

Andrew Leber/Assistant Professor/Department of Political Science & MENA Studies Program

## EDUCATIONAL RECORD

Harvard University Fall 2022

Ph.D. in Government

Dissertation Title: "The Reformer's Dilemma: Authoritarian Policymaking in Saudi Arabia"

Dissertation Committee: Melani Cammett, Torben Iversen, Yuhua Wang, F. Gregory Gause III

Harvard University Spring 2021

MA in Government

Brown University 2012

B.A. in International Relations

## ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

Assistant Professor of Political Science Fall 2022-Present

Tulane University, New Orleans, LA

Instructor, Department of Political Science Fall 2021

University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA

## PUBLICATIONS & WORKS

### *Published Peer-Reviewed Articles*

- "Saudization in a "Saudi First" Kingdom," accepted for publication at *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*.
- "Personalization and Domestic Policy Outcomes: Evidence from Saudi Arabia," *Democratization*, online pre-print (December 2024).
- "Whose War is it Anyway? Explaining the Black-White Gap in Support for the Use of Force Abroad," *Security Studies* 32, no. 4-5 (2023). (with Naima Green-Riley)
- "When Can Dictators Go It Alone? Personalization and Oversight in Authoritarian Regimes," *Politics & Society* 51, no. 1 (2023). (with Chris Carothers and Matthew Reichart)
- "Defining the 'Tribal Advantage' in Kuwaiti Politics," *Middle East Law & Governance* 14, no. 2(August 2022): 205-234. (with Courtney Freer)
- "Electronic Armies or Cyber Knights? The sources of pro-authoritarian discourse on Middle East Twitter," *International Journal of Communication* 15 (2021): 1173-1199. (with Alexei Abrahams)
- "Framing a murder: Twitter influencers and the Jamal Khashoggi incident," *Mediterranean Politics* 26, no. 2(2021): 247-259. (with Alexei Abrahams)
- "Making Moves: Reading Saudi Social Change through Commercial Tabletop Games," *Journal of Arabian Humanities* 14 (2020).



- “Seek Fact from Texts: Reading Saudi Media on China amid the COVID-19 Pandemic,” *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies* 14, no. 4 (2020): 538-553.
- “Saudi Arabia Plans for its Economic Future: Vision 2030, the National Transformation Plan, and Fiscal Reform in Saudi Arabia,” *British Journal of Middle East Studies* 47, no. 3 (2020), 381-401. (with Daniel Moshashai and James Savage)
- “A Storm of Tweets: Social Media Manipulation During the Gulf Crisis,” *Review of Middle East Studies* 53, no. 2 (2019), 241-258. (with Alexei Abrahams)
- “China and the Middle East after the Arab Spring: From Status-Quo Observing to Proactive Engagement,” *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies* 13, no. 1 (2019): 1-17. (with Ibrahim Fraihat)

*Published Peer-Reviewed Book Chapters*

- “National Transformation Plans: Saudi Arabia and Vision 2030” in *Handbook of Arab Authoritarianism*, ed. Dana El Kurd, forthcoming (2025).
- “Foreign Scholarship Programs in Algeria and Saudi Arabia,” in *The Political Economy of Education in the Arab World*, eds. Hicham Alaoui and Robert Springborg, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2021): 147-182. (with Adel Hamaizia)
- “Gulf Security Architecture and the Potential Role of Europe” in *The European Union and the Gulf Cooperation Council: The Path Forward*, eds. Adel Abdel Ghafar and Silvia Colombo (Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore, 2021): pp. 207-237. (with Adel Abdel Ghafar)

*Peer-Reviewed Articles Under Review*

- “Framing and Fundamentals in Authoritarian Performance Legitimacy: Evidence from Saudi Arabia.” (with Jonas Draege).

*Peer-Reviewed Book Manuscript in Preparation*

- *The Reformer’s Dilemma: Authoritarian Policymaking in Saudi Arabia.*

*Peer-Reviewed Articles in Preparation*

- “Voice(s) of the Nation: Competing Pro-State Narratives in Saudi Arabia.” (with Bruno Schmidt-Feuerheerd).
- “Mr. Otaiba Goes to Washington: Direct and Indirect Effects of Foreign Lobbying in the United States,” article manuscript.
- “The (Shaky) Moral Foundations of the U.S.-Saudi Relationship,” article manuscript.



### *Reviews and Review Essays*

- Review: *Reinventing the Sheikdom: Clan, Power and Patronage in Mohammed Bin Zayed's UAE* by Matthew Hedges (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2022) in *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no. 4 (2023): 118-121
- Review: *Digital Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Deception, Disinformation and Social Media* Marc Owen Jones (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2022) in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 55, no. 4 (2023): 818-820
- “When the oil runs out: Changing rentier politics in the greater Mediterranean region,” *Mediterranean Politics* 24, no. 5 (2019): 665-673.

### *Non Peer-Reviewed Policy Publications*

- “Vision 2030 in the Home Stretch: Clear Achievements yet Limited Accountability,” Peper, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, March 10, 2025
- “Making sense of a proposed US-Saudi deal,” Commentary, Brookings Institution, July 10, 2024.
- “However Difficult, the United States Should Still Pursue Israeli-Palestinian Peace,” *War on the Rocks*, November 27, 2023 (with Galen Jackson)
- “America and Saudi Arabia Are Stuck With Each Other,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 1. (2022). (with Yasmine Farouk).
- “‘If Only the Governor Knew’: Subnational Contestation in Saudi Arabia,” APSA-MENA Newsletter 5, no. 1 (2022): 21-26
- “Social Media Manipulation in the MENA: Inauthenticity, Inequality, and Insecurity,” *POMEPS Studies* 43. (2021). (with Alexei Abrahams)
- “China and COVID-19 in Saudi Arabia,” *War on the Rocks*, April 23. (2020).
- “Is Oil Wealth Good for Private Sector Development?,” *Working Papers* 1299, Economic Research Forum. (2019). (with Melani Cammett and Ishac Diwan)
- “Resisting Rentierism: Labor Market Reforms in Saudi Arabia,” *POMEPS Studies* 33. (2019).
- “Introduction: Ties That No Longer Bind? Present Dynamics and Future Prospects for the U.S.-Saudi Relationship,” Policy Roundtable, *Texas National Security Review*, February 13. (2020).
- “Saudi Arabia and the U.S. Congress: Cooperation and Opposition Since 9/11,” *Dirasat* 44, King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies. (2019).
- “Onwards and Upwards with Women in the Gulf,” *MERIP*, January 11. (2018). (with Charlotte Lysa)
- “Is the Saudi Purge Really About Corruption?” *Foreign Affairs* Online, 15 November. (2017). (with Christopher Carothers)



April 30, 2025



*General Audience Publications*

- “Trump’s Gaza Comments Aren’t Receiving a Warm Welcome in the Middle East,” Q&A, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 11, 2025
- “Night Vision,” The Baffler, April 18, 2024
- "هامش الادخار السعودي في مستقبل ما بعد النفط" [The Saudi savings rate in a post-oil future], Thmanyah, June 10 (2021). (with Eman Al Hussein)
- “The ‘tribal advantage’ in Kuwaiti politics and the future of the opposition,” Order from Chaos, Brookings Institution, April 19, 2021 (with Courtney Freer)
- “Saudi Twitter blew up with support for the crown prince. How much of it is genuine?,” The Washington Post, March 9, 2021 (with Alexei Abrahams)
- “What’s Missing in the Recalibration of the U.S.-Saudi Relationship? People.” Commentary, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, March 4. (2021). (with Yasmine Farouk)
- "حرب الخليج: التكنولوجيا العسكرية وعقدة الانتصار الأميركي" [The Gulf War: Military technology and the American victory Complex]. Thmanyah, Feb. 9. (2021).
- "بعد انتخابات كارثية، هل سيبقى المجمع الانتخابي في أميركا؟" [After disastrous elections, will the Electoral College remain as it is in America?]. Thmanyah, Nov. 20. (2020).
- "السياسة الخارجية الأميركية: ماذا لو فاز بايدن بالانتخابات؟" [US Foreign Policy: What if Biden Wins?]. Thmanyah, June 23. (2020).
- “Hidden Hands or Inspiring Example? Gulf Perspectives on the ‘American Spring’,” Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington [blog post], June 11. (2020).
- "عنف الفوضى أم عنف الدولة؟" [Violence of Chaos or Violence of the State?]. Thmanyah, June 10. (2020).
- “North by southwest: Outlying Saudi regions face economic change, retain culture,” Al Arabiya, February 17. (2019).
- “Differences of Opinion? Saudi Op-eds and Confrontation with Iran,” Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington [blog post], May 23. (2019).
- “Hot Dates in the Saudi Desert,” Slate, September 25, 2017

*Creative Works (Translations)*

- Abdoo Taj. “Losing a Head,” in *The Book of Sana’a*, ed. Laura Kasinof (Comma Press, forthcoming)
- Mohammad al-Kheir. “The Mistake,” in *Cairo +100*, ed. Ahmed Naji (Comma Press, 2024)
- Najlaa Attallah. “Where should we go, then?,” AGNI Online, December 13, 2023.
- Khaled Hourani. “Surda, Surda! Ramallah, Ramallah!” in *The Book of Ramallah*, ed. Maya Abu Al Hayat (Comma Press, 2021)
- Maqbul Al-Alawi. “Phantom of the Sands,” in *ArabLit Quarterly: Dreams* (Winter 2020)



- Maqbul Al-Alawi. "A Group to Honor the Deceased," in *ArabLit Quarterly: The Road* (Spring 2020)
- Anwar Hamed. "The Key," in *Palestine +100*, ed. Basma Ghalayini (Comma Press, 2019)
- Nahla Karam. "The Other Balcony," in *The Book of Cairo*, ed. Raphael Cormack (Comma Press, 2019)
- Diaa Jubaili. "The Worker," in *Iraq +100*, ed. Hassan Blasim (Comma Press, 2016)

## INVITED LECTURES & WORKSHOPS

- "Shades of Green: Intermediaries of Legitimation in Saudi State Narratives," Harriman Institute (Columbia University) invited workshop "Authoritarian Propaganda and Media Control: New Conceptual Approaches and Empirical Evidence," New York City, NY, October 2023
- "The Ends Justify (Studying) the Means: Policymaking & Personalization in Saudi Arabia," German Area Studies Institute (GIGA) invited workshop "The Personalization of Political Power Revisited," Hamburg, Germany, June 2023
- "Inauthenticity, Inequality, and Insecurity: Social Media Manipulation in MENA", POMEPS and Stanford University invited workshop, "Digital Activism and Authoritarian Adaptation in the Middle East," online, May 2021
- "Resisting Rentierism: Evidence from Saudi Arabia", Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) invited workshop, Washington, D.C., September 2019

## OTHER PRESENTATIONS

- "Ideas & Regional Development Policy in Saudi Arabia," *Midwestern Political Science Association*, Annual Conference, April 18, 2025
- "What's in a Coalition?" *American Political Science Association*, Annual Conference, September 2024
- "Framing a Murder: Narratives of Repression in Saudi Arabia," *Middle East Studies Association of North America* Annual Conference, November 2023
- "Ideas & Bureaucratic Advocacy in Authoritarian Distribution," *Midwestern Political Science Association*, Annual Conference, April 15, 2023
- "Framing & Fundamentals in Authoritarian Performance Legitimacy: Evidence from Saudi Arabia," *Western Political Science Association* Annual Conference, April 6, 2023
- "What do we talk about when we talk about Islamists?" with Morten Valbjorn, *Middle East Studies Association of North America* Annual Conference, December 4, 2022.
- "Intervening Variables: Racial Differences in Support for the Use of Force Abroad," with Naima Green-Riley, *American Political Science Association* Annual Conference, Washington D.C., October 1, 2021.



- “A Changing Saudi Labor Market: Gender, Geography, and Inequality,” with Jonas Draege, Labor Transformation and Regime Transition: Lessons from the Middle East and North Africa (POMEPS/Cornell ILR virtual workshop), April 30, 2021
- “Dictating Terms: Difficult Reforms and Coalition-building in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain,” *American Political Science Association* Annual Conference, Washington D.C., 31 August 2019.
- “Dictating Terms: Coalition Change in Authoritarian Regimes,” invited talk, University of Massachusetts Amherst, March 1, 2019.
- “Locked out of the Coalition: Threats to Rulers and Partner Switching in the Arab Gulf,” *Middle East Studies Association* Annual Conference, Washington D.C., November 21, 2017.
- “Decoding the Kefala: The Political Logic of Migrant Labor Policy in the Arab Gulf States,” *Middle East Studies Association* Annual Conference, Boston, November 19, 2016.

## RESEARCH SUPPORT

### *Tulane Sources*

- Tulane Committee on Research Fellowship Grant, “The U.S.-Saudi Security Partnership: Values as Interests?,” 2023-24 (\$7,000)
- Tulane Carol Lavin Bernick Faculty Grant, “Personalism & Policymaking in the post-Arab Spring Middle East,” 2024-25 (\$7,500)

### *Non-Tulane Sources*

- National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship, 2016-2021 (~\$100,000)
- (with Jonas Draege) Harvard Kennedy School Center for International Development, Evidence for Policy Design, “Regional Attitudes and Saudi Labor-Market Policies,” 2019-20 (~\$100,000)
- Project on Middle East Political Science Travel, Research, Engagement Grant, “The U.S.-Saudi Security Partnership: Values as Interests?,” 2023 (\$3,000, not funded)
- Louisiana Board of Regents, Research Competitiveness Sub-Program, “U.S. Public Attitudes & Policymaking Towards Middle East Oil Producers,” 2023 (\$17,933, not funded)

## OTHER FUNDING SUPPORT

### *Tulane Sources*

- Classroom Enhancement Grant, Center for Engaged Learning and Teaching, POLI 4660 Middle East Security, Fall 2022 (\$400)
- Faculty Book Manuscript Workshop Grant, Provost’s Office, AY 2024-25 (\$6,200)

## SERVICE: DEPARTMENT & PROGRAM COMMITTEES



*Tulane, Department of Political Science*

- Graduate Studies Committee (2022-23)
- Hiring Committee, Comparative Politics of Advanced Industrial Democracies search (2023)
- Hiring Committee, Comparative Politics of Authoritarianism search (2024)

*Tulane, Middle East & North Africa Studies (MENA) Program*

- Executive Committee (2022-present)

**SERVICE: ACADEMIC PROGRAMING**

*Tulane University, General*

- Invited faculty speaker, events hosted by *Tulane Journal of Policy and Political Economy*
  - “International Politics,” April 17, 2023
  - “Pathways to Peace: Peacebuilding in Israel and Palestine,” April 17, 2024
- Advisor, Student Conduct Process (2023-present)
- Participant, “New Faces and Methods in Authoritarian Politics,” conference co-organized by Center on Inter-American Policy & Research (CIPR) and Authoritarian Political Systems Group (May 23-24, 2024)
- Discussant, “Democracy and Authoritarianism in Historical Latin America,” conference organized by CIPR (May 31, 2024)

*Department of Political Science*

- Co-organizer, seminar lecture, “Corrupt State or Corrupt Society? Strategic Contexts of Corruption and Political Culture Outcomes,” Calvert Jones, Associate Professor, University of Maryland (April 2023)
- Co-organizer & participant, faculty Q&A on Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (October 12 & 31, 2023)
- Co-organizer, Murphy Seminar in Political Science (2023-present)

*MENA Studies Program*

- Organizer, screening, *Persepolis* (October 2022)
- Organizer, panel discussion, “Labor Rights, Qatar, and the World Cup,” Vani Saraswathi, *Migrant Rights* advocacy organization, and Roula Seghaier, International Domestic Workers Federation (December 2022)
- Co-organizer, reception, Tulane MENA Studies and Association for Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies at Middle East Studies Association of North America (November 2023)



- Organizer, public lecture, “Love, Fear, Anger, Sorrow: Diseases of the Soul in "Islamicate" Literature,” Kevin Blankenship, Associate Professor, Brigham Young University (December 2023)
- Co-organizer, musical event, “Moroccan Rhythms, NOLA Beats,” Mahmoud Chouki, local performer, (April 2024)

## **PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

### *Professional Memberships*

- American Political Science Association (2016-present)
- Middle East Studies Association of North America (2016-present)

### *Journal Reviewer*

- American Political Science Review
- Studies in Comparative International Development
- International Security
- International Studies Quarterly
- Mediterranean Politics
- British Journal of Middle East Studies