

## Curriculum Vitae

### CURTIS R. RYAN

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### **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

Professor of Political Science, Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina, 2013-present (*promoted March 2013*).

Associate Professor of Political Science, Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina, 2005-2013 (*promoted March 2005, tenured March 2006*).

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina, 2002-2005.

Associate Professor of Political Science, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia, 2001-2002 (*tenured and promoted March 2001*).

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia, 1995-2001.

Adjunct Professor of Strategy and Policy, United States Naval War College, Non-resident seminar program, 1995-2000.

Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia, 1994-95.

Graduate Instructor, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1989-94.

Teaching Assistant, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1988-89.

### **EDUCATION**

Ph.D. (1995) Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.  
Fields: Comparative Politics, International Relations, Middle East Politics.

M.A. (1991) Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

B.A. (1986) *Cum Laude*, Drew University, Madison, NJ. Majors: Political Science and History.

## **HONORS, GRANTS, AND AWARDS**

### **Teaching Awards**

- Excellence in Teaching Award* (2011), North Carolina Board of Governors and Appalachian State University.
- Outstanding Teacher* (2010). Appalachian State University. Inducted into the ASU Academy of Outstanding Teachers.
- Outstanding Professor of the Year Award* (1998). Richard P. Palmieri Memorial Award voted on by the Mary Washington College Mortar Board Society and the 1998 senior class.
- John Patrick Hagan Teaching Award* (1992) for outstanding teaching by a graduate student, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

### **Research and Scholarship Awards**

- 2021 Chancellor's Award for Excellence in Research and Scholarship*, Appalachian State University.
- 2020 Best Book Award*, Southeast Regional Middle East and Islamic Studies Society (SERMEISS) for *Jordan and the Arab Uprisings: Regime Survival and Politics Beyond the State* (Columbia University Press, 2018)
- U.S. State Department Speaker Program Fellowship* (2010). Grant to present a series of talks in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in December 2010, as part of the public diplomacy program of the State Department and the U.S. Embassy in Amman, Jordan.
- Fulbright Scholar* (1992-1993). Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Guest Researcher at the Center for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan, Amman.
- Peace Scholar* (1992- 93, 1993-94). Jennings-Randolph Program for International Peace, United States Institute of Peace. Consecutive awards from two different U.S.I.P. award committees.
- Faculty Development Grants* (2001, 2000, 1999, 1998, 1997, 1996), Mary Washington College.
- Faculty Supplemental Funding Grants*, Mary Washington College, to be Scholar Escort leading Teacher's Tour of Israel (1997) and of Turkey (2000), sponsored by the Virginia Department of Education.

### **Service Awards**

- Service Award* (2019) – for ongoing service and commitment to POMEPS – The Project on Middle East Political Science, on its 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary.
- Outstanding Advisor Award* (2005-2006), Appalachian State University, College of Arts and Sciences.

## **COURSES TAUGHT**

Introduction to Political Science  
 Current Political Issues  
 Comparative Politics  
 International Politics and Foreign Policy  
 International Security  
 International Terrorism  
 The Arab Uprisings  
 Theories of International Relations  
 Politics of Developing Countries  
 Politics of the Middle East and North Africa  
 The Arab-Israeli Conflict  
 Women, Islam, and Politics  
 Islam and Politics  
 International Strategy and Policy (graduate course)  
 Seminar in International Relations Theory (graduate course)  
 International Relations of the Middle East (graduate course)  
 Islam and Politics in the Middle East (graduate course)

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Books**

*Jordan and the Arab Uprisings: Regime Survival and Politics Beyond the State*  
 (Columbia University Press, 2018).

*Inter-Arab Alliances: Regime Security and Jordanian Foreign Policy*  
 (University Press of Florida, 2009).

*Jordan in Transition: From Hussein to Abdullah*  
 (Lynne Rienner Press, 2002).

### **Works in Progress**

“Multipolarity and Regional Alliances in the Middle East,” in Edward Wastnidge and Francesco Belcastro, *International Relations in a Multi-Polar Middle East*, under review with Manchester University Press.

“Alliances and Regional Order in the Middle East,” for a special issue on *Rethinking Regional Order in the Middle East* – a joint project of the Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) and project on Sectarianism, Proxies, and De-Sectarianization (SEPAD).

## Articles

- “Jordan: Stability and Instability in the Hashemite Kingdom,” *Orient: German Journal for Politics, Economics, and Culture of the Middle East*, vol. 60, no. 4, 2019: 17-24.
- “Resurgent Protests Confront New and Old Red Lines in Jordan,” *Middle East Report* vol. 292/293, Fall/Winter 2019: 30-34.
- “The Arab Uprisings and International Relations Theory,” (co-authored with Marc Lynch) Introduction to Politics Symposium, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, vol. 50, no. 3, July 2017: 643-646.
- “Jordan: Between ISIS and the Syrian Civil War,” *Orient: German Journal for Politics, Economics, and Culture of the Middle East*, vol. 58, no. 4, 2017: 40-46.
- “Reviving Activism in Jordan: The Movement Against Israeli Gas,” *Middle East Report*, vol. 281, Winter 2016: 6-9.
- “Jordan in the Crossfire of Middle East Conflicts,” *Orient: German Journal for Politics, Economics, and Culture of the Middle East*, vol. 56, no. 4, 2015: 32-49.
- “Regional Responses to the Rise of ISIS,” *Middle East Report*, no. 276, Fall 2015: 18-23.
- “Oasis or Mirage? Jordan’s Unlikely Stability in a Changing Middle East,” *World Politics Review*, January 15, 2015.
- “Jordanian Foreign Policy and the Arab Spring,” *Middle East Policy* vol. 21, no. 1, Spring 2014: 144-153.
- “The Armed Forces and the Arab Uprisings: The Case of Jordan,” *Middle East Law and Governance*, vol. 4, 2012: 153-167.
- “The New Arab Cold War and the Struggle for Syria,” *Middle East Report*, no. 262, Spring 2012: 28-31.
- “Identity Politics, Reform, and Protest in Jordan,” *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 11 (3) 2011: 564-578.
- “Political Opposition and Reform Coalitions in Jordan,” *British Journal of Middle East Studies* 38 (3) 2011: 367-390.
- “Islamist Political Activism in Jordan: Moderation, Militancy, and Democracy,” *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 12 (2) June 2008: 1-13.
- “The Odd Couple: Ending the Jordanian-Syrian ‘Cold War’” *Middle East Journal* 60 (1) Winter 2006: 33-56.
- “‘Jordan First’: Jordan’s Inter-Arab Relations and Foreign Policy Under King Abdullah II,” *Arab Studies Quarterly* 26 (3) Summer 2004: 43-62.
- “Return to Democratization or New Hybrid Regime? The 2003 Elections in Jordan,” (co-authored with Jillian Schwedler), *Middle East Policy* 11 (2) 2004: 138-151.
- “Political Liberalization and Monarchical Succession in Jordan,” *Israel Affairs* 9 (3) 2003: 129-140.
- “Political Strategies and Regime Survival: The Case of Egypt,” *Journal of Third World Studies* 18 (2) Fall 2001: 25-46.
- “Between Iraq and a Hard Place: Jordan’s Relations with Iraq,” *Middle East Report* Summer 2000: 40-42.

### Articles (continued)

- “Elections and Parliamentary Democratization in Jordan,” *Democratization* 5 (4) Winter 1998: 194-214.
- “Peace, Bread, and Riots: Jordan and the International Monetary Fund,” *Middle East Policy* 6 (2) Fall 1998: 54-66.
- “Jordan and the Rise and Fall of the Arab Cooperation Council,” *The Middle East Journal* 52 (3) Summer 1998: 386-401.
- “From Crisis to War: Origins and Aftermath Effects of the 1990-91 Persian Gulf Crisis,” (with David L. Downie) *Southeastern Political Review* 21 (3) 1993: 491-510.

### Book Chapters

- “Jordan: A Perpetually Liberalizing Autocracy,” in Ozgun Topak, Merouan Mekouar, and Francesco Cavatorta, eds., *New Authoritarian Practices in the Middle East and North Africa*, Edinburgh University Press, 2022, pp. 152-170.
- “International Relations and Regional (In)Security,” co-authored with May Darwich, F. Gregory Gause III, Waleed Hazbun, and Morten Valbjorn, in Marc Lynch, Jillian Schwedler, and Sean Yom, eds., *The Political Science of the Middle East: Theory and Research Since the Arab Uprisings*, Oxford University Press, 2022, pp. 86-107.
- “Jordan: The Military in Politics in the Hashemite Kingdom,” in William Thompson, ed., *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Military in Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2020).
- “Alliances and the Balance of Power in the Middle East,” in Raymond Hinnebusch and Jasmine Ghani, eds., *The Routledge Handbook to the Middle East and North African State and States System* (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 340-353.
- “International Relations,” (co-authored with Mary Ann Tetreault) in Jillian Schwedler, ed., *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, 2020), pp. 125-156.
- “Youth, Activism, and Protest: Jordan’s Movement Against Israeli Gas,” in *Youth Politics in the Middle East*, POMEPS Studies 36, November 2019, pp. 49-53.
- “The Impact of International Politics,” (co-authored with F. Gregory Gause III) in Michele Penner Angrist, ed., *Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 3rd edition, 2019), pp. 53-74.
- “Jordan,” in Michele Penner Angrist, ed., *Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 3rd edition, 2019), pp. 339-362.
- “Shifting Alliances in the Middle East,” in *Great Decisions 2016* (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 2016), pp. 5-12.
- “Shifting Alliances and Shifting Theories in the Middle East,” in *Shifting Global Politics and the Middle East*, POMEPS Studies 34, March 2019, pp. 7-13.
- “Regime Security and Shifting Alliances in the Middle East,” in *International Relations Theory and a Changing Middle East*, POMEPS Studies 16, September 2015, pp. 42-46.

### Book Chapters (continued)

- “Inter-Arab Relations and the Regional System,” in Marc Lynch, ed., *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), pp. 110-123.
- “The Foreign Policy of Jordan,” in Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, eds., *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Press, 2014), 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, pp. 133-155.
- “Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan,” in Mark Gasiorowski, ed., *Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 2014), pp. 281-301; and earlier versions in Mark Gasiorowski, David Long, and Bernard Reich, eds., *Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition (Boulder: Westview, 2011), pp. 297-319 and Mark Gasiorowski, David Long, and Bernard Reich, eds., *Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Boulder: Westview, 2007), pp. 246-266.
- “Jordan,” in Michele Penner Angrist, ed., *Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2013), pp. 335-358.
- “Jordan and the Arab Spring,” in Michael L. Haas and David W. Lesch, eds., *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2013), pp. 116-130.
- “Governance, Reform, and Resurgent Ethnic Identity Politics in Jordan,” in Abbas Khadim, ed., *Governance and Politics in the Middle East* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 342-356.
- “Jordan,” in Michele Penner Angrist, ed., *Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2010), 1<sup>st</sup> edition, pp. 311-333.
- “Islamism in Jordan,” in Barry Rubin, ed., *Global Survey of Islamism* (M. E. Sharpe Publishers, 2009).
- “Democracy, Terrorism, and Islamist Movements: Comparing Hamas, Hizbullah, and the Islamic Action Front,” in Suleyman Ozeren et. al., eds., *Understanding Terrorism: Analysis of Sociological and Psychological Aspects*, NATO Science for Peace and Security Series (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2007), pp. 120-131.
- “Jordan: The Politics of Alliance and Foreign Policy,” in Jeanne A. K. Hey, ed., *Small States in World Politics: Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Press, 2003), pp. 135-155.
- “Syrian Arab Republic” in David Long and Bernard Reich, eds., *Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Boulder: Westview, 2002), pp. 225-245.
- “Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan” in David Long and Bernard Reich, eds., *Government And Politics of the Middle East and North Africa* 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Boulder: Westview, 2002), pp. 246-266.

### Book Chapters (continued)

- "The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan." Chapter in George E. Delury and Deborah A. Kaple, eds., *World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties*, (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1999), pp. 599-604.
- "Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya." (revised and updated from Ronald Bruce St. John) in George E. Delury and Deborah A. Kaple, eds., *World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties*, (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1999), pp. 670-677.
- "Kuwait." (revised and updated from Jill Crystal and Ghassan Salame) in George E. Delury and Deborah A. Kaple, eds., *World Encyclopedia of Political Systems and Parties*, (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1999), pp. 632-636.
- "Jordan in the Middle East Peace Process: From War to Peace with Israel," in Ilan Peleg, ed., *The Middle East Peace Process: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).

### Online Articles and Essays

- "The Deeper Context to Political Unrest and Protest in Jordan," The Arab Center, Washington, DC, December 21, 2022 <https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/the-deeper-context-to-political-unrest-and-protests-in-jordan/>
- "Royal Rifts and Other Challenges in Jordan," The Arab Center, Washington, DC, April 22, 2022 <https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/royal-rifts-and-other-challenges-in-jordan/>
- "A New Cycle of Reform in Jordan," The Arab Center, Washington, DC, October 21, 2021 <https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/a-new-cycle-of-reform-in-jordan/>
- "Family Matters: Plots and Accusations in Jordan's Hashemite Monarchy," The Arab Center, Washington, DC, April 8, 2021 <https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/family-matters-plots-and-accusations-in-jordans-hashemite-monarchy/>
- "King Abdullah's Visit: Resetting American-Jordanian Relations," The Arab Center, Washington, DC, July 22, 2021 <https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/king-abdullahs-visit-resetting-american-jordanian-relations/>
- "Egypt-Iraq-Jordan Alliance Tries to Change Middle East Dynamics," The Arab Center, Washington, DC, September 16, 2020 <https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/egypt-iraq-jordan-alliance-tries-to-change-middle-east-dynamics/>
- "Jordanians worry that the 'deal of the century' will come at their expense," *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage Blog), June 1, 2019 <https://beta.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/06/01/jordanians-worry-that-deal-century-will-come-their-expense/?noredirect=on>

- “The Trump administration’s idea new idea for Israeli-Palestinian peace is actually an old, failed idea,” *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage Blog), September 12, 2018 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/09/12/is-a-jordanian-confederation-a-solution-to-israeli-palestinian-peace-not-if-you-ask-jordan/>
- “What Jordan means for NATO (and vice versa),” Institute for International Studies (Milan, Italy, July 2018) <https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/what-jordan-means-nato-and-vice-versa-20934>
- “Why Jordanians are protesting,” *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage Blog), June 4, 2018 [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/06/04/why-jordanians-are-protesting/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.180eec43a888](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/06/04/why-jordanians-are-protesting/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.180eec43a888)
- “Jordan is holding elections next week. Here’s what to expect.” *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage Blog), September 16, 2016 [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/09/16/jordansholding-elections-next-week-heres-what-toexpect/?postshare=7491474038304526&tid=ss\\_tw](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/09/16/jordansholding-elections-next-week-heres-what-toexpect/?postshare=7491474038304526&tid=ss_tw)
- “Five years after Arab uprisings, security trumps reform in Jordan,” *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage Blog), March 4, 2016 [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/03/04/five-years-after-arab-uprisings-security-trumps-reforms-injordan/?utm\\_term=.5536f104501d](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/03/04/five-years-after-arab-uprisings-security-trumps-reforms-injordan/?utm_term=.5536f104501d)
- “Déjà vu for Jordanian Election Reforms,” *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage Blog), September 2, 2015 <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/09/02/deja-vu-forjordanian-election-reforms/>
- “Not Running on Empty: Democratic Activism Against Israeli Gas in Jordan,” *Middle East Report Online*, April 16, 2015 <http://www.merip.org>
- “One Society of Muslim Brothers or Two in Jordan?,” *Middle East Report Online*, March 5, 2015 <http://www.merip.org/one-society-muslim-brothers-jordan-or-two>
- “Still Between Iraq and a Hard Place,” *Middle East Report Online*, July 14, 2014 <http://www.merip.org/still-between-iraq-hard-place>
- “The Most Important Soccer is Not Being Played in Brazil but in Refugee Camps in Jordan,” *Washington Post* (Monkey Cage Blog), June 20, 2014 <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/06/20/the-mostimportant-soccer-is-not-being-played-in-brazil-but-in-refugee-camps-in-jordan/>
- “Refugee Need and Resilience in Zaatari,” *Middle East Report Online*, June 22, 2014 <http://www.merip.org/refugee-need-resilience-zaatari>
- “A New Diplomatic Rift Between Jordan and Syria,” *Middle East Report Online*, May 29, 2104 <http://www.merip.org/new-diplomatic-rift-between-jordan-syria>



- “Jordan’s U.N. Security Council Debate,” *Foreign Policy, Middle East Channel*, November 12, 2013  
[http://mideastafrica.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/11/12/jordans\\_excellent\\_un\\_adventure](http://mideastafrica.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/11/12/jordans_excellent_un_adventure)
- “Jordan’s Website Blocking Controversy,” *Foreign Policy, Middle East Channel*, June 20, 2013  
[http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/06/20/jordans\\_website\\_blocking\\_controversy](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/06/20/jordans_website_blocking_controversy)
- “Football Matters in Jordan,” *MERIP: Middle East Report Online Blog*, June 24, 2013  
<http://www.merip.org/football-matters-jordan>
- “Jordan’s Security Dilemmas,” *Foreign Policy, Middle East Channel*, May 1, 2013  
[http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/05/01/jordans\\_security\\_dilemmas](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/05/01/jordans_security_dilemmas)
- “Jordan’s Unfinished Journey: Parliamentary Elections and the State of Reform,” *POMED: Project on Middle East Democracy, Policy Brief*, March 2013  
<http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/POMED-Policy-BriefRyan.pdf>
- “Elections, Parliament, and a ‘New’ Prime Minister in Jordan,” *Foreign Policy, Middle East Channel*, March 11, 2013  
[http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/03/11/elections\\_parliament\\_and\\_a\\_new\\_prime\\_minister\\_in\\_jordan](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/03/11/elections_parliament_and_a_new_prime_minister_in_jordan)
- “What to Expect from Jordan’s Elections,” *Foreign Policy, Middle East Channel*, January 18, 2013  
[http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/01/18/what\\_to\\_expect\\_from\\_jordan\\_s\\_elections](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/01/18/what_to_expect_from_jordan_s_elections)
- “What’s (Maybe) New in Jordan,” *Foreign Policy, Middle East Channel*, October 11, 2012  
[http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/10/11/change\\_and\\_continuity\\_leading\\_into\\_jordan\\_s\\_new\\_elections](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/10/11/change_and_continuity_leading_into_jordan_s_new_elections)
- “Jordan’s High Stakes Electoral Reform,” *Foreign Policy, Middle East Channel*, June 29, 2012  
[http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/06/29/stakes\\_are\\_high\\_for\\_jordans\\_latest\\_electoral\\_reform](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/06/29/stakes_are_high_for_jordans_latest_electoral_reform)
- “The Rise of the Islamist Spring?” Cover Story, *Jordan Business Magazine*, May 2012  
<http://www.jordan-business.net/images/stories/may2012/coverstory.pdf>
- “The Implications of Jordan’s New Electoral Law,” *Foreign Policy, MEC*, April 13, 2012  
[http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/04/13/the\\_implications\\_of\\_jordans\\_new\\_electoral\\_law](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/04/13/the_implications_of_jordans_new_electoral_law)
- “The Politics of FIFA and the Hijab,” *Foreign Policy, MEC*, February 28, 2012  
[http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/02/28/the\\_politics\\_of\\_fifa\\_and\\_the\\_hijab](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/02/28/the_politics_of_fifa_and_the_hijab)

- “Identity and Corruption in Jordanian Politics,” *Foreign Policy, MEC*, February 9, 2012  
[http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/02/09/identity\\_and\\_corruption\\_in\\_jordanian\\_politics](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/02/09/identity_and_corruption_in_jordanian_politics)
- “The King’s Speech,” *Foreign Policy, Middle East Channel*, June 17, 2011  
[http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/06/17/the\\_kings\\_speech](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/06/17/the_kings_speech)
- “Déjà vu all over again?: Jordan’s 2010 Elections,” *Foreign Policy, Middle East Channel*, November 15, 2010  
[http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/11/15/jordanians\\_go\\_to\\_the\\_polls](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/11/15/jordanians_go_to_the_polls)
- “We are all Jordan ... But who is ‘We’?” *Middle East Report Online*, July 13, 2010  
<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero071310.html>
- “Jordan’s New Electoral Law: Reform, Reaction, or Status Quo?” *Foreign Policy, Middle East Channel*, May 24, 2010  
<http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/05/24>
- “Jordan is Talking, But is Anyone Listening?” *Foreign Policy, Middle East Channel*, April 16, 2010  
<http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/04/16>
- “Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (1914-1953)” and “Jordan, Hashemite Monarchy” in *Encyclopedia of World History: The Contemporary World, 1950 to the Present*, Volume VI. Marsha Ackerman et.al., eds. (Facts on File, 2008), pp. 143-144, 233234.
- “Jordan: Islamic Action Front Presses for Role in Governing,” *Arab Reform Bulletin*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, June 2006:  
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=18233&prog=zgp&proj=zdr1,zme#ryan>
- “Reform Retreats Amid Jordan’s Political Storms,” *Middle East Report Online*, June 2005: <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero061005.html>
- “Arab Legion” (updated from Jenab Tutunji, pp. 257-259), “Tujan Faysal” (pp. 819-820), “Islamic Action Front” (pp. 1150-1151), “Jordan River” (updated from Sara Reguer, pp. 1247-1250), “Noor al-Hussein [Queen Noor]” (1691-1692), “Rania al-Abdallah [Queen Rania]” (p. 1902): entries in the *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa*, Second Edition (MacMillan Reference USA, 2004).
- “Political Opposition, Democracy and Jordan’s 2003 Elections,” *Perihelion*, Online Journal of the European Rim Policy and Investment Council, August 2003.  
<http://www.erpil.org/perihelion/articles2003/august.htm>
- “Liberalization and Deliberalization in Jordan,” *Perihelion*, Online Journal of the European Rim Policy and Investment Council, February 2003.  
<http://www.erpil.org/perihelion/articles2003/february.htm>
- “Jordan’s Changing Relations,” *Middle East Insight* 15 (6) November-December 2000: 83-87.

“U.S. Interests in the Middle East,” “The Arab-Israeli Conflict,” “The Persian Gulf War,” and “Other Issues in the Region” (1999): four essays published online as chapter updates for the Middle East educational package of the *Southern Center for International Studies* ([www.southerncenter.org/educate/m\\_east.html](http://www.southerncenter.org/educate/m_east.html)).

## **Review Essays**

- Review of Janine Clark, *Local Politics in Jordan and Morocco: Strategies of Centralization and Decentralization*, in *Perspectives on Politics* 18 (1) 2020: 311-312.
- Review of Benjamin Schuetze, *Promoting Democracy, Reinforcing Authoritarianism: US and European Policy in Jordan*, in *Middle East Journal* 74 (2) Summer 2020: 330-332.
- Review of Joshua Stacher, *Adaptable Autocrats: Regime Power in Egypt and Syria*, in *Middle East Journal* 67 (2) Spring 2013: 325-326.
- Review of Marc Lynch, *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East*, in *Middle East Journal* 66 (4) August 2012: 753-754.
- Review of Valentine M. Moghadam, *Globalization and Social Movements: Islamism, Feminism, and the Global Justice Movement* in *Gender and Society* 25 (4) 2011: 530-532.
- “Same as the Old Boss? Bashar al-Asad and Modern Syria,” Review of David W. Lesch, *New Lion of Damascus*, in *H-Net Reviews in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, October 2008.
- Review of Marc Lynch, *State Interests and Public Spheres: The International Politics of Jordan's Identity*, in *Middle East Journal* 55 (1) 2001: 135-137.
- Review of John R. Gee, *Unequal Conflict: The Palestinians and Israel*, in *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 34 (1) 2000: 113-114.
- Review of Timothy J. Piro, *The Political Economy of Market Reform in Jordan*, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 31 (4) 1999: 669-670.
- Review of Yehuda Lukacs, *Israel, Jordan, and the Peace Process*, in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 28 (1) Autumn 1998: 105-106.
- Review of Steve A. Yetiv, *America and the Persian Gulf: The Third Party Dimension in World Politics*, in *Naval War College Review*, Winter 1997: 144-145.
- Review of Youssef M. Choueri, ed., *State and Society in Syria and Lebanon*, in *Journal Of Third World Studies*, v. 13, Spring 1996: 387-391.
- Review of *Lifting the Fog: Intrigue in the Middle East*, in *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 26, 1992: 121-122.

## **CONFERENCE AND UNIVERSITY PRESENTATIONS**

“Waves of Protest and Activism in Jordan after the Arab Spring: Changing Protest and Changing State Responses.” Middle East Studies Association (MESA). Denver, CO, December 1-4, 2022.

- “Shifts in U.S.-Jordanian Relations, from Obama to Trump to Biden.” Presented at the Regional Security Conference of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the al-Quds Research Center, Amman, Jordan, November 6-8, 2021.
- “A 75-year Alliance? Changes in U.S.-Jordanian Relations.” Presented at the Hashemite University Conference on the Image of Jordan in the World in 100 Years. Amman, Jordan, November 2-4, 2021.
- “Jordan and the Arab Uprisings: Reform and Resistance in the Hashemite Kingdom.” Presented as part of the 2020 Book Award for the Southeast Regional Middle East and Islamic Studies Society (SERMEISS). October 13, 2021. Online.
- “Regional Alliances – Ten Years After the Arab Uprisings.” Presentation for roundtable at the Middle East Studies Association (MESA), (online), October 16, 2020.
- “The Impact of Multipolarity on Regional Alliances in the Middle East.” Presentation for SEPAD – Project on Sectarianism, Proxies, and De-Sectarianization, Lancaster University, U.K. (online), June 29, 2020.
- “Jordan and the United States.” Presentation as part of the annual conference of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, “Jordan in a Changing Regional and International Environment,” Amman, Jordan, February 8, 2020.
- “Shifting Theories and Shifting Alliances in the ‘New’ Middle East.” Presentation for the Middle East Studies Association (MESA), New Orleans, LA, November 15, 2019.
- “Changes in U.S.-Jordan Relations.” Keynote presentation at the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Amman, Jordan, September 1, 2019.
- “Alliances and Jordanian Foreign Policy.” Presentation to the Youth Foreign Policy Academy, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Amman, Jordan, August 30, 2019.
- “Youth, Activism, and Protest: The Jordanian Movement Against Israeli Gas,” for the Youth and Politics in the Middle East Workshop, Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS), Amman, Jordan, June 20, 2019.
- “Reform, Resistance, and Refugees: Jordan and the Arab Uprisings.” Book presentation at Georgetown University, the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Washington, DC, February 22, 2019.
- “Jordan and the Arab Uprisings.” Book presentation at the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS), University of Jordan, Amman, Jordan, November 5, 2018.
- “Reform, Resistance, and Refugees: Jordan and the Arab Uprisings.” Book presentation at Stanford University, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), Stanford, CA, October 23, 2018.
- “Reform, Resistance, and Refugees: Jordan and the Arab Uprisings.” Book presentation at Harvard University, Belfer Center, Kennedy School, Cambridge, MA, October 17, 2018.
- “Reform, Resistance, and Refugees: Jordan and the Arab Uprisings.” Book presentation at Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, NC, October 3, 2018.
- “Jordan and the Arab Uprisings” – Book Launch (U.S.), Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS), Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, Washington, DC, September 24, 2018.

- “Jordan: Regime Survival and Politics Beyond the State” – Book Launch (U.K.), Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs. London, United Kingdom, June 26, 2018.
- “Sectarianism in Less Likely Places: The Impact of Rising Sectarianism Even in Jordan.” Paper co-presented with Morten Valbjorn at the Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, DC, November 2017.
- “Crossfire: Jordanian Policy Between ISIS and the Syrian Civil War.” Presented at the Annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Boston, MA, November 18, 2016.
- “New Election, New Islamists: An Analysis of Jordan’s 2016 Elections.” Southeast Regional Middle East and Islamic Studies Seminar, (SERMEISS), Valle Crucis, NC, October 14, 2016.
- “Linking the Domestic, Regional, and Global After the Arab Spring,” Roundtable, International Studies Association (ISA), Atlanta, GA, March 17, 2016.
- “Regime Security and Shifting Alliances in the Middle East,” Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) Symposium on International Relations Theory and the Middle East, Aarhus University, Aarhus, Denmark, May 7-8, 2015.
- “Political Opposition and Identity Politics in Jordan.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, DC, November 22-25, 2014.
- “Security Dilemmas and the Security State Question in Jordan,” Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) Symposium on the Arab Thermidor, London School of Economics (LSE), London, United Kingdom, October 2014.
- “Jordan in the Crossfire: Refugees, Jihadis, and Regional Wars.” Paper presented at the Southeast Regional Middle East and Islamic Studies Seminar (SERMEISS), Valle Crucis, NC, October 17-19, 2014.
- “Navigating Between Internal and External Pressures: Jordanian Foreign Policy and the Arab Spring.” Paper presented at the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, October 10-13, 2013.
- “A Report from the 2013 Election Observer Mission: The 2013 Elections and the Meaning of the ‘Arab Spring’ in Jordan.” Paper presented at the Southeast Regional Middle East and Islamic Studies Seminar (SERMEISS), Emory University, Atlanta, GA. March 9, 2013.
- “First Annual Herbert L. Bodman Memorial Lecture: Regional Politics After the Arab Spring: From Pan-Arabism to the New Arab Cold War.” Invited lecture to the Southeast Regional Middle East and Islamic Studies Seminar (SERMEISS), University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, March 19, 2012.
- “The Rise of the Jordanian Tea Party Movement.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, DC. December 3, 2011.
- “Jordanian Diplomacy and Regional Crises: Implications for U.S.-Jordanian Relations.” Paper presented at the 2010 conference on Arab Diplomacy at the Hashemite University, Amman and Zarqa, Jordan, December 1-3, 2010.

- “Jordan’s 2010 National Elections.” Presented at George Washington University, Washington, D.C. October 4, 2010.
- “Ideology, Political Economy, and Regime Security in Arab Alliance Politics.” Paper presented at the 2009 meeting of the International Studies Association – South, Tennessee State University, Nashville, Tennessee, October 17, 2009.
- “Shades of Green: From Democratic to Militant Islamism in Jordan.” Paper presented to 2<sup>nd</sup> Istanbul Conference on Democracy and Global Security. June 2007.
- “Democracy, Terrorism, and Islamist Movements: Comparing Hizbullah, Hamas, and the Islamic Action Front.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Criminal Justice Association, Charleston, SC. September 2006.
- “Ballots or Bullets? Terrorism, Democracy, and Islamist Movements in the Arab World.” Paper presented for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Workshop on Understanding and Responding to Terrorism. Washington, DC. September 2006.
- “Jordanian Foreign Policy Decision-making and the Second U.S.-Iraq War.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association. High Point University, High Point, NC. March 2006.
- “Iraq and Roles: Jordan and the U.S. War on Iraq.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association. Washington, D.C. November 2005.
- “Pariah States and Double Standards: Cuba, Syria, and U.S. Policy.” Paper presented with Renee Scherlen at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association Southwest. New Orleans, Louisiana. March 2005.
- “Return to Democratization? Jordan’s 2003 Elections and the Question of Democracy Under King Abdullah II.” Presented at the fall meeting of the Southeast Regional Middle East and Islamic Studies Seminar. Valle Crucis, NC. October 2004.
- “‘Jordan First’: Jordanian Foreign Policy and Domestic Consequences.” Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwest International Studies Association. Corpus Christi, TX. March 2004.
- “Building Bridges: Jordan’s Inter-Arab Relations and Foreign Policy Under King Abdullah II.” Presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association. Washington, DC. November 2002.
- “Ending the Jordanian-Syrian ‘Cold War’.” Presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association. San Francisco, CA. November 2001.
- “Alliances and Jordanian Foreign Policy.” Presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Chicago, IL. February 2001.
- “Syria Under Bishar.” Invited lecture for the Syrian Studies Association at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association. Orlando, FL. November 2000.
- “Dynastic Monarchy, Dynastic Republic? Political Systems and Succession in Jordan and Syria.” Presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association. Orlando, FL. November 2000.

- "Alliances, Cooperation, and Security in the Arab State System." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Washington, DC. September 2000.
- "Alliances and Middle East Security at Century's End." Presented at the annual meeting of the International Security Studies Section of the International Studies Association. Washington, DC. November 1999.
- "Ideology and Political Economy in inter-Arab Alliances." Presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association (ISA). Washington, DC. February 1999.
- "Regime Security and Jordanian Alignments in the New World Order." Presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association. Chicago, IL. December 1998.
- "Democratization in Crisis? Parties, the Press, and Elections in Jordan." Presented at the Fall meeting of the Southeast Regional and Islamic Studies Seminar (SERMEISS). Valle Crucis, NC. October 1998.
- "Economic Adjustment and Political Instability: Jordan and the I.M.F." Presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, CA. November 1997.
- "Has the Oslo Peace Process Collapsed?" Discussant for presentation by A. Richard Norton, Reves Center for International Studies, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA. May 1997.
- "Domestic Dimensions of the Security Dilemma in Arab Politics." Presented at the Annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Providence, R.I. November 1996.
- "Domestic Politics and International Alignments." Presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association (ISA), Chicago, IL. February 1995.
- "Alliances and Inter-Arab Politics: Jordan and the Arab Cooperation Council." Presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association. Phoenix, AZ. November 1994.
- "The Politics of Succession, II: Syria after President Asad." Presented at the fall meeting of SERMEISS, Valle Crucis, NC. October 1994.
- "The Politics of Succession, I: Jordan after King Husayn." Presented at the spring meeting of SERMEISS, Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, GA. March 1994.
- "State Security and Shifting Arab Alignments." Presented to the Triangle Universities Security Seminar (TUSS) meeting at North Carolina State University, Raleigh, NC. January 1994.
- "Democratization and the Making of Jordanian Foreign Policy." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Research Triangle Park, NC. November 1993.
- "Jordan After the Gulf War: The Political and Economic Impact." Presented at the Fall meeting of SERMEISS, Valle Crucis, NC. October 1991.

"From Crisis to War: Origins and Aftermath Effects of the 1990-91 Persian Gulf Crisis."  
 Presented at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Political Science  
 Association, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, NC. March 1991.

### **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND SERVICE**

Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS)

2012-present. Member of the POMEPS Steering Committee.

Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP) and *Middle East Report*

2019-2020. Vice Chair of the Editorial Committee (elected)

2012-present. Member of the Editorial Committee.

Southeast Regional Middle East and Islamic Studies Society (SERMEISS)

2010-present. Program Chair

2004-2006, 2006-2008. President (elected)

1998-2002. Vice-President and Program Chair (elected)

1996-2000. Executive Board Member (elected to two consecutive terms).

American Political Science Association

2023 Co-Chair for the APSA Middle East Politics section program for APSA  
 meeting in Los Angeles, CA, in September 2023

International Studies Association

Middle East Studies Association