

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

ALÁ ALI BIN ALI AHMED,  
et al.,

Petitioners,

v.

BARACK H. OBAMA, et al.,

Respondents.

Civil Action No. 05-1678 (GK)

DECLARATION OF DR. SHEILA CARAPICO

I, Dr. Sheila Carapico, hereby declare:

1. I am Dr. Sheila Carapico. I make this declaration in support of the habeas corpus petition of Alá Ali Bin Ali Ahmed ("Alá"). I am prepared to testify to the facts and opinions stated herein, if called upon to do so.
2. I am a Professor of Political Science at the University of Richmond. For much of the past three decades I have studied Yemeni history and culture and I have spent a total of six years living in, and have made many trips to, Yemen. While a copy of my *curriculum vitae* is attached as Exhibit A, I summarize below my qualifications, background and experience relevant to the matters about which I opine.
3. I have been asked to provide expert opinions relating to conditions in Yemen, migration of young men from Yemen to countries like Pakistan, the purpose and use of guest houses during such travel, and the travels of the Petitioner in this case.
4. Although I will explain my opinions in greater detail below, based on my knowledge of this culture and its traditions, it is my opinion that there is nothing unusual – let alone incriminating – about a young Yemeni man traveling to either Pakistan or Afghanistan during this time period or staying in a guest house either for a short period or, for that matter, for an extended period. This has, in fact, been a common part of the Yemeni experience and it is easy to understand in light of the poverty and limited opportunities available in Yemen. It is also understandable given the desire of young Yemenis to expand either their horizons or opportunities by traveling to Pakistan or other locations (a tradition that is hardly unique to young Yemenis, but is particularly easy to understand given the circumstances of that country and the tradition of such travel).

5. It is also very common for young Yemenis (or other Yemeni travelers) to meet and live together in guest houses. Not only is this a significant part of the Yemeni culture and tradition, it is easily understood because of the common language (particularly in a country like Pakistan, where Arabic is not commonly spoken), the limited (if any) expense involved, and the familiar surroundings and camaraderie this offers in a foreign country. Alá's travel from Yemen following completion of high school – and his stays at guest houses that included, among others, many other Yemenis – is entirely consistent with this tradition.

### **Background and Experience**

6. I hold a Ph.D. (1984) and M.A. (1976) in political science, as well as a Certificate in the South-West Asia/North Africa Program, from the State University of New York, Binghamton. My B.A. (1973) is from Alfred University in Alfred, New York. During my junior year in college (1971-72), I studied at the American University in Cairo, Egypt. I also lived in Yemen for more than six years, especially during the period 1977-1980 and 1993-94, and most recently visited in 2003 and 2006.
7. I was an Instructor of political science at Wilkes College in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania for three years (1981-84) before taking a position at the School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont. I taught there for one year (1984-85) before taking my current position (beginning in 1985) as a Professor of political science at the University of Richmond. I teach courses on International Relations, the Middle East, International Development, Islam in Politics, and Research Methods.
8. Besides teaching, I have also worked as a consultant to various organizations. For example, in 1994, I provided field research and translation to Human Rights Watch relating to Yemen and its Civil War. I also conducted field research for Human Rights Watch on the rules of war under the Geneva Conventions in Lebanon in 1996. I was also a team member on the Management Development Program Reconnaissance Mission to Yemen (1991) organized by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in New York and the Special Programming Mission to the Yemen Arab Republic (1987) organized by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) in Rome, Italy. In 1977 I served as a researcher for the Survey of Urban Workforce and Commercial Enterprises organized by the Berger-Kampsax Urban Planning Project in Yemen. I was part of the elections monitoring team in April, 2003, organized by the National Democratic Institute. In 2005, I participated in a three-part series with *The Washington Post* called "Yemen: Exporting Democracy" where I answered questions and facilitated online discussion of issues relevant to Yemen. This year I have consulted with the US Agency for International Development, the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, and other agencies about their Yemen policies.

9. I have been involved extensively with the Middle East Report and Information Project and the Middle East Studies Association. I have also served as President of the American Institute for Yemeni Studies and as a member of the Council of American Overseas Research Centers.
10. In 1993 I was awarded the Fulbright/Council for International Exchange of Scholars award for research on Yemen. I also served as a Visiting Faculty member (1994) in the Women's Studies and Social Research Program at Sana'a University in Sana'a, Yemen. The University of Richmond has also awarded me four different Summer Research Travel Grants for research in Yemen. (1986, 1992, 1996, and 1999).
11. I have written extensively on various social, political, economic, and cultural issues facing the country of Yemen, including: *Political Succession in the Middle East* (article, Volume IX, Number 3: 2002); *Civil Society in Yemen: The Political Economy of Activism in Modern Arabia* (book, Cambridge University Press, London: 1998); *The Political Economy of Self-help: Development Cooperatives in the Yemen Arab Republic* (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton: 1984); *Emerging Rural Patterns in the Yemen Arab Republic: Results of a 21-Community Cross Sectional Study* (treatise co-authored by T. Walker and J. Cohen, Ithica, Cornell University Center for International Studies, Yemen Research Program: 1983); and *Yemeni Agriculture and Economic Change* (treatise co-authored by R. Tutwiler, Milwaukee, American Institute for Yemeni Studies: 1981).
12. My current research and writing involves an investigation of what American, European and international agencies do to promote democracy in the Arab world.

### **Statement of Facts**

13. I learned of the facts described in this declaration through my own research and experience, as well as through conversations with counsel regarding the case of Alá Ali Bin Ali Ahmed in particular. I have also read various pleadings and documents of record for this and other habeas corpus proceedings.
14. I understand that Alá is from Aden, Yemen, and he was 18 years old when he traveled to Pakistan. He is a high school graduate. There is nothing in his background indicating any kind of religious extremism or anti-government activity of any kind. His parents have been separated for a significant amount of time, and Alá's father has not played a significant role in his life. Alá grew up in his mother's household with his two brothers, both of whom are employed and have families in Yemen but no political connections of any significance. They are of modest means. His brother Wagdi reports that Alá was popular at school, a good student, and a gentle human being. I understand that during the time he has been detained at the Guantanamo Bay Detention Facility, Alá has had no disciplinary or other infractions.

15. I also understand that Alá's family approved of and provided money, apparently the equivalent of \$800, for airfare to Pakistan via Abu Dhabi. This was his first trip abroad. Plane fare may have been about \$250.
16. Sometime before September 11, 2001, Alá traveled to Pakistan, and at the suggestion of two Yemeni men he met at the airport in Karachi, he briefly resided at a hotel in Karachi. I would imagine this to be a very cheap hotel costing perhaps \$10 per night, which would quickly deplete Alá's spending money. He was later invited to stay at a "guest house"<sup>1</sup> located in Karachi, free of cost. I understand that altogether Alá stayed in this house for approximately six weeks before traveling in early November to Faisalabad, where there was another guest house open to Yemenis. In March 2002, the Pakistani police arrested every non-Pakistani at this house (as well as other houses) and handed them over to the custody of United States' military. For the ensuing seven years, Alá has been held at a detention facility at Guantanamo Bay.

### Opinions

17. I have been asked by counsel for Petitioners to submit this declaration regarding the social, economic, and cultural factors that lead many young Yemeni men to travel to countries like Pakistan and Afghanistan. I opine on these matters based on my education, extensive research, readings, publications, and knowledge acquired during my years of residence as a scholar in Yemen.
18. For the reasons explained in this declaration, there is nothing suspicious, and certainly nothing sinister, about the decision of a young man from Aden to travel to Pakistan and stay at guest houses there. Yemenis are famous sojourners and both historically and today it is common for young men, to travel abroad for work, study, or adventure. It is also the case that an ordinary high school graduate in Aden around 2000 faced few prospects for either employment or education, and might leave home in hopes of improving those prospects. Pakistan is a fairly popular destination for the current generation of Yemenis because it is not too far away and grants visas to Yemenis. Moreover Aden is an Indian Ocean port city with seafaring historical cultural and economic connections to Pakistan, directly over the water to the east. No inference of illicit motives fairly can be drawn from Alá's decision to travel to Pakistan. Finally, the fact that a young Yemeni stays at "guest houses" while in Pakistan does not itself imply anything menacing or illicit. "Guest houses" are most analogous to the Western concept of youth hostels, along the lines of an old-time YMCA, and are commonly used by travelers in Yemen and throughout the Middle East, especially single men of limited means.

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<sup>1</sup> The concept of a "guest house" in the Middle East is most closely analogous to the Western concept of a youth hostel. See, ¶¶ 18, 21(b)-(c), 22(f)-(g) for further discussion.

**19. Many cultural, social, and economic factors influence young Yemeni men to leave Yemen to travel to other countries.**

- (a) Yemenis are considered a nation of migrants. I have often heard it said that “one son from every household” travels to a foreign country in search of employment or other opportunities, and this seems true of Alá, whose two elder brothers work in Aden but helped him to visit another country, perhaps to study and improve his credentials.
- (b) Yemen used to be divided into North and South Yemen, which unified in 1990. Civil war broke out in 1994, with the North coming out victorious over the South. Aden, which had been the capital of South Yemen, was ransacked. Many citizens of Aden complained about “Northern occupation” and discrimination against the people of Aden in employment and higher education, and about the destruction and slow, incomplete reconstruction of their city. This provided further incentive for young South Yemenis, like Alá, to migrate out of the country in this timeframe.
- (c) Yemen is a third world country. Literacy rates are abysmal, infant mortality is high, life expectancy is low, and there is poor sanitation and even poorer health care. Yemen is at the top of the water crisis list, coming in as the worst country in terms of access, potability, and treatment of water. In 1997, Yemen was the 20th poorest country in the world with a gross national product per capita of just \$260/year.
- (d) Income potential is also lower in Yemen than in other Middle Eastern countries, especially for young men with only a high school education. Civil Service positions in Yemen require contacts with and/or membership in the President’s political party. There is a lively trade sector in Yemen, but it is difficult to make money as a small business person, and a certain amount of wealth is required to even get a business going. There is no industry other than textile factories, which employ mainly women. Agriculture is the largest sector of Yemen’s economy, but unless you are a landowner, it is not an option. Other jobs, such as those in the banking sector, require education beyond high school. The limited job prospects for young high-school-educated Yemeni men often play a major role in the decision by these men to travel abroad. Other countries, such as Pakistan, offer more opportunities for employment and higher education. These opportunities, once capitalized upon, offer Yemeni men the success and security to be able to return home to Yemen to give back to their families and communities. Most Yemeni men do in fact return home to Yemen after a certain period of time abroad
- (e) Without money or a job, young Yemeni men also face little chance of getting married. The costs, including the “bride-price” (the opposite of a dowry), which is paid by the groom and his family, are prohibitive. This further fuels the desire of young Yemeni men to travel abroad. The chance to explore new

places, get a higher education, find a job and make money, or do charitable volunteer or missionary work, and then return back home to Yemen as a “success” is a strong motivation for young Yemeni men.

- (f) The incentives to travel abroad were especially acute in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the time during which Alá finished high school and traveled from Yemen to Pakistan. Conditions were getting worse in Yemen – government opposition was being shut down, the economy was getting worse. Circumstances in Aden were especially difficult, and there were several strikes and protest demonstrations in that city and other parts of southern Yemen in the late nineteen nineties that the police and/ or the army put down with force. Simply stated, Aden was a depressing place to be.

**20. Young Yemeni men often travel to the countries of Pakistan or Afghanistan because there are no other viable options.**

- (a) During the pre-Desert Storm era (roughly 1973-1990), Yemeni men flocked to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf to work, and large numbers went to Iraq to study. However, when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait and Yemen did not support the Saudi/U.S.-led coalition, the Saudis expelled all the Yemenis (estimates range from 750,000 to 1 million) from Saudi Arabia. This large number of Yemenis, which represents roughly 5% of the total population of Yemen, returned to Yemen *en masse* and flooded the job market, which only added to the economic problems in Yemen. Saudi Arabia has never really reopened its borders to Yemenis since 1990.
- (b) Other historically favored, nearby destinations for young Yemeni men, such as Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia, are no longer available because of political instability and/ or economic recession in those countries. In fact, Yemen, especially the city of Aden, copes with large numbers of Somali and other East African refugees.
- (c) Indonesia was an historical destination for young Yemeni migrants, but new immigration to Indonesia has declined considerably in the past two decades, and is now confined mainly to families of Yemeni-Indonesians or teaching professionals.
- (d) There are also large Yemeni communities in the United States, specifically in the Dearborn section of Detroit, Lackawanna, New York (near Buffalo), and Brooklyn, New York. These populations came in a big wave in the 1950s, but today there are virtually no Yemenis coming into the United States because it is increasingly difficult to obtain an entry visa without a monetary surety guarantee or a specific invitation, and also very expensive to fly to North America from Yemen.

- (e) Though the strong cultural tradition of young Yemeni men leaving to go abroad is still alive and well, the number of places that they can go to has been shrinking over the last two decades. By 2000, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and India were among the few areas open to young Yemeni men of modest means. This is because overland travel from Yemen is virtually impossible (without traveling across closed borders into Saudi Arabia or Oman) and airfare to India or Pakistan from Aden is quite reasonable because they are not far away. Therefore travel to these countries was quite common. As discussed above, the mere fact that a young man traveled to these countries during this period or stayed in guest houses was not at all unusual, let alone incriminating in any respect.

**21. When Yemeni people migrate to new places, it is common to seek out already established Yemeni communities and networks in those destinations and rent-free quarters.**

- (a) Yemeni sojourners typically gravitate towards Yemeni communities in the host country, and seek Yemeni networks for securing job or school contacts and, especially, a cheap or free place to stay while seeking employment, admission to a university, or permanent quarters.
- (b) Poor countries like Yemen and Pakistan have few hotels like the ones customary in Western countries, except those catering to Western clients which are far too expensive for ordinary Yemenis. Much more commonly found throughout Yemen and the near and Middle East are guest houses, which are associated with Arab and Muslim traditions of hospitality, and a custom of giving shelter to wayfarers. Guest houses are often extra buildings or apartments on the compound of wealthier upper class Yemeni men where travelers can rest. This can sometimes amount to not much more than “crashing” or “camping out” in a spare garage. The accommodations are typically Spartan, with some thin futons on the floor of a room shared by numbers of men. Sometimes household chores or errands will be performed by the guests, as a matter of courtesy to the hosts, in exchange for room and board. Some better guest houses are maintained by endowments to house university students or charitable missions.
- (c) Guest houses are most closely comparable to the old-fashioned Western concept of a non-profit youth hostel or YMCA, sometimes verging on a homeless shelter or way-station. It's considered a form of philanthropy or generosity to give shelter to all travelers away from home, as well as to the needy and students.

**22. Travel to Pakistan under circumstances as described in Petitioner Alá's case is both plausible and commonplace, and in no way gives rise to any fair inference of sinister intent.**


- (a) Given the facts of Petitioner Alá's case as I understand them, and given the cultural, social, and economic influences in Yemen, and in particular in Aden, as I have outlined in this Declaration, Alá's travels and living accommodations were quite consistent with these cultural traditions and the experience of many young Yemeni men since the 1990's.
- (b) Alá does not have a strong father figure, and he comes from a family with no financial or political connections to "set him up."
- (c) Alá had just finished high school, and his prospects in Yemen were bleak. Without a higher education, or powerful connections, Alá had little chance of finding a job and a steady income. His decision to go to abroad to seek out other opportunities is not unusual for Yemeni youth. However, it did show some initiative, especially since he appears to have set out on his own, with his "graduation money." He does not seem to have had much of a plan, or any real contacts.
- (d) Alá's choice of Pakistan as his destination is similarly not unusual. Over the past two decades the available options of countries for Yemeni men to travel to have dwindled, and Pakistan became one of the more affordable and attractive viable options. Education in Pakistan, including courses offered in Arabic, is superior to education in Yemen.
- (e) Once in Pakistan, the fact that Alá trusted advice from two Yemeni "strangers" at the airport is plausible. All three men were from the same country, and they all spoke Yemeni Arabic. It is not difficult to imagine Yemenis offering help to a youthful newcomer. This would be "typically Yemeni."
- (f) I do not see how being in a guest house could be considered incriminating or suspicious, in itself. Transients stay at guest houses, for periods ranging from overnight to weeks or even months. It is unlikely he would have found or been able to afford other accommodations; I don't know where else he would have stayed, unless or until he obtained a position of some kind.
- (g) Even if there were criminals staying at the same guest house, this would not, in my opinion, implicate Alá in their activities. A guesthouse is not like a group of bachelors renting a house together, who might be expected to know one another's activities. People come and go, again in the manner of backpackers at youth hostels, and possibly in the manner of indigents. They might or might not converse, socialize, exchange stories, or otherwise engage one another, or interact with the patron of the establishment.



23. For the reasons explained above, from the evidence I have seen and/or heard, there is simply nothing unusual, or in any sense menacing, about Alá's decision to leave his hometown of Aden, nor to choose Pakistan as his destination, nor to rely on the kindness of Yemeni strangers upon his arrival, nor to choose to stay in the cheapest possible housing.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on March 9, 2009.



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Sheila Carapico, Ph.D.

## Sheila Carapico

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### EDUCATION

1984 Ph.D., Political Science, Binghamton University, State University of New York;  
Certificate, South-West Asia/ North Africa Program (SWANA)  
1976 M.A., Political Science, SUNY-Binghamton  
1973 B.A., Alfred University, Alfred, New York  
1971-72 Junior Year, American University in Cairo, Egypt

### TEACHING POSITIONS

Spring 2007 Visiting Professor (one course), University of Virginia  
1985- Political Science, University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia  
1984-85 World Issues Program, School for International Training, Brattleboro, Vermont  
1981-84 Political Science, Wilkes College, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania

### GRANTS AND AWARDS

2007 Sabbatical Fellow, Institute for the Study of Islam and Modernity, Leiden, the Netherlands  
2001 Scholar in Residence, Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C.  
1994 Visiting Faculty, Women's Studies and Social Research Program, Sana'a University  
(funded by Royal Netherlands Embassy, Sana'a, Yemen)  
1993/94 Fulbright/ Council for the International Exchange of Scholars award for research, Yemen  
1992/ 93 American Research Center in Egypt/ US Information Agency Fellowship for research, Egypt  
1989 Center for the Study of Philanthropy/ City University of New York Field Research Grant  
1985 National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar Participant: Power and Class in  
Africa, City University of New York  
1982 Program on International Studies in Planning, Cornell University, Field Research Grant  
1980 Co-Principal Researcher: Household Agricultural Production and Farm Markets Study,  
US Agency for International Development (USAID), Sana'a

### SHORT-TERM CONSULTING

2003 National Democratic Institute, mission to observe Yemeni Parliamentary Elections  
2000 Human Rights Watch/ Middle East, reports on Syria and Saudi Arabia  
1996 Human Rights Watch/Middle East mission, Lebanon: Operation Grapes of Wrath  
1994 Human Rights Watch/ Middle East mission, Yemen: Civil War  
1993 Development Programs, Royal Netherlands Embassy, Sana'a, Yemen  
1992 Women in Development, Livestock Production Intensification in Upper Egypt,  
International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), Rome, Italy  
1991 Management Development Program Reconnaissance Mission to Yemen,  
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), New York  
1987 Special Programming Mission to the Yemen Arab Republic, IFAD, Rome  
1982 Rural Participation Project, Center for International Studies, Cornell University,  
Ithaca, New York  
1980 Economic Feasibility Study, National Rural Electrification Project, National Rural  
Electric Cooperatives USA, Yemen

1977 Survey of Urban Workforce and Commercial Enterprises, Berger-Kampsax Urban Planning Project, Yemen

#### **SELECTED PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

2005-07 Member, University Faculty Council, University of Richmond  
2002-05 Member, Committee for Academic Freedom in the Middle East, Middle East Studies Association  
2002/03 Chairperson, Faculty Research Committee, University of Richmond  
1999/2000 Chairperson, Tenure and Promotion Committee, University of Richmond  
1998-2000 Chairperson, Editorial Committee. *Middle East Report*  
1996-2000 Chairperson, Department of Political Science, University of Richmond  
1996/97 Treasurer, Richmond Peace Education Center (RPEC)  
1991/92 Chairperson, University of Richmond Faculty Council  
1989-92 President, American Institute for Yemeni Studies (AIYS)  
1989-92 Board of Directors, Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC)

#### **BOOKS, DISSERTATION, AND MONOGRAPH**

*Political Aid: Promoting Arab Democratization* (in progress)

*Civil Society in Yemen: The Political Economy of Activism in Modern Arabia* (Cambridge University Press, London: 1998)

*The Political Economy of Self-help: Development Cooperatives in the Yemen Arab Republic*, PhD dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton: 1984

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with Richard Tutwiler, *Yemeni Agriculture and Economic Change* (Milwaukee, American Institute for Yemeni Studies: 1981)

#### **CHAPTERS AND ARTICLES**

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"Some Yemeni Ideas About Human Rights," Anthony Chase and Amr Hamzawy, Editors, *Human Rights in the Arab World: Independent Voices*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2006

"No Easy Answers: The Ethics of Field Research in the Arab World," *PS: Political Science and Politics* July 2006

"The Strategic Logic of the Iraq Blunder," (with Chris Toensing) *Middle East Report* 239 2006 (36:2) pp. 6-11

"*Arabia Incognita: An Invitation to Arabian Peninsula Studies*," first chapter in Madawi al-Rasheed and Robert Vitalis, editors, *Counter-Narratives: History, Contemporary Society and Politics in Saudi Arabia and Yemen* (Palgrave, New York: 2004), pp. 11-33

"Foreign Aid for Promoting Democracy in the Arab World," *Middle East Journal* 56:3, 2002 (379-395)  
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"Dialectics of Gender and Politics in Yemen," in Susan Slyomovics and Suad Joseph, editors, *Women and Power in the Arab-Islamic Middle East* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001) pp. 183-190

"Mission: Democracy," *Middle East Report* 209, 28:4, 1998 (17-20, 40)

"Pluralism and Polarization: Yemen's Democratic Experiment" in Rex Brynen, Bahgat Korany, and Paul Noble, editors, *Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World: Arab Experiences* (1998)

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"Self-Help and Development Planning in the Yemen Arab Republic," in Jean-Claude Garcia-Zamor, editor, *Public Participation in Development Planning and Management* (Boulder, Westview Press: 1985), pp. 203-234

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#### **SCHOLARLY CONFERENCE PAPERS**

"Elections Experts, Monitors, and Representations in the Arab World," paper presented at the Ninth Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting, Montecatini Terme, Italy, 12-15 March 2008

"Mixed Messages: Democracy Brokers in the Middle East," South East Regional Middle East and Islamic Studies Seminar, the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, March 23-25, 2007

"Is there Room for Cooperation between Western Donors and Islamic Organizations?" conference on Islamic Charitable NGOs: Between Patronage and Empowerment, Institute for the Study of Islam and Modernity, Faculty of Humanities, Utrecht University, Thursday, 14 June 2007

"Patronizing Women: Foreign Aid and Female Empowerment," paper presented at an invitational workshop entitled Arab Women, Past and Present: Participation and Democratization" sponsored by the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar, Doha, Qatar, March 3-5, 2006

"Why Export Democracy to the Arab Mediterranean?" Paper presented to Workshop 8: MEDA and Democracy Promotion in the Arab Mediterranean, *Sixth Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting*, Montecatini Terme, Italy, 16 – 20 March 2005

"The Social Ecology of Women's Work," Women and the Labor Market: The Islamic World, Past and Present, organized by the Islamic Legal Studies Program, Harvard Law School, May 25-26, 2002, Cambridge, Massachusetts

"Some Yemeni Ideas About Human Rights," International Law and Society Association Meeting, Budapest, July 4-8, 2001

"Democracy Brokers: Regimes and Think Tanks in the Arab World," Social Theory Workshop, University of Chicago, May 12, 2001

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"Civic Activism in Yemen," Weatherhead Center for International Affairs/ Center for Middle East Studies Middle East Seminar 2000-01, Harvard University, March 8, 2001

"Seeding Grassroots in Alien Soil: Western Aid for Democratization and Civil Society in the Arab World," Conference of the International Association of Middle East Studies, October 5-8, 2000, Freie University, Berlin, Germany

"Democracy Missions: International Participation in Middle Eastern Elections," Conference on Multi-Party Elections in the Arab World: Controlled Contestation and Opposition Strategies, Brown University, October 2-3, 1998

"Empowerment, Austerity, and Institutions: The Paradoxes of participatory adjustment," Conference on Economic Restructuring and Women in the Middle East: Gender, Jobs, and Activist Organizations,) Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, Brown University, April 10-11, 1998

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"Seeding Grassroots: Academic and Donor Accounts of Civil Society in Egypt and Yemen," Southeast Regional Middle East and Islamic Studies Seminar, Williamsburg, March 1995

"Censorship in the Arabian Peninsula," Forum on Censorship in the Middle East, New York University, November 7, 1994

"The Stakes in the Yemeni Crisis," Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, Phoenix, Arizona, November 1994

"Factionalism and Regionalism," Lights on the Yemeni Crisis seminar, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, September 1994

"Yemen's Proto-Civil Society," American Political Science Association annual meeting, New York, September 1994

"The Improbable Case of Civil Society in Yemen," Conference on Civil Society in the Middle East, Bellagio, Italy, December, 1993

"Civil Society and Yemeni Democracy," presented (in Arabic) to the Conference Reviewing the Election Experience, Sana'a University, Sana'a, Yemen, May 19, 1993

"The Currency of Civil Society in Egypt," presented to the American Research Center in Egypt, Cairo, March 31, 1993

"1000 Points: Voluntarism, Philanthropy, and Civic Activism", International Congress of Yemenite Studies, Princeton University, June 1992

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"The Periphery's Contribution to Center-Building in the YAR," Middle East Studies Association meeting, Baltimore, November 1986



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"State-Building in the YAR: A Devil's Advocacy Position," joint meeting of African Studies and Middle East Studies Associations, New Orleans, November 1985

"An Exploratory Cross-National Study of Civil Rights, Economic Conditions, and Superpower Alliances," written with students, Wilkes College, June 1984

"Contradictions Between Participation and Management Planning in the YAR," American Society of Public Administrators conference, New York, April 1983