View, doi: 10.1111/pops.12963 .

2023. 'Militias as a Tool for Encouraging Ethnic Defection: Evidence from Iraq and Sudan.' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 35, 1: 65-82

2022. 'Rethinking Armed Groups and Order: Syria and the Rise of Militiatocracies.' *International Affairs* 98, 3: 853-871.

2021. "'Moderate Arab States": From Cold War to the Syrian Conflict.' *Middle East Policy*, 28, 1: 70-86

2019. 'The Second-Generation Liberation Movement in Southern Sudan: Anti-Colonialism as a Set of Practices.' *Civil Wars* 21, 1: 54-82

2017. 'Identity Politics in the Ba'ath Government's Counterinsurgency Campaign against the Kurds in Northern Iraq.' *Middle East Journal* 72, 3: 383-401

2016. 'The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and the South Sudan Question: The Limits of Moderation.' *International Affairs* 92, 3: 665-682

2015. 'From Periphery to the Moderates: Israeli Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East.' *Political Science Quarterly* 130, 3: 505-535

2015. 'Contested Sovereignty as an Opportunity: Understanding Democratic Transitions in Unrecognized States.' *Democratization* 22, 4: 610-630

2014. 'Countering Violence against Women in Iraqi Kurdistan: State Building and Transnational Advocacy.' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, 2: 351-372

2013. 'Explaining Unilateralism: Contested Sovereignty and the Kurdistan Regional Government's Oil Policy.' *Middle East Policy* 20, 1: 68-82

Work under review and in progress

The Man on the Pickup Truck: Politics and Society in the Age of Militias, book manuscript under preparation, project funded by the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation (2023-2025), first draft to be submitted for review by September 2024

'The Iraq Archives and the Question of Tribalism in Ba'athist Iraq,' chapter commissioned for an edited volume on a decade to the opening of the Iraq archives, edited by Lisa Blaydes and Samuel Helfont, revise & resubmit

'Clan and Village Elders as Identity Mediators During the Conflict in Turkey,' article in preparation with Cengiz Gunes (University of Tübingen), to be submitted to *Journal of Peace Research*

'The New Inter-State Wars in the Middle East: A New Understanding of Semi-Official Armed Groups in International Security', to be submitted to *International Security*

Book reviews

2023. 'The Iraqi Kurds and the Cold War: Regional Politics, 1958–1975, by Hawraman Ali.' *Bustan* 14, 1: 110-112

2018. 'A People Without a State: The Kurds from the Rise of Islam to the Dawn of Nationalism, by Michael Eppel.' *Hamizrah ha-Chadash* (in Hebrew), January 2018: 204-207

2015. 'Out of Nowhere: The Kurds of Syria in Peace and War, by Michael M. Gunter.' *Middle East Policy* 22, 1: 156-157

2011. 'Nadje Al-Ali and Nicola Pratt, What Kind of Liberation: Women and the Occupation of Iraq.' *Millennium* 40, 1: 210-211

Policy papers

2022. 'Armed Groups in Conflict: Toward a More Nuanced Understanding,' *Crisis Response Council* policy report, <https://www.crcouncil.org/post/report-armed-groups-in-conflict-toward-a-more-nuanced-understanding>.

2020. 'Advantages and Challenges to Diaspora Transnational Civil Society Activism in the Homeland: Examples from Iraqi Kurdistan, Somaliland and South Sudan.' *Department for International Development/LSE Conflict Research Programme* <https://www.gov.uk/research-for-development-outputs/advantages-and-challenges-to-diaspora-transnational-civil-society-activism-in-the-homeland>

2012. 'Israel and the Arab Spring: Turmoil and Uncertainty.' *LSE IDEAS Special Report* SR011

Media and blogs

2019. 'Today's Refugees are Tomorrow's Activists'. *LSE Conflict Research Programme Blog*, 15 August: <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/crp/2019/08/15/transnational-civil-society-diaspora-activism-in-iraqi-kurdistan-somaliland-south-sudan/>

2018. 'Profile: Avigdor Lieberman, Israel's Hardline Defence Minister'. *The Conversation*, 11 May: <https://theconversation.com/profile-avigdor-lieberman-israels-hardline-defence-minister-96474>

2016. 'Kurdish Questions: An Interview with Yaniv Voller'. *Oxford Research Group*, 24 November: <https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/blog/kurdish-questions-an-interview-with-yaniv-voller>

2016. 'Saddam Hussein and his Attempts to Break Kurdish Society'. *Haaretz* (Hebrew edition), 15 September: <https://www.haaretz.co.il/blogs/sadna/1.3068683>

2010. 'The Odd Couple: Turkey and the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq'. *Majalla Magazine*, February 15: <http://www.majalla.com/en/ideas/article17480.ece>

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND AWARDS (POST 2013)

- The Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation Distinguished Scholars Award, 2023
for the Project 'Pro-Government Militias as Social and Political Actors and
Their Impact on Governance and Security Orders' (\$70,000)
- 'Above and Beyond Teaching Award', by the University of Kent Student 2020-2023
Union, for excellence in teaching
- Conflict Research Fellowship award, for the project 'Transnational 2018
Diaspora Activism and Human Security in the Homeland: The Cases of
Iraqi Kurdistan, South Sudan and Somaliland', by the Social Science
Research Council/LSE Conflict Research Programme (\$25,000)
- School of Politics and International Relations research grant (£4,000) 2018
- Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship, for the project, 'Secondary 2013
Decolonization in the Middle East: Changing Strategies of Liberation'
(£125,000)

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

University of Kent

- POLI8109 Politics and Society in the Middle East, postgraduate module (convenor)
- POLI8280 Theories of Conflict and Violence, postgraduate module (convenor)
- POLI6290 Terrorism and Political Violence, undergraduate module (convenor)
- POLI6300 Middle East Politics, undergraduate module (convenor)
- POLI7020 Qualitative Methods in Politics and International Relations, research
postgraduate module (lecturer)
- POLI6850 Connections, undergraduate module (lecturer)
- POLI3360 Politics Today, undergraduate module (lecturer)

London School of Economics and Political Science

- HY203, The Arab-Israeli Conflict: Nationalism, Religion, Territory (teaching assistant)
- IR101, The Structure of International Society (teaching assistant)

RESEARCH SUPERVISION

Completed (PhD unless otherwise stated)

- Natalia Piotrowska, 'Quo Vadis Turkey? Turkey's State Identity Through the Ontological
Security Perspective'
- Umut Can Adisönmez, 'Trauma, memory, and agency: making and (re)making the
intractable conflicts of Turkey and Israel'

Shwan Azeez, 'Natural Resources and Contested Sovereignty: The Case of the Kurdistan Region in Iraq'

Müjge Küçükkeleş, 'Governing Iraqi Kurdistan: Self-Rule, Political Order and the International'

Cameron Emanuel-Burns, 'Do Anti-Refugee Policies Increase the Likelihood of Extremism Occurring in the Host State?' (MA by Research)

In progress

Khalifa Alkaabi, 'Role Theory and National Security Performance: Evaluating the Engagement of KSA, UAE and Qatar in the Conflicts in Yemen and Syria'

Mamdooh Alkhliwi, 'The Role of Clerics in De-Radicalisation Programs: A Comparative Study of Saudi Arabia and Morocco'

Ghenwa Al Shoumari, 'Social Engineering and the Roots of the Syrian Civil War'

Diyar Amin, 'The Development of Kurdistan Regional Government-Iraq Relations with Turkey and Iran'

Saleh Al-Sakaker, 'Impact of Social Groups in the Formation of International policy in Saudi Arabia: A case study of Al-Aqilat 1902-1932'

Saxony Anders, 'Economic Solutions to Social and Political Challenges in the Middle East' (Northeastern University, London)

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE AND LEADERSHIP ROLES

2017 – present. Director of MA Programme in Security and Terrorism, School of Politics and International Relations, University of Kent

2018 – present. Member of Concessions/Disciplinary Committee, School of Politics and IR

2018. Member of the search committee for lectureship in intelligence and cyber security

SERVICES TO THE PROFESSION

2023 – present. Member of the Academic Advisory Board, The Center for the Transdisciplinary Research of Violence, Trauma and Justice, Charles University, Prague

2023. Judge, best dissertation award, British Society for Middle Eastern Studies

2022-2026. External examiner: BSc Politics Programme, Department of International Politics, City, University of London

2018-2020. British Society for Middle Eastern Studies, trustee and member of the executive council

Doctoral examiner: Department of International Politics, City, University of London; Hebrew and Jewish Studies Department, University College London; Institute for Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter

Journal manuscript reviewer: Journal of Peace Research, International Affairs, Perspectives of Politics, Third World Quarterly, Middle East Journal, British Journal of Middle East Studies, British Journal of Politics and International Relations

Book manuscript reviewer: Oxford University Press, Routledge, Hurst & Co, Bloomsbury, Polity Press

RESEARCH AND NETWORKING AFFILIATIONS

2023 – present. Associate Fellow, Crisis Response Council, a Carnegie Corporation-funded research centre

2019 – present. Affiliate, Centre for International Security and Cooperation, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University

INVITED TALKS, PRESENTATIONS AND SEMINAR PARTICIPATION

2023. Identity Entrepreneurship and Ethnic Defection: The Social Identity Aspect of Pro-Government Militias, TE Lawrence Speakers Series, All Souls College, University of Oxford, 1 November

2023. Rethinking Colonialism: The Southern Sudanese Liberation Struggle and the Challenge to Decolonisation, Sudanese Programme, Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, University of Oxford, 28 October

2023. A Decade of Research Using Iraqi Archives: What We Now Know, The Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 16 August

2023. Asia and the Middle East: Straddling between Contestation, Competition & Cooperation, Emirates Policy Centre, 12 June

2023. The State of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq ("KRI"): Twenty Years Since the 2003 War," University of Cambridge, 28 April

2022. What Future for Militias in Post-Conflict Reconstruction? Middle East Peace & Security Forum, American University of Kurdistan, Duhok, Iraq, 15 November

2022. Middle East Roundtable: The Potential for the Middle East's Pivot Away from Relying on the West, NATO Intelligence Fusion Centre, RAF Molesworth, 6 June

2021. Militias and Armed Non-State Actors as Spoilers and State-builders, Middle East Peace & Security Forum, American University of Kurdistan, Duhok, Iraq, 14 November

2021. Militias and security in Iraq, Brookings Institution, Washington DC, 3 June

2021. What's Next in the Eastern Mediterranean for Regional Powers Post Pandemic, panel chair, Centre for Turkey Studies, London, 11 March

2020. Pro-government militias as Tools of Social Control in Iraq, Middle East Initiative, Centre for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Ca. 18 February

2020. Pro-Government Militias as Societal Agents, City, University of London, Department of International Politics, London, 12 February

2019. Diaspora and Civil Society Activism, Findings from the Field in Iraqi Kurdistan, Somaliland and South Sudan, London School of Economics and Political Science Conflict Research Programme, London, 17 October 2019

2019. Secessionist Struggles as Opportunities, Wales Institute of Social & Economic Research, Data & Methods (WISERD), Secession in International Politics, 5 September

2019. Israel: A Small State in Search for a Periphery, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore, forum on small states in international politics, 27 February

2018. Diaspora as a Transnational Civil Society: The Case of Iraqi Kurdistan, South Sudan and Somaliland, London School of Economics and Political Science Conflict Research Programme, London, 26 June

SELECTED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS (SINCE 2018)

2023. How does Identity Entrepreneurship Enable Ethnic Defection? The Case of the Village Guards in Turkey, The British Society for Middle Eastern Studies annual meeting, 3 July

2022. The Syrian Militiatocracy and the Role of Armed Groups in Governance, Political Studies Association annual meeting, 13 April

2021. The Rise of Militiatocracies in the Middle East, British Society for Middle Eastern Studies annual meeting, 7 July

2019. Cyber Security and Soft Power in Israeli Foreign Policy, European Association for Israel Studies, Prague, Czechia, 10 September

2019. Defector Militias as a Tool of Fragmentation: Evidence from Iraq, Sudan, and Turkey, ISA Annual Meeting, Toronto, ON., Canada, 30 March

2019. Countering Terrorism and International Legitimacy: The Case of the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq and Somaliland, BRISMES Annual Meeting, Leeds, 23 June

2018. Moderation as Role Conception: The Ascent and Evolution of the “Moderate Arabs,” BRISMES Annual Meeting, London, 25 June

2018. The Kurdistan Regional Government and the War against the Islamic State: Counterterrorism and Sovereignty,” European Workshops in International Studies, Groningen, the Netherlands, 7 June

SELECTED MEDIA APPEARANCES AND INTERVIEWS

2023. BBC News, interview on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 21 October, https://archive.org/details/BBCNEWS_20231021_180000_BBC_News
2023. TalkTV, interview on the origins of Hamas's attack on Israel, 10 October, <https://twitter.com/TalkTV/status/1711782177019457806>
2023. BBC Radio, interview on the emerging conflict in Sudan, 25 April, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/p0fdsnzc>
2023. Monocle Radio, interview on the emerging conflict in Sudan, 21 April, <https://monocle.com/radio/shows/the-briefing/3005/>
2021. Aljazeera, interview on recent developments in Iran nuclear negotiations, 5 September, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/9/5/israels-alarmist-claims-raise-the-stakes-against-iran>
2021. BBC Radio, interview on the UK's position in Afghanistan, 1 September
2021. BBC Radio, interview on the American withdrawal from Afghanistan, 16 August
2021. KMFM, interview on the fighting between Israel and Hamas, 15 May
2021. BBC Radio, interview on the round of fighting between Israel and Hamas, 14 May
2021. Aljazeera English, interview on the skirmishes between Iran and Israel in the Gulf, 3 May 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/3/israels-shadow-war-and-plans-to-scupper-irans-nuclear-deal>
2021. Aljazeera English, interview on Biden's policy toward the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, 17 April, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/17/why-biden-will-not-change-palestinian-lives-either>
2020. KMTV, interview on the implications of the Beirut Harbour Explosion, 6 August
2019. BBC Arabic news, interview on Israeli elections, 17 September
2019. inews, interview on US forces withdrawal from Syrian Kurdistan 10 October, <https://inews.co.uk/news/turkey-syria-kurds-attack-us-betrayal-air-strikes-latest-news-668830>
2018. BBC Radio, interview on round of violence between Israel and Hamas, 17 April
2017. TRT English, Interview on referendum in Iraqi Kurdistan, 25 September

LANGUAGES

- | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------|
| Hebrew | Native |
| Arabic | Fluent (for interviews) |
| Turkish | Intermediate (not for interviews) |

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

British International Studies Association

Conflict Research Society

Higher Education Academy