

# THOMAS HEGGHAMMER

All Souls College, Oxford OX1 4AL, UK

thomas.hegghammer@all-souls.ox.ac.uk

<https://hegghammer.net>

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## Education

- 2003-07 PhD, Sciences-Pô Paris, Department of Political Science.
- 1999-01 MPhil, Oxford University (Balliol College), Faculty of Oriental Studies.
- 1996-99 BA, Oxford University (Balliol College), Faculty of Oriental Studies.

## Employment

- 2022- Senior Research Fellow, All Souls College, Oxford University.
- 2001-22 Research Fellow, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI).
- 2015-20 Adjunct Professor of Political Science, Oslo University.
- 2012-13 Zuckerman Fellow, Stanford University (CISAC).
- 2009-10 William D. Loughlin Member, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.
- 2008-09 Fellow, Harvard University (Belfer Center).
- 2007-08 Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Princeton University (PIIRS).

## Publications

### Books

- [6] Diego Gambetta and Thomas Hegghammer, ed. *Fight, Flight, Mimic: Identity Mimicry in Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024.
- [5] Thomas Hegghammer. *The Caravan: Abdallah Azzam and the Rise of Global Jihad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- [4] Thomas Hegghammer, ed. *Jihadi Culture: The Art and Social Practices of Militant Islamists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- [3] Bernard Haykel, Thomas Hegghammer, and Stéphane Lacroix, ed. *Saudi Arabia in Transition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- [2] Thomas Hegghammer and Stéphane Lacroix. *The Meccan Rebellion: The Story of Juhayman al-Utaybi Revisited*. London: Amal Press, 2011.
- [1] Thomas Hegghammer. *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

## Articles

- [22] Steffen Hertog, Adrian Arellano, Thomas Hegghammer, et al. "Fifty Shades of Deprivation: Disaggregating Types of Economic Disadvantage in Studies of Terrorism". *International Studies Review*, 26:4, Sep. 2024.
- [21] Thomas Hegghammer and Neil Ketchley. "Plots, Attacks, and the Measurement of Terrorism". *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 69:1, pp. 100-126, Dec. 2023.
- [20] Thomas Hegghammer. "OCR with Tesseract, Amazon Textract, and Google Document AI: a benchmarking experiment". *Journal of Computational Social Science*, 5:1, pp. 861-882, May. 2022.
- [19] Thomas Hegghammer. "daiR: an R package for OCR with Google Document AI". *Journal of Open Source Software*, 6:68, p. 3538, Dec. 2021.
- [18] Thomas Hegghammer. "Resistance is Futile: The War on Terror Supercharged State Power". *Foreign Affairs*, 100:5, pp. 44-52, Aug. 2021.
- [17] Thomas Hegghammer. "Weeping in Modern Jihadi Groups". *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 31:3, pp. 358-387, Sep. 2020.
- [16] Thomas Hegghammer. "The Future of Jihadism in Europe: A Pessimistic View". *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10:6, pp. 156-170, 2016.
- [15] Thomas Hegghammer and Petter Nesser. "Assessing the Islamic State's Commitment to Attacking the West". *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 9:4, pp. 14-30, Jul. 2015.
- [14] Thomas Hegghammer. "Should I Stay or Should I Go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists' Choice between Domestic and Foreign Fighting". *American Political Science Review*, 107:1, pp. 1-15, 2013.
- [13] Thomas Hegghammer. "The Recruiter's Dilemma: Signalling and Rebel Recruitment Tactics". *Journal of Peace Research*, 50:1, pp. 3-16, 2013.
- [12] Thomas Hegghammer. "'Abdallāh 'Azzām and Palestine". *Die Welt des Islams*, 53:3-4, pp. 353-387, 2013.
- [11] Thomas Hegghammer and Joas Wagemakers. "The Palestine Effect: The Role of Palestinians in the Transnational Jihad Movement". *Die Welt des Islams*, 53:3-4, pp. 281-314, 2013.
- [10] Thomas Hegghammer and Aaron Y. Zelin. "How Syria's Civil War Became a Holy Crusade". *Foreign Affairs*, Jul. 2013.
- [9] Thomas Hegghammer. "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad". *International Security*, 35:3, pp. 53-94, 2010.
- [8] Thomas Hegghammer. "Jihad, Yes, but Not Revolution: Explaining the Extroversion of Islamist Militancy in Saudi Arabia". *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 36:3, pp. 395-416, 2009.
- [7] Thomas Hegghammer. "The Ideological Hybridization of Jihadi Groups". *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, 9, pp. 26-45, 2009.

- [6] Thomas Hegghammer. "Islamist Violence and Regime Stability in Saudi Arabia". *International Affairs*, 84:4, pp. 701-715, 2008.
- [5] Thomas Hegghammer. "Combattants saoudiens en Irak: Modes de radicalisation et de recrutement". *Cultures et Conflits*, 64, pp. 111-126, 2007.
- [4] Thomas Hegghammer and Stéphane Lacroix. "Rejectionist Islamism in Saudi Arabia: The Story of Juhayman al-Utaybi Revisited". *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 39:1, pp. 103-122, 2007.
- [3] Thomas Hegghammer. "Global Jihadism After the Iraq War". *Middle East Journal*, 60:1, pp. 11-32, 2006.
- [2] Thomas Hegghammer. "Terrorist Recruitment and Radicalisation in Saudi Arabia". *Middle East Policy*, 13:4, pp. 39-60, 2006.
- [1] Brynjar Lia and Thomas Hegghammer. "Jihadi Strategic Studies: The Alleged Al Qaida Policy Study Preceding the Madrid Bombings". *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 27:5, pp. 355-375, 2004.

## **Chapters**

- [14] Thomas Hegghammer. "Can you trust anyone on jihadi internet forums?" In: *Can you trust anyone on jihadi internet forums?* Ed. Diego Gambetta and Thomas Hegghammer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024, pp. 50-89.
- [13] Thomas Hegghammer. "Jihadi Culture". In: *Jihadi Culture*. Ed. David A. Snow, Donatella Della Porta and Doug McAdam. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, Sep. 2022.
- [12] Thomas Hegghammer. "Gulf States". In: *Gulf States*. Ed. David G. Lewis and Aniseh Bassiri Tabrizi. NDC Research Paper 20. Rome: NATO Defense College, Jun. 2021, pp. 57-60.
- [11] Thomas Hegghammer. "Afterword. The Uniqueness of Islamic State". In: *Afterword. The Uniqueness of Islamic State*. Ed. Stephane J. Baele, Katharine A. Boyd and Travis G. Coan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019, pp. 265-270.
- [10] Thomas Hegghammer. "Jihadi weeping". In: *Jihadi weeping*. Ed. Sabine Schmidtke. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2018, pp. 505-514.
- [9] Thomas Hegghammer and Andreas Dæhli. "Insiders and Outsiders: A Survey of Terrorist Threats to Nuclear Facilities". In: *Insiders and Outsiders: A Survey of Terrorist Threats to Nuclear Facilities*. Ed. Matthew Bunn and Scott D. Sagan. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017, pp. 10-41.
- [8] Thomas Hegghammer. "The jihadist digital empowerment revolution". In: *The jihadist digital empowerment revolution*. Ottawa: Canadian Security and Intelligence Service, Jan. 2016.
- [7] Thomas Hegghammer. "Classical and Global Jihadism in Saudi Arabia". In: *Classical and Global Jihadism in Saudi Arabia*. Ed. Bernard Haykel, Thomas Hegghammer and Stéphane Lacroix. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 207-228.

- [6] Thomas Hegghammer. "The 2003 Riyadh and 2008 Sanaa Bombings". In: *The 2003 Riyadh and 2008 Sanaa Bombings*. Ed. Bruce Hoffman and Fernando Reinares. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.
- [5] Thomas Hegghammer. "Suicide". In: *Suicide*. Ed. Gerhard Bowering, Patricia Crone, Wadad Kadi and Devin J. Stewart. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012, pp. 530-531.
- [4] Thomas Hegghammer. "Terrorism". In: *Terrorism*. Ed. Gerhard Bowering, Patricia Crone, Wadad Kadi and Devin J. Stewart. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012, pp. 545-546.
- [3] Thomas Hegghammer. "Jihadi Salafis or Revolutionaries? On Theology and Politics in the Study of Militant Islamism". In: *Jihadi Salafis or Revolutionaries? On Theology and Politics in the Study of Militant Islamism*. Ed. Roel Meijer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 244-266.
- [2] Thomas Hegghammer. "Violence politique en Arabie Saoudite: Grandeur et décadence d'"al-Qaïda dans la péninsule arabique". In: *Violence politique en Arabie Saoudite: Grandeur et décadence d'"al-Qaïda dans la péninsule arabique*. Ed. Bernard Rougier. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008, pp. 105-122.
- [1] Thomas Hegghammer. "Abdallah Azzam: L'imam du jihad". In: *Abdallah Azzam: L'imam du jihad*. Ed. Gilles Kepel, Thomas Hegghammer, Stéphane Lacroix, Jean-Pierre Milelli and Omar Saghi. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005, pp. 115-138.

## Reports

- [6] Thomas Hegghammer. *The Failure of Jihad in Saudi Arabia*. West Point: Combating Terrorism Center, Feb. 2010.
- [5] Thomas Hegghammer. *Saudi Militants in Iraq: Backgrounds and Recruitment Patterns*. Kjeller: Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI), 2007.
- [4] Søren Hove and Thomas Hegghammer. *Reformprocesser og sikkerhedsudfordringer på den arabiske halvø*. Copenhagen: Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006.
- [3] Thomas Hegghammer. *Al-Qaida Statements 2003-2004: A Compilation of Translated Texts by Usama bin Ladin and Ayman al-Zawahiri*. Kjeller: Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI), 2005.
- [2] Åshild Kjøk, Thomas Hegghammer, Annika Hansen, et al. *Restoring Peace or Provoking Terrorism? Exploring the Links Between Multilateral Military Interventions and International Terrorism*. Kjeller: Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI), 2004.
- [1] Stéphane Lacroix and Thomas Hegghammer. *Saudi Arabia Backgrounder: Who Are the Islamists?* Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2004.

## Book reviews

- [13] Thomas Hegghammer. "Foreign Fighters and Cheese Bells: Review of Daniel Byman, Road Warriors". *Texas National Security Review*, Aug. 2021.
- [12] Thomas Hegghammer. "Review of Christine Fair, In Their Own Words". *Perspectives on Politics*, 19:1, pp. 302-303, Mar. 2021.

- [11] Thomas Hegghammer. "Review of Barak Mendelsohn, Jihadism Constrained". *Middle East Journal*, 74:1, pp. 160-162, 2020.
- [10] Thomas Hegghammer. "The Last Jihadi Superstar: Review of Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens, Incitement". *War on the Rocks*, Oct. 2020.
- [9] Thomas Hegghammer. "Review of Olivier Roy, Jihad and Death". *Journal of Peace Research*, Nov. 2018.
- [8] Thomas Hegghammer. "Review of Richard C. Martin and Abbas Barzegar, Islamism: Contested Perspectives on Political Islam". *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 23:2, pp. 252-254, 2012.
- [7] Thomas Hegghammer. "Review of Audrey K. Cronin, How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns". *Journal of Peace Research*, 48:3, 2011.
- [6] Thomas Hegghammer. "Review of Omar Ashour, The De-radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements". *Perspectives on Politics*, 9:2, pp. 472-473, 2011.
- [5] Thomas Hegghammer. "Review of Najwa bin Laden et al., Growing up Bin Laden". *The National*, Jan. 2010.
- [4] Thomas Hegghammer. "Review of Jean-Pierre Filiu, L'apocalypse dans l'islam". *The National*, Jan. 2009.
- [3] Thomas Hegghammer. "Review of Laurent Murawiec, Mind of Jihad". *Times Higher Education*, Jun. 2009.
- [2] Thomas Hegghammer. "Review of Mahmoud al-Massad, Recycle". *The National*, Feb. 2009.
- [1] Thomas Hegghammer. "Review of Dore Gold, Hatred's Kingdom: How Saudi Arabia Supports the New Global Terrorism". *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 34:2, pp. 229-231, 2007.

### **Opeds and short articles**

- [21] Diego Gambetta and Thomas Hegghammer. "Impostors at War". *Project Syndicate*, Dec. 2024.
- [20] Thomas Hegghammer. "Why Jihadists Loved America in the 1980s". *The Atlantic*, Mar. 2020.
- [19] Thomas Hegghammer. "The Mysterious Assassination That Unleashed Jihadism". *History News Network*, Nov. 2019.
- [18] Thomas Hegghammer. "Europe to Terrorists: It's No More Monsieur Nice Guy". *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 2018.
- [17] Thomas Hegghammer. "The Soft Power of Militant Jihad". *The New York Times*, Dec. 2015.
- [16] Thomas Hegghammer. "Will ISIS 'weaponize' foreign fighters?" *CNN.com*, Oct. 2014.
- [15] Thomas Hegghammer. "Number of foreign fighters from Europe in Syria is historically unprecedented. Who should be worried?" *The Washington Post*, Nov. 2013.
- [14] Thomas Hegghammer. "Syria's Foreign Fighters". *Foreign Policy*, Dec. 2013.

- [13] Thomas Hegghammer. "The Riyadh Compound Bombings: Ten Years, and Ten Lessons, Later". *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, May. 2013.
- [12] Thomas Hegghammer. "The Rise of the Macro-Nationalists". *The New York Times*, Jul. 2011.
- [11] Thomas Hegghammer. "Lady Gaga vs. the Occupation". *Foreign Policy*, Mar. 2010.
- [10] Thomas Hegghammer. "The Case for Chasing al-Awlaki". *Foreign Policy*, Nov. 2010.
- [9] Thomas Hegghammer. "There is nothing soft about Saudi counterterrorism". *Foreign Policy*, Mar. 2010.
- [8] Thomas Hegghammer. "Yemeni Threat in Saudi Arabia". *Foreign Policy*, Mar. 2010.
- [7] Thomas Hegghammer and Dominic Tierney. "Why Does Al Qaeda Have a Problem with Norway?" *The Atlantic*, Jul. 2010.
- [6] Thomas Hegghammer. "Irreparable damage". *Foreign Policy*, May. 2009.
- [5] Thomas Hegghammer. "The Big Impact of Small Footprints". *Foreign Policy*, Nov. 2009.
- [4] Thomas Hegghammer. "Deconstructing the Myth about al-Qa'ida and Khobar". *The Sentinel*, 1:3, pp. 20-22, 2008.
- [3] Thomas Hegghammer. "Jihadi Studies". *Times Literary Supplement*, pp. 15-17, Apr. 2008.
- [2] Thomas Hegghammer. "Al-Qaida Focuses On Saudi Oil". *Forbes.com*, Nov. 2007.
- [1] Thomas Hegghammer. "Osama bin Laden's true priorities". *The Guardian*, Dec. 2007.

## **Publications in Norwegian**

### **Books**

- [1] Thomas Hegghammer. *R for alle: Programmering for kvalitative fag*. Oslo: Fagbokforlaget, 2024.

### **Articles**

- [6] Thomas Hegghammer. "Skandinavias ukjente jihad-historie". *VG.no*, Feb. 2019.
- [5] Thomas Hegghammer. "Norske fremmedkrigere igår og idag". *Norsk statsvitenskapelig tidsskrift*, 30:4, pp. 277-288, 2014.
- [4] Thomas Hegghammer. "Al-Qaidas rekruttskoler". *Norsk Militært Tidsskrift*, 178:2, pp. 14-20, 2008.
- [3] Thomas Hegghammer. "Irak-konflikten og radikal islamistisk ideologi". *Internasjonal Politikk*, 63:4, pp. 351-370, 2005.
- [2] Thomas Hegghammer. "Palestina og global jihad". *Babylon*, 2:2, pp. 60-69, 2004.
- [1] Thomas Hegghammer. "Asymmetriske anslag mot Norge: Sannsynlighet og karakter". *Luftkrigsskolens skriftserie*, 8, pp. 85-93, Aug. 2002.

## Chapters

[2] Thomas Hegghammer. "En oversikt over islamistiske terroristgrupper". In: *En oversikt over islamistiske terroristgrupper*. Ed. Bjørn Erik Rasch. Oslo: Abstrakt, 2005, pp. 20-52.

[1] Thomas Hegghammer. "Islamsk terror og krigen mot Irak". In: *Islamsk terror og krigen mot Irak*. Ed. Bjørn Erik Rasch. Oslo: Abstrakt, 2003.

## Reports

[5] Thomas Hegghammer. *Trender og utviklingstrekk i internasjonal terrorisme siden 11. september 2001*. Oslo: 22 July Commission, Jan. 2012.

[4] Laila Bokhari, Thomas Hegghammer, Brynjar Lia, et al. *Paths to Global Jihad: Radicalization and Recruitment to Terror Networks*. Kjeller: Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI), 2006.

[3] Thomas Hegghammer. *The Iraq Hostage Crisis: Abductions in Iraq, April-August 2004*. Kjeller: Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI), 2004.

[2] Thomas Hegghammer. *Dokumentasjon om al-Qaida: Intervjuer, kommunikéer og andre primærkilder, 1990-2002*. Kjeller: Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI), 2002.

[1] Brynjar Lia, Thomas Hegghammer, Rolf-Inge Vogt Andresen, et al. *Atommateriale, gass og mikrober som terrorvåpen? En undersøkelse av terrorgruppers interesse for og bruk av ikke-konvensjonelle våpen*. Kjeller: Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI), 2002.

## Reviews

[2] Thomas Hegghammer. "Anmeldelse av Mattias Gardell, Bin Laden i våre hjerter". *Babylon*, 6:1, p. 130, 2008.

[1] Thomas Hegghammer. "Anmeldelse av Steve Coll, The Bin Ladens: An Arabian Family in the American Century". *Morgenbladet*, Jun. 2008.

## Opeds

[17] Thomas Hegghammer. "En risikabel forskningsrevolusjon". *Aftenposten*, Oct. 2019.

[16] Thomas Hegghammer. "Flyktningkrisens radikaliseringsutfordringer". *Aftenposten*, Sep. 2016.

[15] Thomas Hylland Eriksen, Thomas Hegghammer, and Stein Tønnesson. "EU-forskning koster Norge dyrt". *Aftenposten*, May. 2016.

[14] Thomas Hegghammer. "IS og fremmedkrigerne". *Romerikes Blad*, Oct. 2014.

[13] Thomas Hegghammer. "Det kom aldri noen penger til å forske på høyreekstremisme etter 22. juli". *Aftenposten*, Nov. 2014.

[12] Thomas Hegghammer. "Ekstreme fremmedkrigere". *Forsvarets forum*, pp. 54-55, Jun. 2014.

[11] Thomas Hegghammer. "Hvem skal betale for forskning på høyreekstreme?" *Forskning.no*, Jan. 2014.

- [10] Thomas Hegghammer, Petter Nesser, and Anne Stenersen. “Hjelper politibevæpning mot terror?” *Verdens Gang*, Dec. 2014.
- [9] Thomas Hegghammer. “Al-Qaida ti år etter”. *FFI-Fokus*, 2011.
- [8] Thomas Hegghammer. “Ensporet terrorforskning?” *Aftenposten*, p. 36, Aug. 2011.
- [7] Thomas Hegghammer. “Sikkerhetspolitiske implikasjoner av folkeopprørene i Midtøsten”. *Kortinfo*, May. 2011.
- [6] Thomas Hegghammer. “Anmeldelse av Steve Coll, The Bin Ladens: An Arabian Family in the American Century”. *Morgenbladet*, Jun. 2008.
- [5] Thomas Hegghammer. “Saudi-Arabias terrorismeproblem”. *Aftenposten*, Jun. 2004.
- [4] Thomas Hegghammer. “Mer terror under en krig mot Irak?” *Aftenposten*, p. 20, Feb. 2003.
- [3] Thomas Hegghammer. “Al-Qaida etter Afghanistan”. *Kortinfo*, 2002.
- [2] Kari Vogt and Thomas Hegghammer. “Selvmordsaksjoner i Oslo?” *Aftenposten*, p. 15, Apr. 2002.
- [1] Thomas Hegghammer. “Bomber mot terrorisme?” *Aftenposten*, p. 15, Nov. 2001.

## **Manuscripts in preparation**

Mujahidin: A History of Islamist Militants. Book under contract with Penguin (UK) and Farrar, Strauss & Giroux (USA).

## **Software and datasets**

“daiR: An R package for Google Document AI” (<https://dair.info>, on CRAN in June 2021).

“Noisy OCR Dataset (NOD)”, Zenodo, June 2021.

## **Awards**

- 2014 Article of the Year Award, Fulbright Norway.
- 2012 Fulbright fellowship (for 2012-13 academic year at Stanford).
- 2011 Arthur Ross Book Award (silver), Council on Foreign Relations (for Jihad in Saudi Arabia).
- 2011 Young Scholar of the Year Award, Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters.
- 2000 Chevening Scholarship, British Council.
- 1999 Jenkyns Prize, Balliol College, Oxford University.

## **Grants**

- 2022 “Machine learning and threat actors”, 1-year pilot project (EUR 100k), Norwegian Ministry of Defence.
- 2020 “The Socio-economics of Islamist Radicalization in the West”, Norwegian Research Council (EUR 1M). 4-year project involving FFI, LSE, and PRIO.



2003 “Salafi Jihadism in Saudi Arabia”, 3-year PhD grant, Norwegian Ministry of Defence.

### **Editorial board memberships**

Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict; European Journal of International Relations; Perspectives on Terrorism; Politics, Religion and Ideology; Terrorism and Political Violence

### **Teaching**

Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, “R for qualitative research”, winter 2020-2021.

Oslo University (Political Science), “Terrorism in Western Democracies”, spring 2019.

Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, “Publishing craft for security scholars”, autumn 2014, spring 2022.

Stanford University (Political Science), “Terrorism”, spring 2012.

Princeton University (Near East Studies), “Militant Islamism”, spring 2008.

### **Supervision and examination**

*PhD supervision:* Erik Skare (University of Oslo).

*PhD examinations:* Jasper Schwampe (Aarhus University, 2018), Simone Molin Friis (Copenhagen University, 2018), Sara Jul Jacobsen (Roskilde University, 2019), Charlie Winter (King’s College London, 2020), Tore Hamming (European University Institute, 2020), Eline Drury Løvlien (NTNU, 2021), Haid Haid (King’s College London, 2021), Marie Robin (2022), Ellen Tveteraas (Oxford University, 2023), Aymenn al-Tamimi (Swansea University, 2023), Natasja Rupesinghe (Oxford University, 2024), Jacob Schram (Oxford University, 2024)

### **Public service**

*Parliamentary testimonies:* Danish Parliament (2006); Canadian Senate (2005 and 2010); US Congress (2013); British Parliament (2014).

*Board and committee memberships:* Board member, Norwegian Centre for Conflict Resolution (NOREF) (2017-2022); Advisory group member, Polyteknisk forening (2017-2019); Board member, Norwegian Defence University College (2011-2015); Expert Advisory Group member, Statoil investigation of In Amenas attack (2013).

### **Other**

Norwegian “professorial competence” (equivalent to the continental “Habilitation”) obtained in June 2014