

STEVEN HEYDEMANN

Curriculum Vitae
Spring 2025

Smith College

EMPLOYMENT

- July 2018 - Professor, Department of Government
(Joint appointment with Middle East Studies)
Smith College
- July 2015 - Professor and Janet W. Ketcham 1953 Chair
in Middle East Studies
Director, Middle East Studies Program
Smith College
- Oct 2011 – June 2015 Vice President, Applied Research on Conflict
Senior Advisor, Middle East
US Institute of Peace
- July 2007 – Sep 2011 Vice President
Grant and Fellows Program
US Institute of Peace
- 2003 - July 2007 Director, Center for Democracy and Civil Society
Research Associate Professor, Department of Government
Georgetown University
- 2001 – 2003 Director, Program on Philanthropy and the Nonprofit Sector
Social Science Research Council
- 1997- 2001 Associate Professor, Department of Political Science
Columbia University
- 1990-1997 Director, Program on International Peace and Security
Director, Program on the Near and Middle East
Social Science Research Council
- 1981-1984 Director of Programs and Research (1983-1984)
Editorial Assistant, *Middle East Journal* (1981-1982)
Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C.

VISITING POSITIONS HELD

- 2019 Robert Schuman Fellow, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence (March-May)
- 2015 - Nonresident Senior Fellow, Center for Middle East Policy, The Brookings Institution
- 2014 - 2016 University of Tubingen, Baden-Württemberg Distinguished Visiting Professor in Comparative and Middle East Politics (one-month per year in residence).
- 2007 - 2015 Research Associate Professor, Georgetown University, Department of Government
- 2006 - 2007 Nonresident Senior Fellow, Saban Center, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Spring 2001 Visiting Professor, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence, Italy
- Spring 1997 World Fund Senior Fellow, Yale University Center for International and Area Studies.

EDUCATION

University of Chicago Department of Political Science

- Ph.D. 1990 "Successful Authoritarianism: The Social and Structural Origins of Populist Authoritarian Rule in Syria, 1946-1963"

Malcolm H. Kerr Dissertation Award, Honorable Mention, Middle East Studies Association (1991).

- A.M. 1986 "State and Politics in Syria, 1946-1986"

University of Michigan Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies

- A.B. 1981 Near Eastern and North African Studies, with Highest Honors.
Honor's Thesis: "The Origins and Development of Maximalist Religious Politics in Israel"

LANGUAGES

Arabic, Hebrew, French (limited reading knowledge only)

HONORS, AWARDS, RESEARCH ACTIVITIES & INDIVIDUAL GRANTS

- 2024-2025 Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center, Washington, DC, "Trajectories of Stateness in the Arab Middle East."

- 2023-2024 Rockefeller Brothers Fund, "Evolution of Syria's Business Networks." Co-PI with Dr. Karam Shaar. \$100,000.
- 2023-2024 Asfari Foundation, "Evolution of Syria's Business Networks." Co-PI with Dr. Karam Shaar. \$48,000.
- 2021-2022 Smith College Kahn Fellowship, co-directed year-long faculty seminar on "Democratic Precarity and Prospects for Democratic Renewal."
- 2019 Robert Schuman Fellowship, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute (March-May)
- 2018 Universität Hamburg-Smith College Faculty Collaboration Award
- 2009-2010 "Authoritarianisms, Regime Resilience and State-Society Relations: Comparing Political Change in Syria and Iran." Co-directed with Professor Reinoud Leenders, University of Amsterdam, with support from the Hivos Knowledge Programme on Civil Society in West Asia.
- 2009-2011 Smith Richardson Foundation, "Global Authoritarianism and the Challenge of International Order." Co-PI with Dr. Daniel Brumberg. \$200,000.
- 2006-2008 Smith Richardson Foundation, "Why is the Middle East Still Authoritarian: Meeting the Challenge of Democracy in the Middle East." \$200,000.
- 1999-2001 Project Director, European University Institute, Florence, 2-year research initiative on "Economic Networks and the Political Economy of Economic Reform in the Middle East."
- 1999 Columbia University Faculty Development Award
- 1998 MacDonald Summer Fellow, recipient of a Columbia University Faculty Development Award
- 1992 United States Institute of Peace, Research Grant: "Democratization and Conflict Resolution in the Middle East." Declined.
- 1992 Dissertation nominated for the Gabriel Almond award of the American Political Science Association by the Department of Political Science, University of Chicago
- 1991 Middle East Studies Association, Malcolm H. Kerr Dissertation Award, Social Sciences: Honorary Mention
- 1989-90 Josephine De Karman Fellowship, University of Chicago
- 1987-88 Fulbright Fellowship, Amman Jordan
- 1985-89 National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship
- 1984-85 University of Chicago, Division of Social Sciences Tuition Award
- 1981 Center for Arabic Study Abroad Summer Fellowship, American University in Cairo
- 1981 James B. Angell Scholar, University of Michigan

Institutional Grants for the SSRC

- 2001 David and Lucille Packard Foundation, in support of a conference on Data Resources and Research Opportunities in the Study of the Nonprofit Sector, \$45,000.
- 1996 The Carnegie Corporation, in support of a research development project on Nationalism After Colonialism in the Middle East and Central Asia, \$20,000.
- 1996 The MacArthur Foundation, in support of a research development project on Nationalism After Colonialism in the Middle East and Central Asia, \$15,000.

- 1996 The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, in support of a graduate training program in economics, \$2.1 million (with Kenneth Prewitt).
- 1993-97 The U.S. Information Agency, in support of graduate and postdoctoral fellowships to promote social science and humanities research on the Near and Middle East, \$2.85 million.
- 1995 The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, in support of the Program on International Peace and Security (co-author with Lawrence Freedman), \$6.5 million.
- 1991 The Ford Foundation, in support of a research planning project on "War as a Source of State and Social Transformation in the Middle East," \$47,000.

Institutional Grants for the Center for Democracy and Civil Society

- 2006-2008 Ford Foundation, to support a project on "Accountability and Representation in Negotiated Contexts: IFI Relations with CSOs" (Co-PI Alnoor Ebrahim, Hauser Center, Harvard University), \$160,000.
- 2006-2007 ILGWU Heritage Fund, to support a conference on "Labor Markets and Social Policy in MENA," \$30,000.
- 2006 National Strategy Information Center, to support activities on the role of the media in building a culture of lawfulness in Iraq, \$30,000.
- 2004 Ratiu Family Foundation, to support an annual Ion Ratiu Democracy Lecture at the Center for Democracy and Civil Society, \$100,000.

Institutional Grants for the US Institute of Peace

- 2013 - 2014 US Department of State, Near East Affairs, "Mitigating Sectarian Polarization in Syria." \$150,000.
- 2011-2014 Middle East Partnership Initiative, US Department of State, "The Day After: Facilitating a Democratic Transition in Syria," \$1.95m

PUBLICATIONS

Philanthropy and the Nonprofit Sector

- 2010 "The State and International Philanthropy: The Contribution of American Foundations, 1919-1991," in *The Contribution of Foundations to Society*. Eds. Helmut Anheier and David C. Hammack (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press). With Rebecca T. Kinsey, pp. 205-36.
- 2009 *Globalization, Philanthropy, and Civil Society: Projecting Institutional Logics Abroad*. Co-edited volume with David Hammack (Indiana University Press).

Steven Heydemann and David Hammack, "Philanthropic Projections: Sending Institutional Logics Abroad." Introduction in *Globalization, Philanthropy, and Civil Society*, pp. 3-31.

2007 *The Democracy Makers: Human Rights and International Order*, by Nicolas Guilhot. Invited review essay. *Critique Internationale*. No. 34 (January-March), pp. 173-79.

2006 *Foundations and the Challenge of Legitimacy in Comparative Perspective*. Co-edited with Kenneth Prewitt and Stefan Toepler. Russell Sage Press.

"Foundations and the Challenge of Legitimacy in Comparative Perspective." Introduction in *Foundations and the Challenge of Legitimacy*, co-authored with Stefan Toepler. pp. 3-26.

2005 "Strengthening Disciplines and the Field: Building Research Capacities in the Study of Philanthropy and the Nonprofit Sector." Dwight Burlingame and David Hammack, eds., *Education for a Civil Society: A Summary of the 2004 Conference*. Indiana University Center on Philanthropy.

"Doing Democracy's Work? Studying the Transformation of Global Philanthropy in the Twentieth Century." *Democracy and Society*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Spring 2005), pp. 5, 20-23.

Comparative Politics and Political Economy of the Middle East

Forthcoming

In Progress/

A Political Economy of the Middle East, 5th edition. Co-authored with Melani Cammet and Ishac Diwan. Under contract with Routledge Press. Forthcoming spring 2026.

"Fragmentation and State Authority in Post-War Syria," in *Syria: From Military Engagement to Unstable Stalemate*, ed. Abdullah al-Jabasini and Joseph Daher. Under contract with I. B. Tauris Press. Forthcoming 2026. Co-authored with Reinoud Leenders.

Arabic translation of *Making Sense of the Arab State*. Doha: The Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. Forthcoming 2026.

"Authoritarianism." In the *Encyclopedia of Middle East Politics*, ed. Simon Mabon. Under contract with Edward Elgar Publishing. Forthcoming 2026.

"Authoritarianism after the Arab Uprisings." In the *Encyclopedia of Authoritarianism*, ed. Thomas Ambrosio and Stephen Hall. Under contract with Edward Elgar Publishing. Forthcoming 2026.

Trajectories of Stateness in the Arab Middle East. Book manuscript in preparation.

Networked Authoritarianism: Syria under Bashar al-Assad. Book manuscript in preparation. Co-authored with Karam Shaar.

- “In the Shadow of the State: The Rise of Wartime Economic Orders and Economic Governance in Syria.” Article in preparation.
- “Securitizing Development in the Middle East.” Book chapter in preparation. Under contract with the Brookings Institution Center for Middle East Policy.
- Syria at War: Authoritarianism and Violent Conflict.* Book manuscript in preparation. Co-authored with Reinoud Leenders.
- 2024 *Making Sense of the Arab State.* Co-editor with Marc Lynch. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- “Introduction: Making Sense of the Arab State,” in *Making Sense of the Arab State*, pp. 1-21. Co-authored with Marc Lynch.
- “Seeing the State or Why Arab States Look the Way They Do,” in *Making Sense of the Arab State*, pp. 25-54.
- “Authoritarian Learning.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Authoritarianism*, ed. Anne-Margaret Wolf. New York: Cambridge University Press. Published online May 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198871996.013.51>.
- Review Essay, Dipali Mukhopadhyay and Kimberly Howe, *Good Rebel Governance: Revolutionary Politics and Western Intervention in Syria*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023. H-Diplo, Robert Jervis International Security Studies Forum, Roundtable Review 15-47, pp. 9-13. <https://networks.h-net.org/group/discussions/20035862/h-diplorjissf-roundtable-review-15-47-mukhopadhyay-and-howe-good-rebel>.
- “Assad’s New Business Deal.” With Karam Shaar. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution. August.
- 2023 “The Political Economy of Development in the Middle East.” In *The Middle East*, 16th ed., Ellen Lust. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Press, pp. 301-344. Co-author with Melani Cammett and Ishac Diwan.
- 2020 “Rethinking Social Contracts in the MENA Region: Economic Governance, Contingent Citizenship, and State-Society Relations After the Arab Uprisings.” *World Development* Vol. 135 (November). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2020.105019>.
- “The Syrian Conflict: Proxy War, Pyrrhic Victory, and Power Sharing Agreements.” *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* (20:2, October), pp. 153-160.
- 2019 “No Exit: Conflict, Economic Governance, and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Fierce States,” in Luigi Narbone, ed., *Fractured Stability: War Economies and Reconstruction in the MENA* (Florence: European University Institute), pp. 14-26.

“A Changing Landscape of Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Some Lessons for Policy Makers,” in Luigi Narbone, ed., *Fractured Stability: War Economies and Reconstruction in the MENA* (Florence: European University Institute), pp. 87-93. Co-authored with Luigi Narbone.

Review of Adam Baczko, Gilles Dorronsoro, and Arthur Quesnay, *Civil War in Syria: Mobilization and Competing Social Orders* (New York: Cambridge University Press), *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 51:3, pp. 514-516.

2018 “Sovereignty Versus Sectarianism: Contested Norms and the Logic of Regional Conflict.” With Emelie Chace-Donahue. *Uluslararası İlişkiler / International Relations*, Vol. 15, No. 60, pp. 5-19.

“Rethinking Stabilization in Eastern Syria: Toward a Human Security Framework.” The Atlantic Council, Hariri Center on the Middle East (December).

“A 10-degree Shift in Syria Strategy.” Policy Brief. Co-authored with Ranj Alaaldin, Jason Fritz, Bruce Jones, and Michael E. O’Hanlon. The Brookings Institution (September 2018). <https://www.brookings.edu/research/a-10-degree-shift-in-syria-strategy/>.

“Reconstructing Authoritarianism: The Politics and Political Economy of Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Syria,” *The Politics of Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, POMEPS Studies 30, pp. 14-22. <https://pomeps.org/2018/09/07/pomeps-studies-30-the-politics-of-post-conflict-reconstruction/>.

Beyond Fragility: Syria and the Challenges of Reconstruction in Fierce States (Washington, DC: Center for Middle East Policy, The Brookings Institution). <https://www.brookings.edu/research/beyond-fragility-syria-and-the-challenges-of-reconstruction-in-fierce-states/>.

“Civil War, Economic Governance, and State Reconstruction in the Arab Middle East,” *Daedalus* Vol. 147, No. 1 (Winter 2018), pp. 48-63. Special issue on Ending Civil Wars: Constraints and Possibilities, ed. Karl Eikenberry and Stephen D. Krasner.

“Foreword,” in English-language translation of Garance Le Caisne, *Operation Caesar Inside the Syrian Death Machine* (London: Polity Books).

2016 "Explaining the Arab Uprisings: Transformations in Comparative Perspective," *Mediterranean Politics* Vol. 21, No. 1 (March), pp. 192-204. Open Access: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2015.1081450>.

Reprinted in Muriel Asseburg and Heiko Wimmen, eds., *Dynamics of Transformation, Elite Change and New Social Mobilization Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Yemen* (New York, Routledge, 2018), pp. 192-204.

- "The Political Ecology of Authoritarian Learning," in *Transnational Diffusion and Cooperation in the Middle East*, POMEPS Studies 21, pp. 9-15. https://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/POMEPS_Studies_21_Transnational_Web-REV.pdf
- 2015 "Mass politics and the Future of Authoritarian Governance in the Arab World," in *The Arab Thermidor: The Resurgence of the Security State*, POMEPS Studies 11, pp. 14-18.
- 2014 *The Politics of Foreign Aid in the Arab World: The Impact of the Arab Uprisings, Mediterranean Politics* Special Issue, Vol. 19, No. 3 (November). Guest Editor with Benoit Challand and Federica Bicchi.
- Republished as *The Struggle for Influence in the Middle East: The Arab Uprisings and Foreign Assistance* (London, Routledge Press: 2016).
- "America's Response to the Arab Uprisings: US Foreign Assistance in an Era of Ambivalence," in *The Politics of Foreign Aid in the Arab World: The Impact of the Arab Uprisings, Mediterranean Politics* Special Issue, Vol. 19, No. 3 (November), pp. 299-317.
- "Conclusion: Continuities and Discontinuities in Foreign Assistance," *The Politics of Foreign Aid in the Arab World: The Impact of the Arab Uprisings, Mediterranean Politics* Special Issue, Vol. 19, No. 3 (November), pp. 450-455.
- "Authoritarian Learning and Counterrevolution," in *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*, ed. Marc Lynch (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. 75-92. With Reinoud Leenders.
- 2013 "Après le séisme: Gouvernement économique et politique de masse dans le monde arabe." *Critique internationale* No. 61 (octobre-décembre), pp. 69-84. www.cairn.info/revue-critique-internationale-2013-4-page-69.htm. DOI : 10.3917/crii.061.0069.
- "After the Earthquake: Economic Governance and Mass Politics in the Middle East," *Critique internationale* No. 61. English translation of "Après le séisme." http://www.cairn-int.info/article-E_CRII_061_0069--after-the-earthquake.htm.
- "Tracking the Arab Spring: Syria and Arab Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (October 2013), pp. 59-73.
- Reprinted in Larry F. Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).
- Excerpts reprinted in Marc Lynch, *The Political Science of Syria's War*. Project on Middle East Political Science, December 19, 2013. <http://pomeps.org/2013/12/political-science-and-syrias-war/>

Middle East Authoritarianisms: Governance, Contestation, and Regime Resilience in Syria and Iran. Stanford University Press. Co-edited with Reinoud Leenders.

"Authoritarian Governance in Syria and Iran: Challenged, Reconfiguring, and Resilient." Introduction in *Comparing Authoritarianisms*. With Reinoud Leenders.

"Global Authoritarians and the Arab Spring: New Challenges for U.S. Diplomacy." *The Changing Security Architecture of the Middle East*, Paper 1. (Washington, DC, Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, January 2013). With Daniel Brumberg. <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/global-authoritarians-and-the-arab-spring-new-challenges-for-us-diplomacy#sthash.D6k0CFQc.dpuf>.

"Syria's Uprising: Sectarianism, Regionalisation, and State Order in the Levant" FRIDE, Working Paper No. 113 (May), 28 pp.

2012 "Popular Mobilization in Syria: Opportunity and Threat, and the Social Networks of the Early Risers." *Mediterranean Politics*, 17:2 (July 2012), 139-159. Second author, with Reinoud Leenders.

"Embracing the Changes, Accepting the Challenges: Western Responses to the Arab Spring." In *Re-thinking Western Policies in Light of the Arab Uprising*, ed. Riccardo Alcaro and Miguel Haubrich-Seco. IAI Research Paper 4 (Rome: Edizioni Nuova Cultura, 2012).

2011 "Resilient Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from Syria and Iran & Implications for Democracy Promotion." Policy Paper 2. Hivos Knowledge Programme, Civil Society in West Asia (March). With Reinoud Leenders. 18 pp.

التسلطية في سوريا- المؤسسات والصراع الاجتماعي 1970-1946
(Beirut: Riad El Rayyes Press and the Syrian Center for Political and Strategic Studies). Arabic translation, with a new foreword, of *Authoritarianism in Syria: Institutions and Social Conflict, 1946-1970*.

"Authoritarian Learning and Authoritarian Resilience: Regime Responses to the 'Arab Awakening.'" *Globalizations*, Vol. 8. No. 5. pp. 647-653. With Reinoud Leenders.

2010 "Iran's Alternative Allies," in *The Iran Primer*, ed. Robin Wright (Washington, DC, US Institute of Peace), pp. 193-198.

"Engagement, Coercion, and Iran's Nuclear Challenge." Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace and Stimson Center. Contributing author. Daniel Brumberg and Barry Blechman, principal authors.

"The Uncertain Future of Democracy Promotion." Review of Policy Paper *Beyond Orthodox Approaches: Assessing Opportunities for Democracy Support in the Middle East and North Africa*. The Hague: HIVOS. <http://www.hivos.nl/eng/Hivos-Knowledge-Programme/Publications2/The-Uncertain-Future-of-Democracy-Promotion>.

- 2009 “Authoritarian Learning and Current Trends in Arab Governance,” in *Oil, Globalization, and Political Reform in the Middle East*, ed. Shibley Telhami. The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World: Doha Discussion Papers (Washington, DC: Saban Center, Brookings Institution Press), pp. 27-36.
- 2008 “Culture and Development: The Use and Abuse of Culture in New Institutional Economics,” *Studies in Comparative and International Development*, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 27–52.
- “Toward a New Social Contract in the Middle East and North Africa.” Op. Ed. *Sada* blog, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Washington, DC), August 20, 2008. <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/?fa=21030>.
- 2007 “Social Pacts and the Persistence of Authoritarianism in the Middle East,” in *Debating Arab Authoritarianism: Dynamics and Durability in Non-Democratic Regimes*. Ed. Oliver Schlumberger (Stanford: Stanford University Press), pp. 21-38.
- “The Challenge of Political Islam: Understanding the U.S. Debate,” in *The Challenge of Islamists for EU and US Policies: Conflict, Stability, and Reform*, ed. Muriel Assenburg and Daniel Brumberg (Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, November 2007), pp. 15-19.
- Reprinted in Daniel Brumberg and Dina Shehata, eds., *Conflict, Identity, and Reform in the Muslim World: Challenges for U.S. Engagement* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2009).
- “Civil Society and the Dilemmas of Democratic Change in the Arab World.” The Civility Programme on Middle East Reform, Foreign Policy Centre, London. (Commissioned mss.)
- Upgrading Authoritarianism in the Arab World*. Saban Center for Middle East Policy, Analysis Paper No. 13 (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution).
- 2006 “In the Shadow of Democracy.” Invited review essay. *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (Winter), pp. 146-157.
- 2004 *Networks of Privilege in the Middle East: The Politics of Economic Reform Revisited*. Edited volume. New York: Palgrave Press,.
- “Networks, Institutions, and the Politics of Economic Reform in the Middle East,” Introduction in *Networks of Privilege*, pp. 1-34.
- 2003 *Unlocking the Employment Potential in the Middle East and North Africa: Toward a New Social Contract*. The World Bank. Principle author of chapter 2, “The Evolution of State-Labor Relations in MENA,” and chapter 7, “Toward a New Social Contract.”

- 2002 "La question de la démocratie dans les travaux sur le monde arabe," *Critique Internationale*, October, pp. 54-62.
- "Middle East Studies After 9/11: Defending the Discipline" *Journal of Democracy*, 13:3 (July), pp. 102-108.
- 2001 "Middle East Politics," *Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, ed. Neil Smelser and Paul Baltes (London: Elsevier Press, 2002).
- 2000 *War, Institutions and Social Change in the Middle East*. Edited volume. University of California Press.
- "War, Institutions and Social Change in the Middle East," introductory chapter in *War, Institutions and Social Change*, pp. 1-30.
- "War, Keynesianism, and Colonialism: Explaining State-Market Relations in the Post-War Middle East." With Robert Vitalis, in *War, Institutions and Social Change*, pp. 100-145.
- "La politique syrienne n'est pas un jeu d'ombres," *Critique Internationale* (October).
- 1999 *Authoritarianism in Syria: Institutions and Social Conflict, 1946-1970*. Cornell University Press.
- 1993 "Peace and the Future of Middle East Studies," *Items*, Vol. 47, No. 4.
- 1993 "The New Politics of Water," *Gorus*, No. 10, Journal of the Turkish Businessmen's Association, special issue on water and politics in the Middle East.
- 1993 "Taxation Without Representation: Authoritarianism and Economic Liberalization in Syria." In Ellis Goldberg, Resat Kasaba, and Joel Migdal, eds., *Rules and Rights in the Middle East: Society, Law, and Democracy*. University of Washington Press.
- 1992 "The Political Logic of Economic Rationality: Selective Stabilization in Syria." In *The Politics of Economic Stabilization Programs in the Middle East*, ed., Henri J. Barkey. St. Martin's Press.
- 1991 "Can We Get There from Here: The Middle East and the Study of Democratization: Some Lessons from Syria." *Arab-American Affairs*, No. 36 (Spring).
- 1991 Revisionism and the Reconstruction of Israeli History." Ian Lustick and Rubin, eds., *Critical Essays on Israeli Society, Politics, and Culture*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- 1991 - Several dozen book reviews in: *Nonprofit Policy Forum*; *American Historical Review*; *The International Journal of Middle East Studies*; *American Political Science Review*; *Middle East Journal*; *Critique Internationale*; *Journal of Politics*; *Comparative Political Studies*; *Political Science Quarterly*; *Journal of Democracy*; *Contemporary Sociology*;

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, Voluntas, Critique Internationale.

Select Op Ed Articles and Interviews

- 2025 [“Syria Needs Sanctions Relief Now.”](#) *Commentary*, The Brookings Institution, January 15.
- 2024 [“What’s next for Syria and the Region after Assad’s Fall?”](#) *Currents Interview*, The Brookings Institution, December 9.
- [“The Assad Regime Falls. What Happens Now?”](#) *Commentary*, The Brookings Institution, December 9.
- [“What will Nasrallah’s Death Mean for the Middle East?”](#) *Commentary*, The Brookings Institution, September 30.
- [“Syria Normalization: The Failure of Defensive Diplomacy.”](#) *Commentary*, The Brookings Institution, August 2.
- [“Six Months On: What is the Impact of the War in Gaza?”](#) *Commentary*, The Brookings Institution, April 5.
- 2023 [“Syria’s Normalization Signals a New Middle Eastern Order.”](#) *Order from Chaos* blog, The Brookings Institution, May 10.
- [“Syria’s Dissolving Line Between State and Nonstate Actors.”](#) The Brookings Institution Initiative on "Nonstate Armed Actors and Illicit Economies in 2023." *Order from Chaos* blog, The Brookings Institution, January 27.
- 2022 [“Rights as Realism in the Middle East.”](#) *Order from Chaos* blog, The Brookings Institution, July 25.
- [“Not by Counterterrorism Alone: Root Causes and the Defeat of the Islamic State Group.”](#) *Order from Chaos* blog, The Brookings Institution, February 17.
- [“Zombie Diplomacy and the Fate of Syria’s Constitutional Committee.”](#) *Order from Chaos* blog, The Brookings Institution, January 25. Co-authored with Karam Shaar.
- [“Assad’s Normalization and the Politics of Erasure in Syria.”](#) *Democracy in Exile* blog, January 11.
- [Reposted](#) on the *Order from Chaos* blog, The Brookings Institution, January 13, 2022.
- 2021 [“Syrian Uprising 10-Year Anniversary: A Political Economy Perspective,”](#) interview in *The Syrian Observer*, March 24.

[Reposted](#) on the *On the Record* blog of The Brookings Institution, March 26.

“[Solidarity and Social Resilience: Mitigating Economic Precarity in MENA](#),” Blog post for the Lebanese American University, Center for Social Justice and Conflict Resolution, (March).

[Reposted](#) on the *Order from Chaos* blog, The Brookings Institution, as “In the Middle East, Poverty is Low but Economic Grievance is up. Why?” March 2.

2020 “[Pity the Nation: Assessing a Half Century of Assadist Rule](#),” *MENASource* blog, The Atlantic Council, December 10.

[Reposted](#) on the *Order from Chaos* blog, The Brookings Institution, Dec 14.

“[Questions President Trump Needs to Answer Before Negotiating with the Assad Regime Over Hostages](#),” *Order from Chaos* blog, The Brookings Institution, October 21.

“[The Caesar Act and a Pathway Out of Conflict in Syria](#),” The Brookings Institution, *Order from Chaos* blog, June 19.

2019 “[It's Tempting to Look Away from Syria, But That'd Be Reckless](#).” With Michael O’Hanlon. *The Hill*. June 3.

2018 “[The United States Can Stop a Looming Catastrophe for 3 Million Syrians](#).” With Michael O’Hanlon. *Washington Post*, September 17.

“[How to Prevent a Massacre and the Creation of ISIS 2.0 in Syria’s Idlib Province](#).” With Michael O’Hanlon. *USA Today*, September 11.

“[Here's What a Trump-Putin Deal on Syria Could Look Like](#),” with Michael O’Hanlon. *The National Interest*, July 13.

2017 “[From De-Escalation to Diplomacy in Syria: Russia Confronts a Dilemma](#),” Valdai Discussion Club, November 14.

“[Rules for Reconstruction in Syria](#).” *Markaz* blog, The Brookings Institution, August 24.

[Reposted](#) in *Syria Source*, The Hariri Center for the Middle East, The Atlantic Council, August 25.

“[Syria Reconstruction and the Illusion of Leverage](#).” *Syria Source*, Hariri Center for the Middle East, The Atlantic Council. May 18.

2016 “[You Don’t Need a No-Fly Zone to Pressure Russia in Syria](#).” *The New York Times*, November 2.

- “[Why the United States Hasn’t Intervened in Syria.](#)” *Washington Post*, March 14.
- 2015 “[What Syrians Really Think of a Peace Deal.](#)” *Washington Post*, July 28. Co-authored with Annika Folkesson.
- 2014 “[Arab Autocrats Are Not Going Back to the Future.](#)” *Washington Post*, December 4.
- "Assad's Hollow Mandate." *ForeignPolicy.Com*, June 2.
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/06/02/syrian-elections-assad_mandate_farce.
- "[Could Discussing Humanitarian Issues Lead to Disaster at the Geneva II Talks?](#)" *ForeignPolicy.Com*, January 20.
- 2013 "[The Big Picture: Envisioning a best-possible peace for Syria -- and what it will take to reach it.](#)" Feature article. *ForeignPolicy.Com*, December 8.
- 2012 "[A Viable Alternative: Is the Syrian Opposition Ready to Govern.](#)" *The Majalla*, January 31.
- “[Will the Arab League’s Consensus on Syria Hold?](#)” *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, January 19.
- 2011 “Egypt: Testing America's Tolerance for Arab Democracy.” *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, December 1. <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en/node/529466>.
- [Reposted](#) on *Al-Arabiyya News*. December 2.
- "[New Syrians in an Old Syria? Reflections on the Syrian Uprising.](#)" *Hivos Knowledge Programme, Civil Society in West Asia Newsletter*, Issue 4 (October), pp. 12-15.
- “[Beyond Cairo: Prospects for Change in the Middle East.](#)” *The Hill, Congress Blog*, February 16. Co-authored with Ellen Laipson.
- “[How the US Should Respond to Protests in the Middle East.](#)” *Washington Post*, January 30.
- “[Why Tunisia and not Iran.](#)” *Iran Primer*, US Institute of Peace. January 26.
- Reposted on PBS *Frontline*, “Why Tunisia and not Iran.”
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2011/01/why-tunisia-and-not-iran.html>
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SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

- 2024-2025 Member, award committee, American Political Science Association Merze Tate-Elinor Ostrom Outstanding Book Award, Best Book in Political Science.
- 2023 Academic Assessment, Comparative Middle East Politics and Society Program, University of Tubingen
- 2022-2023 Member, Board of Directors, The Day After association
- 2021-2023 International Expert Advisor, Syria Policy Coordination Group, International Commission on Missing Persons
- 2019-2022 Vice Chair, Board of Directors, The Day After Association
- 2020 Confidential reviewer, MacArthur Fellows Program, MacArthur Foundation
- 2019-2021 Vice Chair of the Board of Directors, The Day After Association

- 2018-2019 Member, Board of Directors, The Day After Association
 2019 Chair, Malcolm H. Kerr Dissertation Award Selection Committee of the Middle East Studies Association
 2018 Member, Malcolm H. Kerr Dissertation Award Selection Committee of the Middle East Studies Association
 2016 - 2018 Advisory Board, Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East, The Atlantic Council
 2015- Advisory Board, Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS)
 2015 - Editorial Board, *Middle East Journal*
 2015 - 2023 Member, International Advisory Board, World Congress of Middle East Studies (WOCMES)
 2014 - Editorial Board, *Middle East Law and Governance*
 2013 - 2018 Board Member, Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED)
 2012 - Editorial Board, *Mediterranean Politics*
 2011 - 2014 Executive Committee, Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS)
 2005 - 2017 Member, Middle East Studies Association Committee on Public Affairs
 2004- 2007 Deputy Editor, *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*
 2002-2005 Editorial Board, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*
 2002 External Evaluator, Center for Middle East Studies, Jackson School, University of Washington
 1999 - 2001 Nominator, MacArthur Foundation Fellows Program
 1999-2001 Member, Committee on Academic Freedom of the Middle East Studies Association
 1996-97 Member, Board of Directors, Middle East Studies Association of North America
 1991- 1997 Treasurer, Foundation on Democratization and Political Change in the Middle East
 1992 -97 Secretary and Member, Board of Directors, American Research Institute in Syria
 1994 - 2016 Member, Research Council, International Forum of the National Endowment for Democracy.

Manuscript and proposal reviewer:

European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies; *Perspectives on Politics; Comparative Politics; Business and Politics*; Princeton University Press; The National Fund for Scientific Research, Belgium; *The Lancet; Third World Quarterly; Social Problems, American Journal of Political Science*; Cornell University Press; Russell Sage Foundation; *Mediterranean Politics*; Columbia University Press; European Commission, Directorate General for Research, Sixth Framework Program on Science and Society; MacArthur Foundation Program on Global Security and Sustainability; International Democratic Forum; *Political Research Quarterly; Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*; Cambridge University Press; *Studies in Comparative and International Development; Comparative Political Studies*; University of California Press; Palgrave Press; Smith-Richardson Foundation; University of Washington Press; *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*; United States Institute of Peace; *International Journal of Middle East Studies; Middle East Journal; Political Science Quarterly; World Politics; World Development; Comparative Studies in Society and History; Review of International Political Economy*, University of Indiana Press; *American Historical Review*; Stanford University Press; Chatham House; Hurst Publishing; University of Edinburgh.

