

# Steven D. Schaaf

---

- Contact Information** George Washington University  
Monroe Hall, Room 427  
2215 G. St., NW  
Washington, DC 20052  
Phone: (316) 207-7076  
E-mail: [stevenschaaf@gwu.edu](mailto:stevenschaaf@gwu.edu)  
Website: [www.stevenschaaf.com](http://www.stevenschaaf.com)
- Areas of Specialization** Authoritarianism, Middle East Politics, Comparative Judicial Politics, Rule of Law, Quantitative Research Methods, Surveys and Experiments.
- Education**
- George Washington University** **Washington, D. C.**  
*Ph.D., Political Science. Expected: May 2021.*
- Dissertation: Litigating the Authoritarian State: Legal Mobilization and Judicial Politics in the Middle East
  - Committee: Nathan Brown (Chair), Celeste Arrington, Yonatan Lupu, Paul Wahlbeck
  - Fields: Comparative Politics (Major), Quantitative/Qualitative Methods (Minor)
- M.A., Political Science. Conferred: 2017.*
- Drake University** **Des Moines, Iowa**  
*B.A., International Relations and Law, Politics & Society. Conferred: 2013. Summa Cum Laude.*
- Peer Reviewed Publications**
- “Is There a Trump Effect? An Experiment on Political Polarization and Audience Costs.” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (2019), 433–452 (with Miles Evers and Aleksander Fisher).
- Articles Under Peer Review**
- “Contentious Politics in the Courthouse: Law As a Tool for Resisting Authoritarian States in the Middle East.” R&R. *Law & Society Review*.
  - “When Do Courts Constrain the Authoritarian State? Judicial-Decision Making in Jordan and Palestine.” Under Review.
- Book Project**
- *Authoritarianism from the Inside: How State Institutions Realize Autonomy under Authoritarian Regimes*. Book manuscript. (with Nathan Brown, Samer Anabtawi and Julian Waller).
- Edited Book Volumes**
- “Administrative Courts and Dual States: Moving and Patrolling the Border in Egypt,” in *Tackling the Authoritarian Rule of Law*, Ed. Jens Meierhenrich. New York: Cambridge University Press. Forthcoming. (with Nathan Brown).
- Published Book Reviews**
- “Review of *Constituting Religion: Islam, Liberal Rights and the Malaysian State* by Tamir Moustafa.” *Law and Politics Book Review*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (2018).
- Published Policy Writing**
- “If Trump Backs Down from His Latest Iran Threat, Will He Lose Support?” *Washington Post, Monkey Cage*, June 2019. (with Miles Evers and Aleksander Fisher).
  - “The Administrative Judiciary in Jordan.” ACOR Jordan, December 2017.
- Working Papers & Ongoing Research**
- “Does the Spread of COVID-19 in the U.S. Strengthen Authoritarian Rule Abroad? Experimental Evidence from Russia.” (with Miles Evers and Aleksandr Fisher).
  - “Explaining Bottom-Up Support for Authoritarianism in the United States: Survey Evidence from the 2020 Election.” (with Miles Evers).
  - “Assessing the Predictive Power of Statistical Models of International Conflict.” (with Yonatan Lupu and Matthew Fuhrmann).
  - “Choosing the Court’s Vehicle: Supreme Court Agenda Setting.” (with Paul Wahlbeck).

## Grants and Fellowships

- **Dean’s Graduate Instructorship** (Jan. 2021–May. 2021). George Washington University. Fellowship award to teach PSC 3192: “The Rule of Law under Dictatorship and Democracy.”
- **Dean’s Dissertation Completion Fellowship** (Aug. 2020–Dec. 2020). George Washington University. Fellowship award for dissertation project: “Litigating the Authoritarian State.”
- **Boren Fellowship** (Dec. 2017–Dec. 2018). National Security Education Program. Field research in Amman, Jordan.
- **CAORC Doctoral Fellowship** (Sept. 2017–Dec. 2017). American Center for Oriental Research. Field research in Amman, Jordan.
- **IMES Doctoral Research Grant** (June 2017–Sept. 2017). Institute for Middle East Studies. Field research in Ramallah, Palestine.
- **Fulbright Research Fellowship** (Aug. 2013–Aug. 2014). J. William Fulbright Foundation. Field research in Amman, Jordan.
- **Travel Research Engagement Grant** (Dec. 2015–Jan. 2016). Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS). Field research in Cairo, Egypt and Doha, Qatar.
- **Foreign Language Area Studies Fellowship** (May 2015–Aug. 2015). U.S. Department of Education. Arabic language study at Princess Sumaya University in Amman, Jordan.
- **Critical Language Enhancement Grant** (Aug. 2013–Aug. 2014). Arabic language study at the Qasid Institute in Amman, Jordan.

## Conference and Workshop Presentations

- “Litigation, Legal Mobilization and Authoritarianism in the Middle East.” Presented at *American Political Science Association* (San Francisco, 2020).
- “Authoritarianism from the Inside: How and When State Institutions Realize Autonomy under Authoritarian Regimes.” Book workshop (Washington D. C. , 2020).
- “Contentious Politics in the Courthouse: Law As a Tool for Resisting Authoritarianism in the Middle East.” Presented at *American Political Science Association* (Washington D. C. , 2019). Also presented at *Interdisciplinary Middle East Politics Workshop* (Washington D. C. , 2019).
- “Administrative Courts and Dual States: Moving and Patrolling the Border in Egypt.” Presented at *Authoritarian Rule of Law Workshop* (London, 2019).
- “When Do Courts Constrain the Authoritarian State: Judicial Decision Making in Jordan and Palestine.” Presented at Comparative Politics Workshop (Washington D. C. , 2019).
- “Litigating the Authoritarian State: Judicial Politics in the Middle East.” Presented at American Center for Oriental Research (Amman, 2017).
- “Understanding Authoritarian Institutions.” Presented at Comparative Politics Workshop (Washington D. C. , 2017).
- “Choosing the Court’s Vehicle: Supreme Court Agenda Setting.” Presented at Midwest Political Science Association (Chicago, 2015).
- “Gender, Judicial Decision Making and Judicial Selection in Jordan.” Presented at Fulbright MENA Conference (Rabat, 2014).

## Teaching Experience

- PSC 3192—The Rule of Law under Dictatorship and Democracy
- Instructor. Spring 2021.
- PSC 1001—Introduction to Comparative Politics
- Teaching Assistant. Fall 2019, Spring 2016, Fall 2015.
- IAFF 1005—Introduction to International Affairs
- Teaching Assistant. Spring 2015 and Fall 2014.

**Additional Skills Languages**

- Arabic: Fluent

**Computational Skills**

- R, Stata, Python, SPSS, Qualtrics, MTurk, L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X, MS Office

**Quantitative Methods Used in Papers**

- OLS regression, logistic regression, multinomial logistic regression, Heckman selection models, risk/hazard models, survey experiments, various time-series cross-sectional models, post-estimation prediction, causal mediation analysis.

**Qualitative Methods Used in Papers**

- Participant interviews (Arabic and English), archival research (National Archives and Records of the United States), ethnographic observation (in Jordanian courthouses over a two year period), content and discourse analysis (of jurisprudence and legal reasoning for 3,175 Arab court verdicts).

**Surveys, Polls, Experiments (Domestic and International)**

- Fielded three nationally representative survey experiments in the United States.
- Fielded four nationally representative survey experiments in Jordan and Egypt.
- Currently fielding survey experiments on COVID-19 in Russia.

**Service****Discussant**

- Comparative Politics Workshop (Washington, D. C.). Feb. 2019.
- Comparative Politics Workshop (Washington, D. C.). Feb. 2017.
- Intrastate Conflict Workshop (Washington, D. C.). Feb. 2017.
- East Asian Politics Workshop (Washington, D. C.). Oct. 2016.
- Intrastate Conflict Workshop (Washington, D. C.). March 2015.
- Intrastate Conflict Workshop (Washington, D. C.). Sept. 2015.