STEVEN HEYDEMANN

Curriculum Vitae March 2016

EMPLOYMENT

July 2015 -	Professor and Janet W. Ketcham 1953 Chair in Middle East Studies Smith College
Oct 2013 -	Vice President ¹ Applied Research on Conflict Senior Advisor, Middle East US Institute of Peace
Oct 2011 - Sep 2013	Senior Advisor ² Middle East Initiatives Director, Syria Programs U.S. Institute of Peace
Dec 2007 – Sep 2011	Senior Vice President Grant Program US Institute of Peace
July – Nov 2007	Associate Vice President Jennings Randolph 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, <i>Middle East Journal</i> (1981-1984) Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C.

VISITING POSITIONS HELD

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, 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"

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

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
1772	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.

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 - 20114 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.

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. Volume coedited with Kenneth Prewitt and Stefan Toepler. Russell Sage Press, 2006.

"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

In progress "Arab Capitalism: Comparative Capitalisms and Economic Governance in the Arab Mediterranean."

"The Social and Institutional Origins of Authoritarianism in the Arab World

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.

"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.

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.

"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.

"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 international* 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.

2013

Reprinted in Larry F. Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

Abstract 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 Review of Lisa Blaydes, *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt. International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 44 (November), pp. 196-98.

"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 1946-1970

(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.



"Can We Get There From Here: The Middle East and the Study of Democratization: Some Lessons From Syria." *Arab-American Affairs*, No. 36 (Spring).

Revisionism and the Reconstruction of Israeli History," Lustick and Rubin, eds., <u>Critical Essays on Israeli Society, Politics, and Culture</u>. Albany: SUNY Press.

1991 - Several dozen book reviews in: 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

2015 "What Syrians Really Think of a Peace Deal." Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog, July 28. http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/07/28/what-syrians-actually-think-of-a-peace-deal/. With Annika Folkeson.

2014 "Arab Autocrats Are Not Going Back to the Future." *Washington Post, Monkey Cage Blog.* December 4. http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/12/04/arab-autocrats-are-not-going-back-to-the-future/.

"Assad's Hollow Mandate." *ForeignPolicy.Com*, June 2, 2014. 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, 2014. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/01/20/on_target_geneva_syria_talks.

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, 2013. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/12/06/peacegame_syria_big_picture.

"A Viable Alternative: Is the Syrian Opposition Ready to Govern." *The Majalla*, January 31. http://www.majalla.com/eng/2012/01/article55229113

"Will the Arab League's Consensus on Syria Hold?" *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, January 19. http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en/node/609026.

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, 2011. http://english.alarabiya.net/views/2011/12/02/180434.html

"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.

http://www.hivos.net/Hivos-Knowledge-Programme/Themes/Civil-Society-in-West-Asia/Latest-News/The-Syrian-Uprising-and-the-Power-of-Stories.

"Beyond Cairo: Prospects for Change in the Middle East." *The Hill, Congress Blog*, February 16, 2011. http://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/foreign-policy/144449-beyond-cairo-prospects-for-change-in-the-middle-east. With Ellen Laipson.

"How the US Should Respond to Protests in the Middle East." *Washington Post*, January 30, 2011. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/01/28/AR2011012805611.html

"Why Tunisia and not Iran." *Iran Primer*. January 26. 2011. http://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/all/Steven%20Heydemann

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

"Tunisia and the Future of Democracy Promotion in the Arab World." *Foreign Policy.Com.* January 24, 2011.

http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/01/24/tunisia_and_the_future_of_democracy_promotion_in_the_arab_world

Cited in *New York Times*: "A Region's Unrest Scrambles U.S. Foreign Policy." http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/26/world/26diplo.html?scp=1&sq=Heydemann&st=cse

Reposted by NPR as "Foreign Policy: Tunisia Teaches Us About Democracy" http://www.npr.org/2011/01/25/133206497/foreign-policy-tunisia-teaches-us-about-democracy

"Reform or Restoration: Tunisia's Canary in the Coalmine Indicators." National Endowment for Democracy, *Democracy Digest*, January 19, 2011. http://www.demdigest.net/blog/2011/01/reform-or-restoration-tunisias-canary-in-the-coalmine-indicators/

"The Real Deal for Lebanon." *The Middle East Channel, ForeignPolicy.Com.* August 13. http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/08/13/the_real_deal_for_lebanon.

"Why Syria Needs to Get a Grip." *The Middle East Channel, ForeignPolicy.Com.* April 20.

http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/04/20/why_syria_needs_to_get_a_grip?hide comments=yes.

"Next to Normal: Lebanon and the Routinization of Political Conflict." *al-Majalla*. Cover article. February 15. http://www.majalla.com/en/cover_story/article17475.ece.

2009 "Saleh's Tipping Point." *al-Majalla*, December 11. (English and Arabic-language editions).

"Saad Hariri's Dilemmas." *al-Majalla*, October 17 (English and Arabic-language editions).

"Lebanon After Elections: The End of the Begnning." *al-Majalla*, July 16 (cover essay in Arabic and English-language editions).

"The Return of Local Politics in Lebanon?" *al-Majalla*, June 7 (cover essay in Arabic and English-language editions).

2008 *"Tajaddud al-Tasalut fi al-Alam al-Arabi."* [Upgrading Authoritarianism in the Arab World] *al-Hayat*. February 8.

2007 *"Inhisar al-Da`am al-Amiriki Lil-Dimuqratiyya."* [The Decline of American Support for Democracy] With Radwan Ziadeh. *al-Hayat*. March 22.

2006 "Thalik al-Mazaq al-Musdawaj lil-Siyassat al-Amrikiyya fi al-Sharq al-Awsat." [The Twin Dilemmas of American Policy in the Middle East] al-Hayat. With Radwan Ziadeh. December 29.

SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

2016 -	Advisory Board, Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East, The Atlantic Council
2015 -	Editorial Board, Middle East Journal
2014 -	Editorial Board, Middle East Law and Governance
2013 -	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 -	Member, Middle East Studies Association Committee on Public Affairs
2004-	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 -	Member, Research Council, International Forum of the National Endowment for
	Democracy

MEMBERSHIPS, AFFILIATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

American Political Science Association; Middle East Studies Association; International Studies Association; Association for Research on the Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Associations; International Society for Third Sector Research.

Manuscript and proposal reviewer:

Social Problems, American Journal of Political Science; Russell Sage Foundation; Mediterranean Politics; 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.

¹ In a restructuring during summer 2013, the title of Senior Vice President was eliminated.

² Senior Vice President-level appointment.