

THOMAS EDWARD FLORES

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CURRENT ACADEMIC AFFILIATIONS

George Mason University, Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter School for Peace & Conflict Resolution, Arlington, VA

Associate Professor. August 2016 - Present.

Director of Graduate Programs. June 2020 - June 2023.

Assistant Professor. August 2009 - August 2016.

PREVIOUS ACADEMIC AFFILIATIONS

New York University, Center for Global Affairs, New York, NY

Clinical Assistant Professor of Global Affairs. 2008–2009.

EDUCATION

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI

Ph.D. in Political Science, September 2008.

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

B.A., *magna cum laude* in Government, June 1998.

SELECTED HONORS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND GRANTS

Theories of Change Phase III: Transitions from Conflict. Institute of International Education and USAID. May 2018. \$119,000.

Democracy Fellow, Institute of International Education. January-July 2017.

Varieties of Democracy Institute, Visiting Fellow. February 2016.

International Studies Association, Catalytic Research Grant, 2014. \$4,500 (with Agnieszka Paczynska and Terrence Lyons).

George Mason University, Center for Global Studies, Research Workshop Grant, 2014. \$5,000 (with Agnieszka Paczynska and Terrence Lyons).

George Mason University Seed Grant Research Funds, 2010. \$10,000.

Ford Foundation Diversity Dissertation Fellow, 2006–7.

United States Department of State J. William Fulbright Scholar to Colombia, 2006.

Horace Rackham Graduate School Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor Award, University of Michigan, 2004.

Department of Political Science Kingdon Award for Outstanding Graduate Student Instructors, University of Michigan, 2003.

RESEARCH

Books

2016. *Elections in Hard Times: Building Stronger Democracies in the 21st Century* (with Irfan Nooruddin). Cambridge University Press and Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

Peer-Reviewed Articles

2023. “Why incumbents perpetrate election violence during civil war” (With Irfan Nooruddin). *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. 40(5): 533-553.

2023. “When TED Talks, Does Anyone Listen? A New Data Set on Political Leadership.” (With Gabriella Lloyd and Irfan Nooruddin). *Review of International Organizations*. 18: 169–199.

2021. “Everyday Democracy Indicators? How the Study of Democracy Illuminates the Value (and Challenges) of Collaborative Methodologies.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 54(3): 565-569.

2020. “Democracy Promotion and Conflict: Successes and Continuing Challenges” (with Jennifer R. Dresden and Irfan Nooruddin). *Democracy and Autocracy* 18(1): 10-16.

2018. “Colombia: Democracy, Violence, and the Peacebuilding Challenge” (with Juan F. Vargas). *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 35(6): 581-586.

2016. “Instilling Hope for Peace During Intractable Conflicts” (with Adomi Leshem and Yechiel Klar). *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 7(4): 303-311.

2015. “Vote Choice and Legacies of Violence: Evidence from the 2014 Colombian Presidential Elections” (with Michael Weintraub and Juan Vargas). *Research and Politics*, April-June 2015, 1-8.

2014. “Vertical Inequality, Land Reform, and Insurgency in Colombia.” *Peace Economics, Peace Science, and Public Policy* 20(1): 5-31.

2012. “The Effect of Elections on Postconflict Peace and Reconstruction” (with Irfan Nooruddin). *Journal of Politics* 74(2): 558-570.

2009. “Democracy Under the Gun: Understanding Post-Conflict Economic Recovery” (with Irfan Nooruddin). *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(3): 3–29 (lead article).

2009. “Financing the Peace: Evaluating World Bank Post-Conflict Assistance Programs”(with Irfan Nooruddin). *Review of International Organizations* 4(1): 1–27 (lead article).

Technical Reports

2019. “Theories of Democratic Change Phase III: Transitions from Conflict.” United States Agency for International Development. Research and Innovation Grants Working Paper Series. With Jennifer R. Dresden and Irfan Nooruddin.

Peer-Reviewed Book Chapters

2019. “From Elections to Democracy in Hard Times” (with Anna M. Meyerrose and Irfan Nooruddin). *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. April 2019.

2011. “Credible Commitments in Post-Conflict Recovery” (with Irfan Nooruddin). In *The Handbook on the Political Economy of War*, edited by Christopher J. Coyne and Rachel L. Mathers. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Work in Progress

“Living in Different Worlds: The Conservative-Liberal Gap in Understanding Democracy” (with Audrey Williams)

“Imagining Democracy: Investigating What Democracy Means to People in Their Everyday Lives” (with Audrey Williams)

Book Reviews

2019. “The Importance of Being Local: How Recruitment Affects Postwar Violence”. Review of *Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America*, by Sarah Zukerman Daly. *International Studies Review* 21(4): 730-732.

2019. “The Missed Opportunities of *A Forgotten Peace*.” Review of *Forgotten Peace: Reform, Violence, and the Making of Contemporary Colombia*, by Robert A. Karl. *Journal of Genocide Research* 21(2): 246-250.

2013. “Monitoring the Monitors: Understanding Election Observation in Today’s World” *International Studies Review*. 15(3): 432-437. Review of *The Pseudo-Democrat’s Dilemma: Why Election Observation Became an International Norm*, by Susan D. Hyde, and *Monitoring Democracy: When International Election Observation Works, and Why It Often Fails*, by Judith G. Kelley.

Blog Posts

2015. “How Did Guerrilla Violence Shape the 2014 Presidential Election in Colombia?” (with Michael Weintraub and Juan Vargas). *Political Violence @ a Glance*. Available at:

<http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2015/03/25/how-did-guerrilla-violence-shape-the-2014-presidential-election-in-colombia/>

2014. “Voting under the gun: elections and conflict around the world.” Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), *Economists on Conflict*. Available at:

<http://www.sipri.org/media/blogs/eps-blog/voting-under-the-gun-elections-and-conflict-around-the-world>

2013. “200 Years of Landlessness? Land Inequality and the Search for Peace in Colombia.” United States Institute of Peace (USIP), *International Network for Economics and Conflict*. Available at:

<http://inec.usip.org/blog/2013/aug/28/200-years-landlessness-land-inequality-and-search-peace-colombia>

2013. “Never Mind the Generals, Here Come the Technocrats.” *Symposium Magazine*. September 2013. Available at: <http://www.symposium-magazine.com/never-mind-the-generals-here-come-the-technocrats/>

Media Appearances

“Predicting War.” *With Good Reason*. Available at: <https://soundcloud.com/withgoodreason/predicting-war>

Interview with City TV, Bogotá, Colombia. December 2015.

Selected Recent Presentations

Full list available upon request

“Living in Different Worlds: The Conservative-Liberal Gap in Understanding Democracy” (with Audrey Williams). 66th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA), March 2-5, 2025, Chicago, IL.

“Imagining Democracy: Investigating What Democracy Means to People in Their Everyday Lives” (with Audrey Williams). 65th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA), April 3-6, 2024, San Francisco, CA.

“Democracy Promotion and Conflict: Successes and Continuing Challenges” (with Jennifer R. Dresden and Irfan Nooruddin). University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI. February 2020.

“Election Observation and Election Violence: The View from Political Science” (with Irfan Nooruddin). United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC. May 2019.

“Theories of Democratic Change Phase III: Transitions from Conflict” (With Jennifer R. Dresden and Irfan Nooruddin). United States Agency for International Development. Washington, DC. December 2018.

“Elections in War and Peace: Understanding the Impact of Civil Conflict on the Conduct of Elections” (With Irfan Nooruddin). 2018 APSA Annual Meeting. Boston, MA. September 2018.

“Covering elections around the world, a VOA critical issues roundtable.” Washington, DC. November 2017.

Elections in Hard Times

- XIII. Inter-American Meeting of Electoral Management Bodies. Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. November 2018
- Organization of American States, Secretariat for Strengthening Democracy. Washington, DC. October 2017.
- Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Washington, DC. October 2016.
- Georgetown University. Washington, DC. October 2016.
- National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START). College Park, MD. September 2016.
- US Department of State, Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement, Washington, DC, April 2016.
- Varieties of Democracy Institute. Gothenburg, Sweden, February 2016.

Organizer, Author Meets Critics: *Electing Peace: From Civil Conflict to Political Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.. Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA). April 2017.

“Democracy Promotion in the 21st Century: A Scholarly View.” United States Agency for International Development, Washington, DC, May 2016.

Author Meets Critics: *Elections in Hard Times*. With Irfan Nooruddin. Panel of critics: Emily Beaulieu, Susan Hyde, Nicolay Marinov, and Alberto Simpser. Annual Meetings of the MPSA. April 2016.

“Conflict Dynamics and Challenges to Building a Resilient Peace in Colombia.” Workshop co-organizer (with Juan Vargas). Universidad del Rosario, Bogotá, Colombia. December 2015.

Full list of conference activities available upon request.

TEACHING AND ADVISING**Students Advised**

Full list available upon request

Bernard Atieme, Ph.D., (2024)

Melissa Sinclair, Ph.D. (2019)

Oded Adomi Leshem, Ph.D. (2018)

Charles Martin-Shields, Ph.D. (2018)

Samuel Johnson, Ph.D. (2016)

Marcella Morris, MS (2015)

Classes Taught at George Mason University

Full list available upon request

CONF 101, Introduction to Conflict Analysis and Resolution

CONF 340, Global Conflict Analysis and Resolution.

CONF 399, Democracy, Conflict, and Development.

CONF 695, Democracy and Violence in the USA (with Tehama Lopez Bunyasi)

CONF 751-752, The Political Economy of Civil War and Peacebuilding (full-year)

CONF 811, Quantitative Foundations of Conflict Analysis

ACADEMIC SERVICE**Institutional Activities**

Reviewer for the *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Civil Wars*, *Cogent Social Sciences*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, *Defense and Peace Economics*, *Electoral Studies*, *International Economic Journal*, *International Journal for Peace Studies*, *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Latin American Research Review*, National Science Foundation, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Review of International Organizations*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, University of Michigan Press, and United States Institute of Peace.

Member, APSA, MPSA, ISA, and Peace Science Society (International)

Section Chair, Political Science Literature Reviews, MPSA 2018 Conference.

Section Chair, Comparative Democratization, APSA 2017 Conference.

Section Chair, Conflict Processes, MPSA 2013 Conference.

Selected University Service at George Mason University

(Full list available upon request)

Carter School Director of Graduate Programs, 2020-2023

Carter School Faculty Board Chair, 2017-18.

Carter School Term Search Committee, 2015-16.

Carter School Research Committee, 2009-2015

Carter School Doctoral Committee, 2009-2020.

Carter School Undergraduate Committee, 2015-2020

LANGUAGE SKILLS

Spanish (proficient in writing and speaking).

PRACTICE AND POLICY WORK

United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA), Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation (CMM) Washington, DC, 2017.

Conflict and Fragility Fellow. Supported the formulation of new methodology for assessing programming opportunities in fragile countries. Piloted new assessment methodology in Zambia. Reviewed USAID statistical models for measuring fragility.

Center for Complex Operations, National Defense University. Washington, DC, 2010.

Consultant. Designed statistical tests to analyze the success of Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Iraq and Afghanistan, based on surveys and long-form interviews. Worked with a team of two professors from ICAR and personnel from the Center for Complex Operations (CCO) at the National Defense University (NDU).

United States Agency for International Development. Washington, DC, 2010.

Consultant. Developed indicators for post-war development of political economic institutions and elite commitments to peace. Worked with a team of four professors and personnel from USAID and the Academy for Educational Development (AED). Co-authored a final report and helped plan a “Theories of Change Indicator Development Workshop” in November 2010.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, San José de Apartadó, Antioquia, Colombia, October 2006

Delegation Member. Accompanied members of a peace community returning to their land after ten years of displacement. Delegation presence provided security for the returning families under threat from paramilitary and guerrilla groups for maintaining their neutrality in the armed conflict.

NON-ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

First Manhattan Consulting Group (FMCG), New York City, NY, 1998–2000

Analyst, Senior Analyst. Analyst on teams of 3-5 people for medium-sized consulting firm specializing in the banking and financial services industries. Analyzed over one million checking and savings accounts for a major Latin American bank. Recommended pricing changes implemented by management resulting in \$2 million in added revenue. Co-managed telemarketing campaign. Managed Merger Integration Office for \$40 billion merger of two Western regional banks. Developed and implemented merger crisis communication plan with senior management team. Managed secretarial staff. Analyzed efficiency ratio improvement opportunities by line of business and presented recommendations to CEO and CFO of merged bank.