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## CURRICULUM VITAE

GERARD TOAL / GEARÓID Ó TUATHAIL

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### Educational History:

Ph. D. Syracuse University (Geography), 1989.  
M.A. University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign (Geography), 1984.  
B.A. National University of Ireland (First Class Honours, Geography & History), 1982.

### Professional History:

- ◆ Professor, Government and International Affairs, Virginia Tech, National Capital Region, 2001-present
- ◆ Director, Government and International Affairs, Virginia Tech, National Capital Region, 2000-2016.
- ◆ Professor, Department of Geography, 2001-2003.
- ◆ Associate Professor, Department of Geography, 1994-2001.
- ◆ Assistant Professor, Department of Geography, 1989-1994.
- ◆ Lecturer in Geography, University of Liverpool, 1991-1992.
- ◆ Visiting Instructor, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, 1989.
- ◆ Visiting Instructor, Department of Geography, University of Minnesota, 1989.
- ◆ Instructor, Department of Geography, Syracuse University, 1986-87.

## SCHOLARLY RESEARCH

### Monographs:

G. Toal, **Near Abroad: Putin, the West and the Contest over Ukraine and the Caucasus**. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

- *Winner ENMISA Distinguished Book Award 2019, International Studies Association.*

G. Toal, C. Dahlman, **Bosnia Remade: Ethnic Cleansing and its Reversal**. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

- *Winner 2012 Julian Minghi Outstanding Research Award, Political Geography Specialty Group, Association of American Geographers.*
- *Winner 2013 Silver Book Award, Association of Borderland Studies.*
- *Shortlisted, 2012 Joseph Rothschild Prize in Nationalism and Ethnic Studies.*

G. Ó Tuathail, S. Dalby and P. Routledge, **A Geopolitics Reader**. Second edition. Routledge, 2006.

J. Agnew, K. Mitchell and G. Toal, eds., **A Companion to Political Geography**. Blackwell, 2004.

G. Ó Tuathail, S. Dalby and P. Routledge, **A Geopolitics Reader**. First edition. Routledge, 1998.

S. Dalby and G. Ó Tuathail, eds., **Rethinking Geopolitics**. Routledge, 1998.

A. Herod, G. Ó Tuathail and S. Roberts, eds. **An Unruly World? Geography, Globalization and Governance**. Routledge, 1998.

G. Ó Tuathail, **Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space**. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press and London: Routledge, 1996.

### **Refereed Journal Articles:**

2022

J. O'Loughlin, G. Toal, "The geopolitical orientation of ordinary Belarusians: survey evidence from early 2020." **Post-Soviet Affairs**. 38, Online, February, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2022.2030126>

2021

G. Toal, Una reflexión sobre las críticas a la Geopolítica Crítica. **Geopolítica(s). Revista de estudios sobre espacio y poder**. 12, 2, 191-206. <https://doi.org/10.5209/geop.78616>

G. Toal et al, Intervention: "Critical Geopolitics/critical geopolitics 25 years on." **Political Geography** 90, October, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2021.102421>

2020

J. O'Loughlin, G. Toal, "Does War Change Geopolitical Attitudes? A Comparative Analysis of 2014 Surveys in Southeast Ukraine." **Problems of Post-Communism**. 67, 3: 303-318. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2019.1672565>

2019

G. Toal, J. O'Loughlin, "The Crimea Conundrum: Legitimacy and Public Opinion After Annexation." **Eurasian Geography and Economics**. 60, 1: 6-27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2019.1593873>

G. Toal, G. Merabishvili, "Borderization Theatre: Geopolitical Entrepreneurship on the South Ossetia Boundary Line, 2008–2018," **Caucasus Survey**. 7, 2: 110-133. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2019.1565192>

2018

G. Toal, J. O'Loughlin, "“Why Did MH17 Crash?” Blame Attribution, Television News and Public Opinion in Southeastern Ukraine, Crimea, and the De Facto States of Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Transnistria.” **Geopolitics**. 23, 4: 882-916. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2017.1364238>

K. Bakke, A.M. Linke, J. O'Loughlin and G. Toal. “Dynamics of State Building after War: External-Internal Relations in Eurasian De Facto States” **Political Geography**. 63: 159-173. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.06.011>

2017

J. O'Loughlin, G. Toal, V. Kolosov, “The Rise and Fall of "Novorossiia: Examining Support for a Separatist Geopolitical Imaginary in Southeast Ukraine." **Post-Soviet Affairs**. 33, 2: 124-144. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2016.1146452>

2016

J. O'Loughlin, G. Toal, V. Kolosov, “Who Identifies with the “Russian World? Geopolitical Attitudes in Southeast Ukraine, Crimea, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transnistria.” **Eurasian Geography and Economics**, 57, 6, 745-778. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2017.1295275>

2014

J. O'Loughlin, V. Kolosov, G. Toal, “Inside the Post-Soviet De Facto States: A Comparison of Attitudes in Abkhazia, Nagorny Karabakh, South Ossetia, and Transnistria,” **Eurasian Geography and Economics**. 55, 5, 423-456. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2015.1012644>

G. Toal, A. Maksic, ““Serbs, You are Allowed to be Serbs”: Radovan Karadžić and the 1990 Election Campaign in Bosnia-Herzegovina.” **Ethnopolitics**. 13, 3, 267-287. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449057.2013.860305>

K. Bakke, J. O'Loughlin, G. Toal and M. Ward, “Convincing State Builders? Disaggregating Internal Legitimacy in Abkhazia.” **International Studies Quarterly**. 58, 3, 591-607. <https://doi.org/10.1111/isqu.12110>

2013

G. Toal, J. O'Loughlin, “Land for Peace in Nagorny Karabakh? Political Geographies and Public Attitudes Inside a De Facto State.” **Territory, Politics, Governance**. 1, 2, 158–182. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2013.842184>

G. Toal, J. O'Loughlin, “Inside South Ossetia: Survey of Attitudes in a De Facto State.” **Post-Soviet Affairs**. 29, 2, 136-172. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2013.780417>

O'Loughlin, J., G. Toal and R. Chamberlain-Chenga, “Divided Space, Divided Attitudes? A Comparative Analysis of Simultaneous Surveys in the Republics of Moldova and Pridnestrovie (Transnistria).” **Eurasian Geography and Economics**. 54, 2, 227-258. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2013.816619>

L. Broers, G. Toal, “Cartographic Exhibitionism? Visualizing the Territory of Armenia and Nagorny Karabakh.” **Problems of Post-Communism**. 60, 3, 16-35. <https://doi.org/10.2753/PPC1075-8216600302>

G. Toal, ““Republika Srpska Will Have a Referendum”: The Rhetorical Politics of Milorad Dodik.” **Nationalities Papers**. 41, 1, 166-204. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2012.747500>

2011

G. Toal, M. Frichova Grono, "After Ethnic Violence in the Caucasus: Attitudes of Local Abkhazians and Displaced Georgians in 2010." **Eurasian Geography and Economics**. 52, 5, 655-678. <https://doi.org/10.2747/1539-7216.52.5.655>

G. Toal, A. Maksić, "Is Bosnia-Herzegovina Unsustainable? Republika Srpska Referendum Rhetoric and its Implications for the Balkans and European Union." **Eurasian Geography and Economics**. 52, 2, 279-293. <https://doi.org/10.2747/1539-7216.52.2.279>

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2010

G. Ó Tuathail, "Localizing Geopolitics: Disaggregating Violence and Return in Conflict Regions." **Political Geography**. 29, 256-265 (Special issue on "The State of Critical Geopolitics"). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2010.01.011>

2009

G. Toal, "In No Other Country on Earth?: The Presidential Campaign of Barack Obama." **Geopolitics**. 14, 376-401.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Placing Blame: Making Sense of Beslan." **Political Geography**. 28, 4-15. (The 2008 Political Geography plenary at the Association of American Geographers conference).

J. O'Loughlin, G. Ó Tuathail, "Accounting for Separatist Sentiment: Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus of Russia Compared." **Ethnic and Racial Studies** 32, 591-615. Subsequently published as a chapter in **Nationalism and National Identities**, eds., Martin Bulmer, John Solomos. London: Routledge, 2012.

G. Ó Tuathail, J. O'Loughlin, "After Ethnic Cleansing: Return Outcomes in Bosnia-Herzegovina a Decade after War." **Annals of the Association of American Geographers**, special issue on 'Geographies of War and Peace.' 99, 1045-1053. Subsequently published as a chapter in **Geographies of Peace and Armed Conflicts**, ed. Audrey Kobayashi, Routledge, 2012.

2008

G. Ó Tuathail, "Russia's Kosovo: A Critical Geopolitics of the August 2008 War over South Ossetia." **Eurasian Geography and Economics**. 49, 670-705.

J. O'Loughlin, G. Ó Tuathail, V. Kolossov, "The Localized Geopolitics of Displacement and Return in Eastern Prigorodnyy Rayon, North Ossetia." **Eurasian Geography and Economics**. 49, 635-699.

2007

V. Kolossov, G. Ó Tuathail, "An Empire's Fraying Edge? The North Caucasus Instability in Russian Geopolitical Culture." **Eurasian Geography and Economics**. 48, 202-225.

2006

G. Ó Tuathail, C. Dahlman, "The West Bank of the Drina?: Land Allocation and Ethnic Engineering in Republika Srpska." **Transactions, Institute of British Geographers**. 31, 304-322.

G. Ó Tuathail, J. O'Loughlin, D. Djipa, "Bosnia-Herzegovina Ten Years After Dayton: Constitutional Changes and Public Opinion." **Eurasian Geography and Economics**. 47, 61-75.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Geopolitical Discourse: Paddy Ashdown and the Tenth Anniversary of the Dayton Peace Accords." **Geopolitics** 11, 141-158.

G. Ó Tuathail, C. Dahlman, "Post-Domicide Bosnia-Herzegovina: Homes, Homelands and One Million Returns." **International Peacekeeping**. 13, 242-260.

J. O'Loughlin, G. Ó Tuathail, V. Kolossov, "The Geopolitical Orientations of Ordinary Russians: A Public Opinion Analysis." **Eurasian Geography and Economics**. 47, 158-181.

C. Dahlman, G. Ó Tuathail, "Bosnia's Third Geopolitical Space: Nationalist Separatism and International Supervision in Bosnia's Brčko District." **Geopolitics**. 11, 651-675.

2005

C. Dahlman, G. Ó Tuathail, "Broken Bosnia: The Localized Geopolitics of Displacement and Return in Two Bosnian Places." **Annals of the Association of American Geographers** 95, 644-662.

J. O'Loughlin, G. Ó Tuathail, V. Kolossov, "Russian Geopolitical Culture in the Post 9/11 Era: The Masks of Proteus Revisited." **Transactions, Institute of British Geographers** 30, 322-335.

C. Dahlman, G. Ó Tuathail, "The Legacy of Ethnic Cleansing: The Returns Process in Post-Dayton Bosnia." **Political Geography** 24, 569-599

G. Ó Tuathail, "Embedding Bosnia-Herzegovina in Euro-Atlantic Structures: From Dayton to Brussels." **Eurasian Geography and Economics** 46, 145-161.

G. Ó Tuathail, "The Frustrations of Geopolitics and the Pleasures of War: *Behind Enemy Lines* and American Geopolitical Culture." **Geopolitics** 10, 356-377. Also published as a chapter in **Geopolitics and Cinema**, eds. M. Power and A. Crampton, London: Routledge, 2005.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Geopolitical Discourse: A Conversation with Peter Galbraith about Iraq and State Building." **Geopolitics** 10, 167-183.

2004.

J. O'Loughlin, G. Ó Tuathail, V. Kolossov, "Russian Geopolitical Storylines and Public Opinion in the Wake of 9-11." **Communist and Post-Communist Studies** 37, 3 (September), 281-318.

J. O'Loughlin, G. Ó Tuathail, V. Kolossov, "A 'Risky Westward Turn'? Putin's 9-11 Script and Ordinary Russians." **Europe Asia Studies** 56, 1, 3-34.

G. Ó Tuathail, C. Dahlman, "The Effort to Reverse Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina: The Limits of Returns." **Eurasian Geography and Economics** 45, 6 (September), 429-453.

2003.

G. Ó Tuathail, "'Just Out Looking for a Fight': American Affect and the Invasion of Iraq." **Antipode** 35, 5, 856-870.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Back to the Regions? Geographic Illiteracy and Political Geography." **Political Geography** 22, 6, 653-656.

2002.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Theorizing Practical Geopolitical Reasoning: The Case of U.S. Bosnia Policy in 1992." **Political Geography** 21, 601-628.

2001.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Geopolitics @ Millennium: Paranoid Fantasies and Technological Fundamentalism Amidst the Contradictions of Contemporary Modernity." In **Political Geography in the 21st Century: Understanding the Place - Looking Ahead**, ed. A. Gosar, **Geographica Slovenica** 34

G. Ó Tuathail, "A Geopolitical Discourse with Robert McNamara." **Geopolitics** 5, 129-144.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Geopolitical Discourses: A New Geopolitics Series." **Geopolitics** 5, 125-128.

2000.

G. Ó Tuathail, "The Postmodern Geopolitical Condition: States, Statecraft, and Security at the Millennium." **Annals of the Association of American Geographers** 90, 166-178.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Dis/Placing the Geo-Politics One Cannot Not Want. Reply to commentaries on **Critical Geopolitics**." **Political Geography** 19, 385-396.

1999.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Borderless Worlds: Problematizing Discourses of Deterritorialization." **Geopolitics** 4, 139-154. Also published as a chapter in **Geopolitics at the End of the Twentieth Century: The Changing World Political Map**, eds. Nurit Kliot and David Newman. London: Frank Cass, 2000.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Understanding Critical Geopolitics: Geopolitics and Risk Society." **Journal of Strategic Studies** 22 (2/3), 107-124. Also published as a chapter in **Geography, Geopolitics and Strategy**, eds. Geoffrey Sloan and Colin Gray. London: Frank Cass, 1999.

G. Ó Tuathail, "A Strategic Sign: The Geopolitical Significance of "Bosnia" in U.S. Foreign Policy." **Environment and Planning D: Society and Space** 17, 515-533.

G. Ó Tuathail, D. McCormack, "The Technoliteracy Challenge: Teaching Globalization Using the Internet." **Journal of Geography in Higher Education** 22, 347-361.

1998.

G. Ó Tuathail, "De-Territorialized Threats and Global Dangers: Geopolitics and Risk Society." **Geopolitics** 3 (1), 17-31. Also published as a chapter in **Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity**, ed. David Newman. London: Frank Cass, 1999.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Political Geography III: Dealing with Deterritorialization." **Progress in Human Geography** 22, 81-93.

T. W. Luke, G. Ó Tuathail, "The Fraying Modern Map: Failed States and Contraband Capitalism." **Geopolitics** 3 (3), 14-33.

G. Ó Tuathail, D. McCormack, "Global Conflicts On-Line: Technoliteracy and the Development of an Internet Based Conflict Archive." **Journal of Geography** 97, 1-22.

1997.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Emerging Markets and Other Simulations: Mexico, Chiapas and the Geofinancial Panopticon." **Ecumene** 4, 300-317.

G. Ó Tuathail, "At the End of Geopolitics? Reflections on a Pluralizing Problematic at the Century's End." **Alternatives: Social Transformation and Humane Governance** 22, 35-55.

T. W. Luke, G. Ó Tuathail, "On Videocameristics: The Geopolitics of Failed States, the CNN International and (UN) Governmentality." **Review of International Political Economy (RIPE)** 4, 709-33.

1996.

G. Ó Tuathail, "An Anti-Geopolitical Eye? Maggie O'Kane in Bosnia, 1992-94." **Gender, Place and Culture** 3, 171-185.

A. Crampton, G. Ó Tuathail, "Intellectuals, Institutions and Ideology: The Case of Robert Strausz-Hupé and American Geopolitics." **Political Geography** 15, 553-556.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Political Geography II: (Counter) Revolutionary Times." **Progress in Human Geography** 20, 404-412.

G. Ó Tuathail, S. Dalby, "The Critical Geopolitics Constellation: Problematizing Fusions of Geographical Knowledge and Power." **Political Geography** 15, 451-456.

G. Ó Tuathail, "The Patterned Mess of History and the Writing of Critical Geopolitics: A Reply to Dalby." **Political Geography** 15, 661-665.

1995

G. Ó Tuathail, "Political Geography I: Theorizing History, Gender and World Order Amidst Crises of Global Governance." **Progress in Human Geography** 19, 260-272.

1994

G. Ó Tuathail, T.W. Luke, "Present at (Dis)Integration: Deterritorialization and Reterritorialization in the New Wor(l)d Order." **Annals of the Association of American Geographers** 84, 381-398.

G. Ó Tuathail, "(Dis)placing Geopolitics: Writing on Maps of Global Politics." **Environment and Planning D: Society and Space** 12, 525-546.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Problematizing Geopolitics: Survey, Statecraft and Strategy." **Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers** 19, 259-272.

G. Ó Tuathail, "The Critical Reading/Writing of Geopolitics: Re-Reading/Writing Wittfogel, Bowman and Lacoste." **Progress in Human Geography** 18, 313-332.

G. Ó Tuathail, S. Dalby, "Critical Geopolitics." **Environment and Planning D: Society and Space** 12, 513-514.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Critical Geopolitics and Development Theory: Intensifying the Dialogue." **Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers** 19, 228-238.

1993

G. Ó Tuathail, "The New East-West Struggle? Japan in the Bush Administration's 'New World Order'." **Area** 25, 127-135.

G. Ó Tuathail, "The Effacement of Place? US Foreign Policy and the Spatiality of the Gulf Crisis." **Antipode** 25, 4-31. Article reprinted in **Political Geography: A Reader**, edited by John Agnew. London: Edward Arnold, 1996.

1992

G. Ó Tuathail, "The Bush Administration and the "End" of the Cold War: A Critical Geopolitics of US Foreign Policy in 1989." **Geoforum** 23, 437-452.

G. Ó Tuathail, "'Pearl Harbor Without Bombs": A Critical Geopolitics of the US-Japan "FSX" Debate." **Environment and Planning A** 24, 975-994.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Putting Mackinder in his Place: Material Transformations and Myth." **Political Geography** 11, 100-118.

G. Ó Tuathail, J. Agnew, "Geopolitics and Discourse: Practical Geopolitical Reasoning and American Foreign Policy." **Political Geography** 11, 190-204. Article reprinted in **Exploring Human Geography: A Reader**, edited by Stephen Daniels and Roger Lee. London: Edward Arnold, 1996. Reprinted in **The Geopolitics Reader**.

1986

G. Ó Tuathail, "The Language and Nature of the "New" Geopolitics: The Case of US -El Salvador Relations." **Political Geography Quarterly** 5, 73-85.

## Book Chapters

2017

G. Toal, J. O'Loughlin, "Public Opinion in the Eurasian De Facto States." In *Politics Within De Facto States*, special editor D. Ó Beachain, **Caucasus Analytic Digest** 94, 28 April 2017.

2016

G. Toal, J. O'Loughlin, "Frozen Fragments, Simmering Spaces: The Post-Soviet De Facto States." In Edward Holland, Matthew Derrick, eds. **Questioning Post-Soviet**. Kennan Institute, Wilson Center, Washington D.C.

G. Toal, "War and a Herzegovinian Town: Mostar's Unbridged Divisions." In Éamonn Ó Ciardha, Gabriela Vojvoda (eds.) **Politics of Identity in Post-Conflict States: The Bosnian and Irish Experience**. Routledge, 2016.



2011

G. Toal, "Return and its Alternatives: International Law, Norms and Practices, and Dilemmas of Ethnocratic Power, Implementation, Justice and Development." In **Return and Its Alternatives: The Nagorny Karabakh Conflict**, ed. Laurence Broers. London: Conciliation Resources.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Battlefield." In **Handbook of Geographical Knowledge**, eds. David Livingstone and John Agnew. New York, Sage, 217-227.

2007.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Without Brussels there can be no Bosnia-Herzegovina"? Managing BiH's Geopolitical Challenges. In **Dayton After Ten Years**. Wilson Center, Washington D.C.

2006.

G. Toal, C. Dahlman, "Has Ethnic Cleansing Succeeded? Geographies of Minority Return and Its Meaning in Bosnia-Herzegovina." In **Dayton Ten Years After: Conflict Resolution, Co-operation Perspectives**, ed. Anton Gosar. Primorska, Slovenia.

2004.

G. Ó Tuathail, C. Dahlman, "The Clash of Governmentalities: Displacement and Return in Bosnia-Herzegovina." In **Global Governmentality**, eds. W. Walters and W. Larnar. London: Routledge.

G. Ó Tuathail, F. Shelley, "Political Geography: From the 'Long 1989' to the End of the Post-Cold War Peace." In **Geography in America**, eds. G. Gale and J. Willmott. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill.

2003.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Geopolitical Structures and Geopolitical Cultures: Towards Conceptual Clarity in the Critical Study of Geopolitics." In **Geopolitical Perspectives on World Politics**, ed. by Lasha Tchantouridze, Bison Paper 4, Winnipeg: Centre for Defence and Security Studies, November 2003, 75-102.

J. Agnew, G. Ó Tuathail, "Cultural Geopolitics." **The Handbook of Cultural Geography**, eds. Kay Anderson, Mona Domosh, Steve Pile, and Nigel Thrift. London: Sage, pp. 455-461.

2002.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Post-Cold War Geopolitics: Contrasting Superpowers in a World of Global Dangers." In **Geographies of Global Change**, eds. R. J. Johnson, P. Taylor and M. Watts. Second edition. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.

G. Ó Tuathail, K. Mitchell, J. Agnew, "Introduction" **A Companion to Political Geography**. Blackwell.

2001.

G. Ó Tuathail, "The Bosnian War and the American Securing of 'Europe'." In **Europe: Between Political Geography and Geopolitics**, Volume II. eds. Marco Antonsich, Vladimir Kolossov and Paolo Pagnini. Roma: Societa Geografica Italiana.

2000.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Spiritual Geopolitics: Father Edmund Walsh and Jesuit Anticommunism." In **Geopolitical Traditions**, eds. Klaus Dodds and David Atkinson. Routledge.

T. Luke, G. Ó Tuathail, "Thinking Geopolitical Space: The Spatiality of War, Speed and Vision in the Work of Paul Virilio. In **Thinking Space**, eds. Mike Crang and Nigel Thrift. Routledge.

1999.

G. Ó Tuathail, "The Ethnic Cleansing of a "Safe Area": The Fall of Srebrenica and the Ethics of UN-Governmentality." In **Geography and Ethics**, eds. James Proctor and David Smith. Routledge.

1998.

G. Ó Tuathail, S. Dalby, "Re-Thinking Geopolitics: Towards a Critical Geopolitics. **Rethinking Geopolitics**, eds. Gearóid Ó Tuathail and Simon Dalby. Routledge, 1-15.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Postmodern Geopolitics? The Modern Geopolitical Imagination and Beyond." In **Rethinking Geopolitics**, eds. Gearóid Ó Tuathail and Simon Dalby. Routledge, 16-38.

G. Ó Tuathail, A. Herod, S. Roberts, "Unruly Problematics: Globalization, Governance and Geography. **An Unruly World? Geography, Globalization and Governance**, eds. Andrew Herod, Gearóid Ó Tuathail and Susan Roberts. Routledge, 1-24.

T. Luke, G. Ó Tuathail, "Global Flowmations, Local Fundamentalism, and Fast Geopolitics: "America" in an Accelerating World Order." In **An Unruly World? Geography, Globalization and Governance**, eds. Andrew Herod, Gearóid Ó Tuathail and Susan Roberts. Routledge, 72-94.

G. Ó Tuathail, Various entries on post-World War II United States foreign policy for **A Dictionary of Geopolitics**, ed. John O'Loughlin. Greenwood Press.

1993.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Japan as Threat: Geo-Economic Discourses on the US-Japan Relationship in US Civil Society, 1989-1991." In **The Political Geography of the New World Order**, ed. Colin Williams. Belhaven.

1992.

G. Ó Tuathail, "Foreign Policy and the Hyperreal: The Reagan Administration and the Scripting of "South Africa." In **Written Worlds: Text, Metaphor and Rhetoric in the Representation of Landscape**, eds. James Duncan and Trevor Barnes. Routledge.

1987

G. Ó Tuathail, "Towards the Creation of a "New" Nicaragua? A Study of the Processes of Reproduction and Transformation under the Sandinistas, 1979-1985, with Special Emphasis on the Economy." The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Department of Geography, Occasional Papers.

### **Foreign Language Publications and Translations**

Writings translated into seven languages: Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Farsi, French, German, Italian, Japanese and Russian. Below is an incomplete listing.

2009.

В КОЛОСОВ, Д ТОАЛ, Нестабильность на Северном Кавказе и современная российская геополитическая культура (The North Caucasus Instability and Contemporary Russian Geopolitical Culture), **ВЕСТНИК ОБЩЕСТВЕННОГО МНЕНИЯ (The Russian Public Opinion Herald)**, 100, 38-54.

2007.

G. Ó Tuathail and C. Dahlman, Je li etničko čišenje uspelo? Geografija manjinskog povratka u Bosni I Hercegovini i njezino značenje (Did Ethnic Cleansing Succeed?) **Pilar: Časopis za Društvene I Humanističke Studije** 3 (Zagreb), 47-62.

2005.

G. Ó Tuathail, “Zbogom Dayton, Zdravo Bruxelles” (From Dayton to Brussels) **Hrvatska Revija** V, no. 4, December, pp. 35-40.

G. Ó Tuathail, “La Republika Srpska est-elle européenne? La grande stratégie du Bureau du Haut-Représentant pour ancrer la Bosnie-Herzégovine dans l'espace géopolitique européen.” Dans L'ex-Yougoslavie Dix Ans Après Dayton. De Nouveaux Etats Entre Déchirements Communautaires et Intégration Européenne, eds. André-Louis Sanguin, Emmanuelle Chaveneau and Amaël Cattaruzza. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan.

G. Ó Tuathail, “Geopolitički Govor: Razgovor s Peterom Galbraithom o Iraku i izgradnji države” (Geopolitical Discourse: A Conversation with Peter Galbraith about Iraq and State Building). **Hrvatska Revija**, Vol. V, no. 1, 10-19.

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Alfred Balk *The Myth of American Eclipse*. **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy** 10, 2, 249-50.

Simon Dalby *The Creation of the Second Cold War*. **Progress in Human Geography** 16, 3, 441-2.

Immanuel Wallerstein *Geopolitics and Geoculture*, Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. **Journal of Historical Geography**.

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Peter Slowe *Geography and Political Power*. **Economic Geography** 67, 2, 179-80.

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Geoffrey Parker *Western Geopolitical Thought in the Twentieth Century*. **Annals of the Association of American Geographers** 78, 1, 194-6.

Patrick O'Sullivan *Geopolitics*. **Professional Geographer** 40, 1, 129-30.

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#### **Public Outreach Publications (since 2014).**

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G. Toal, J. O'Loughlin, K. Bakke, "The fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh is about local territories and wider rivalries." **Washington Post**. 2 October. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/10/02/fighting-nagorno-karabakh-is-about-local-territories-wider-rivalries/>

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G. Toal, J. O'Loughlin, and K. Bakke. "Are some NGOs really "foreign agents"? Here's what people in Georgia and Ukraine say." **Open Democracy**. 16 April. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/are-some-ngos-really-foreign-agents-heres-what-people-georgia-and-ukraine-say/>

J, O'Loughlin, G. Toal and K. Bakke, "To Russia With Love: The Majority of Crimeans Are Still Glad for Their Annexation." **Foreign Affairs**. 3 April. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2020-04-03/russia-love>

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J. O'Loughlin, G. Toal, "The Crimean Conundrum." **Open Democracy**. 3 March.  
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G. Toal, "Could Crimea be another Bosnia?" **Open Democracy** 14 March.  
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### Invited Presentations (since 2001)

Toal, G., & O'Loughlin, J. (2021). Public Opinion on both sides of the line of contact in the Donbas. In *Sovereignty and Legitimacy of Post-Soviet Non-Recognized States*. Virtual. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q7Cmayuy13o&t=2142s>

Toal, G. (2021). Antebellum Karabakh: Pre-War Attitudes in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. In *Sovereignty and Legitimacy of Post-Soviet Non-Recognized States*. Virtual. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8E9smnmNQgA>

"Blended Conflict in Eastern Ukraine: Evolutions, Effects and Prospects," Panel Discussion, Sciences Po, Paris, 16 January 2020.

"The Rise of Conspiracist Geopolitics," Keynote address, Fourth Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies. University of Tartu, Estonia, 9 June 2019. <https://www.utv.ee/naita?id=28597&keel=eng>

"The Return of Geopolitics?" Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen, Vienna, 20 May 2019.  
<https://www.iwm.at/events/event/re-ordering-the-world-the-return-of-geopolitics/>

"Why Location Matters in Conflict Analysis," Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, 14 May 2019.

"Theorizing Geopolitics Amidst Intense Spatial Crises," Goethe University, Frankfurt, 25 October 2018.

"Atlanticism and Empire," University of Kent, Brussels, 22 October 2018.

"The Affective Geopolitics of the New Cold War." University College London, 24 April 2018.  
<https://vimeo.com/267998695>

“Critical Geopolitics of Russia’s Invasions of Georgia and Ukraine,” University of Washington, Seattle, 5 March 2018, <https://jsis.washington.edu/ellisoncenter/news/podcast-gerard-toal-critical-geopolitics-russias-invasions-georgia-ukraine-3-5-2018/>

“Occupied Territories in Post-Soviet Space,” US Naval Academy, Annapolis, 17 November 2016.

“Geopolitical Attitudes in Contested Ukraine.” Department of Politics, University of Manchester, 15 April 2015.

“Spatialities of De Facto State Formations.” Grounding Theoretical Reflections in Politics: Ukraine as a Mirror of the Political conference, The New School, New York, 3 October 2014.

“Clashing Spheres of Influence? Russia, its Borderlands and the West.” National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 16 April 2014.

“War in a Herzegovinian Town.” Opening talk at the Bridging Division conference: Derry/Londonderry & Mostar. Literatures of Partition, Unification and Reconciliation. University of Ulster, Derry, 27-29 September 2013.

“Reversing Ethnic Cleansing: Is it Possible Peacefully?” Keynote, Canadian Association of Refugees and Forced Migration Studies Annual Conference, Halifax, New Brunswick, 7-10 March 2013.

“Public Opinion in Eurasia’s De Facto States” (with John O’Loughlin). Bureau of Intelligence and Research, US Department of State, Washington D.C., 14 January 2013.

“Critical Geopolitics and International Relations.” Center for Global Studies of the Foundation for Sciences and Arts (Bilim ve Sanat Vakfi Kuresel Arstirmalar Merkezi), Istanbul, Turkey, 6 October 2012.

“Radovan Karadžić and the 1990 Election Campaign in Bosnia-Herzegovina.” International Congress on Neighbourhood: From War to Eternal Peace on the 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Balkan Wars. Turkish Presidency and Hacettepe University. Istanbul, 4-7 October 2012.

“Inside Eurasia’s De Facto States” (with John O’Loughlin). Dublin City University, 28 September 2012.

“The Rhetorical Politics of Milorad Dodik.” FY=20 (The former Yugoslavia After Twenty Years), Havighurst Center, Miami University of Ohio, Oxford, Ohio, 16 March 2012.

“Frozen Conflicts Twenty Years after the Soviet Union.” Harriman Institute, Columbia University, 2 December 2011.

“After Ethnic Cleansing: Bosnian Lessons for the Caucasus.” The National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 9 December 2011.

“After Ethnic Cleansing: Lessons from Bosnia for the Caucasus?” School of International and Public Affairs and the Harriman Institute, Columbia University, 1 November 2011.

“Inside the Eurasian De Facto States: 2010 Comparative Surveys of Public Attitudes in Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transdnistria” (with Dr John O’Loughlin). The Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University, 20 May 2011.

““Today We are All Georgians”: The United States and the Russian-Ossetian-Georgian War of August 2008.” Annual Eyre lecture, Department of Geography, University of North Carolina, 25 March 2011.

“Abkhazia 2010: A Survey of Attitudes and Beliefs in a De Facto State,” School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, 17 February 2011.

“Divided Attitudes? Preliminary Analysis of Simultaneous 2010 Public Opinion Surveys in Moldova and Transnistria.” The Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University, 28 September 2010.

“Contemporary Attitudes and Beliefs in Transnistria, Abkhazia and South Ossetia: A Preliminary Analysis of Survey Data” (with Drs O’Loughlin and Kolossov). Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, Washington D.C., 26 April 2010.

“North Ossetia’s Geopolitical Entanglements,” Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, Washington D.C., 6 October 2008.

“Cold War Rhetoric and the South Ossetian War,” The State of Critical Geopolitics conference, Durham, 23 September 2008.

“Indiscriminate Blame: Beslan and (Counter)Terrorism,” *Political Geography* plenary lecture, Association of American Geographers conference, Boston, 17 April 2008.

“Beyond the Global War on Terror,” plenary address, Spaces of Politics: Concepts and Scales conference, Université de Reims Champagne Ardennes (URCA) Reims, France, 4 April 2008.

“Localized Geopolitics: State Breaking and State Making in Bosnia-Herzegovina,” annual Trewartha lecture, Department of Geography, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 11 May 2007.

“Localizing Geopolitics.” Department of Geography, Cambridge University, 12 January 2007.

“The Global War on Terror and US Weakness.” Inaugural plenary address, International Congress on the 27<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Faculty of Political and Economic Sciences, University of Colima, Mexico, 9 November 2006.

“Domicide: Homelands against Homes in the Bosnian War.” ‘Europe Lost and Found’ conference hosted by the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) at Columbia University, the Consulate General of Slovenia, and the Centrala Foundation for Future Cities (Rotterdam), New York, 24 October 2006.

“Accounting for Separatist Sentiment in the North Caucasus.” Stavropol State University, 4 October 2006.

“Localized Geopolitics: The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina.” Kyushu University, Fukuoka, Japan, 14 July 2006.

“Thinking Critically about Geopolitics.” Osaka City University, Osaka, Japan, 8 July 2006.

“Managing Bosnia-Herzegovina’s Geopolitical Challenges.” ‘Dayton after 10 Years’ international conference, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington D.C., 7 December 2005.

“Reversing Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia: The Localized Geopolitics of Displacement and Return.” Colloquium presentations at the University of Colorado at Boulder, 31 January 2004; University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 18 March 2004; Ohio State, 29 April 2004; UCLA, 4 February 2005; Wilson Center, 26 October 2005, American University, 24 January 2006.

“Boundaries and Beyond,” Inaugural plenary address, European Forum Alpbach, Austria, 19 August 2004.

“Russian Geopolitical Storylines and Public Opinion in the Wake of September 11.” University of South Carolina, 13 February 2004.

“The Local Geopolitics of Post-Conflict Bosnia.” Political Studies Conference, The University of Manitoba, 30 January – 1 February 2003.

“Reversing Ethnic Cleansing? The International Community and the Geography of Returns in Bosnia.” University of Wurzburg, Wurzburg, Germany, 26 November 2002.

“Sense-Making, Storylines and Scripts: The Bush Administration Confronts the Bosnian War.” Tampere University European Identity and Security Conference, Kuusamo, Finland, 14-18 June 2001.

“Theorizing Practical Geopolitics.” Plenary address, Conference of Irish Geographers, Cork, Ireland, 3-5 May 2001.

### **Presentations to Professional Meetings (since 2001)**

G. Merabishvili, G. Toal, “Borderization Theatre on the South Ossetian Boundary Line.” Association for Nationality Studies, 4 May 2018.

G. Toal, “Response: Author Meets Critics: Gerard Toal’s *Near Abroad*.” Association of American Geographers, New Orleans, 10-14 April 2018.

G. Toal, “The Novorossiia Project.” Association for the Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Washington D.C., 17-20 November 2016.

G. Toal, “Post-Soviet Post-Invasion Spaces,” Association of American Geographers, San Francisco, 29 March-2 April 2016.

G. Toal, “Rescue Fantasies: Russian Invasions as Affective Storylines.” Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, 14-16 April 2016.

G. Toal, J. O’Loughlin, “Where *Ruskii Mir* Meets Europe: Analyzing Contemporary Geopolitical Orientations in Southeastern Ukraine and Crimea.” Association for the Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Philadelphia, 19-22 November 2015

G. Toal, J. O’Loughlin, “Geopolitical Divisions in Contested Ukraine.” Workshop on Ukraine Public Opinion Survey Research, George Washington University, 21 January 2015.

G. Toal, J. O’Loughlin, “Perceptions of Governance in De Facto States; Evidence from Comparative Surveys.” Conference on Security and Governance in de facto and Partially Recognized States, University College London, 11 September 2014.

G. Toal, “The Last Neocon War? The United States and the Russian-Georgian War of 2008.” International Studies Association, Toronto, 28 March 2014.

G. Toal, J. O’Loughlin, “Land for Peace in Nagorny Karabakh? Political Geographies and Public Attitudes in a Contested De Facto State.” Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, 19 April 2013.

G. Toal. “Affective Geopolitics? The United States and the Russian-Georgian War of 2008.” Association of American Geographers, Los Angeles, 11 April 2013.

G. Toal, A. Maksic, “Serbs, You are Allowed to be Serbs”: Radovan Karadžić and the 1990 Election Campaign in Bosnia-Herzegovina” Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, 20 April 2012.

L. Broers, G. Toal, "Cartographic Exhibitionism: Visualizing the Territory of Armenia and Nagorny Karabakh." Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, 20 April 2012.

Response. Author Meets Critics panel on *Bosnia Remade*. Association of American Geographers conference, New York, 27 February 2012.

G. Toal, "Contemporary Geopolitical Attitudes in Abkhazia and South Ossetia: Survey Evidence." Association for the Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Washington DC, 19 November 2011.

Return and its Alternatives: International Law, Norms and Practices and Dilemmas of Ethnocratic Power, Implementation, Justice and Development. Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, 16 April 2011.

Remaking South Ossetia, Political Geography Specialty Group meeting, Alexandria, 11 April 2010.

Geopolitics and Terror, GEOPOL 2010, Alexandria, 13 April 2010.

"Russia's Kosovo." Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, 25 April 2009.

"Secessionist Regions as War Outcomes: Eurasian Unrecognized Quasi-States after Kosovo's Independence." Association of American Geographers conference, Las Vegas, 23 March 2009.

"Indiscriminate Blame: Beslan and (Counter)Terrorism," *Political Geography* plenary lecture, Association of American Geographers conference, Boston, 17 April 2008.

"The War Against Bosnia-Herzegovina." Association of American Geographers, San Francisco, 17-21 April 2007.

"Localized Geopolitics: Ethnic Cleansing and Returns in Bosnia-Herzegovina." Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, 12-14 April 2007.

"Discourse and Public Opinion on the Causes of the Bosnian War." American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Washington D.C., 16 November 2006.

"Accounting for Separatist Sentiment: Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus of Russia Compared." American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, 1 September 2006.

"Performative Ethnoterritorialism in Bosnia-Herzegovina." International Political Science Association, Fukuoka, Japan, 9-13 July 2006.

"Partitioning Bosnia: The Geopolitics of Ethnoterritorialism, 1990-1992." European Border Studies Association, Belfast, 23-25 June 2006.

"Localized Geopolitics: Theorizing Conflict Dynamics in Bosnia and the North Caucasus." Association of American Geographers, Chicago, 8 March 2006.

"Has Ethnic Cleansing Succeeded?" Joint presentation with Carl Dahlman. "Dayton: 10 Years After: Conflict Resolution And Co-Operation Perspectives. Sarajevo, 29 November – 1 December 2005.

"Brussels or Belurus? The Continuing Struggle to Embed Bosnia-Herzegovina in Euro-Atlantic Structures." Mountain Countries: Population, Geopolitics, GIS Monitoring conference, Stavropol State University, Russia, 26-28 September 2005.

“The ‘West Bank of the Drina’: Land Allocations and Ethnic Engineering in Republika Srpska.” Border Regions in Transition (BRIT) conference, Jerusalem, 12 January 2005. Also presented at the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies meeting, Boston 4-6 December 2004 and the “Globalized Europe” conference, Koper-Capodistria, Slovenia, 2-6 June 2004.

“Broken Bosnia: Displacement and Return in Two Bosnian Places.” Joint presentation with Carl Dahlman. Remapping the Southern Tier of Post-Socialist States: A US National Science Foundation workshop. Portoroz, Slovenia, 7-11 June 2004.

“The Frustrations of Geopolitics and the Pleasures of War.” Remapping the Southern Tier of Post-Socialist States: A US National Science Foundation workshop. Portoroz, Slovenia, 7-11 June 2004.

“The Geopolitics of Returns in Bosnia.” ‘Political Geography and Geopolitics: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow’ Conference sponsored by Moscow State University Institute of International Relations of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Institute of Geography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Commission on Political Geography of the International Geographical Union and Russian International Studies Association, Moscow, 2-4 June 2003.

“Russian Geopolitical Storylines and Public Opinion in the Wake of 9-11.” ‘Political Geography and Geopolitics: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow’ Conference, Moscow, 2-4 June 2003.

“Spaces of Return and Human Security in Bosnia.” Association of American Geographers Conference, New Orleans, 4-8 March 2003.

“Bosnia as a Political Geography Experiment.” American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Pittsburg. 21-24 November 2002.

“Scripts versus Storylines: The Bush Administration and the Outbreak of War in Bosnia.” International Studies Association, New Orleans. 24-27 March 2002.

“The Scandal that Wasn’t: The Congressional ‘Green Light’ Committee and the Iranian Arms for Bosnia Saga.” Association of American Geographers, Los Angeles, 19-23 March 2002.

“The Critical Geopolitics of 9/11.” Association of American Geographers, Los Angeles, 19-23 March 2002.

“Back to the Regions: Political Geography in Question.” Association of American Geographers, Los Angeles, 19-23 March 2002.

“The Unworkable Country: Bosnia After Dayton.” Russian Academy of Sciences and International Geographical Union Conference, ‘Geopolitics and Security in Mountain Regions,’ Stavropol, Russia, 11-16 September 2001.

“Pop Globalization.” Association of American Geographers, New York, 27 February – 3 March, 2001.

“Political Geographies of Refugee and Displaced Persons Returns in Bosnia.” Political Geography Specialty Group, US Military Academy, West Point, New York, 25-27 February 2001.

“American Geopolitics and ‘Shame’ in Bosnia.” International Studies Association, Chicago, 21-24 February 2001.

## **Research Grants**

2020

“Dynamics of de facto state patron-client relations.” Contributing Expert. Research Council of Norway. Collaboration with Dr Helge Blakkisrud, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs.  
<https://www.nupi.no/en/About-NUPI/Projects-centers/Dynamics-of-de-facto-state-patron-client-relations>

“When every act is war: Post-Crimea conflict dynamics and Russian foreign policy.” Contributing Expert. Research Council of Norway. Collaboration with Dr Julie Wilhelmsen, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs.  
[https://www.nupi.no/nupi\\_eng/About-NUPI/Projects-centers/When-every-act-is-war-Post-Crimea-conflict-dynamics-and-Russian-foreign-policy](https://www.nupi.no/nupi_eng/About-NUPI/Projects-centers/When-every-act-is-war-Post-Crimea-conflict-dynamics-and-Russian-foreign-policy)

2018

“The Geopolitical Orientations of People in Borderland States” (with Dr John O’Loughlin, University of Colorado). U.S. National Science Foundation. \$659,994.00 (NSF supported part only). Award Abstract #1759645. Project is also supported by the Research Council of the United Kingdom (with Dr Kristin Bakke, University College London).

2014

“Attitudes and Beliefs in Russian-Supported De Facto States and Eastern Ukraine in the Wake of the Crimean Annexation” (with Dr John O’Loughlin, University of Colorado). RAPID grants, U.S. National Science Foundation. \$156,633. Award Abstract #1442646

2008.

“The Dynamics of Unrecognized Quasi-States: Eurasian Secessionist Regions and the Independence of Kosovo.” Human Social Dynamics, National Science Foundation (3 person team). \$749,940 award (Virginia Tech component \$159,882). Grant number 0827016.

2004.

“Dynamics of Civil War Outcomes in Bosnia and the North Caucasus.” Human Social Dynamics, National Science Foundation (5 person team). \$650,000 award (Virginia Tech component \$93,454). Grant number 0433927.

2004.

"Population change and migration near a war zone: The North Caucasus of Russia." National Geographic Society Committee on Research and Exploration. Consultant (John O’Loughlin PI). \$19,990.

2002.

“Remaking Bosnia: The International Community and the Returnee Policy Process in Three Bosnian Localities.” Geography and Regional Science Program, National Science Foundation, Regular Research Grant Proposal. Collaborative Research with Dr Carl Dahlman. \$90,000 award (Virginia Tech component \$58,287). Grant number 0137106.

2001.

“Russian Geopolitical Culture and the 9-11 Attacks and Response.” Geography and Regional Science Program, National Science Foundation, Special Grant for Expeditious Research. Co-PI with John O’Loughlin, University of Colorado and Vladimir Kolossov, Russian Academy of Sciences. \$49,991 award.

2000.

“Enhancing Geography 2034 with Audio and Visual Content.” Virginia Tech Institute for Distance and Distributed Learning Fellowship. \$5,000 award.

1999.

“Developing courses for a ‘Certificate in Information, Policy and Society.’” Virginia Tech Center for Innovation in Learning, (with Timothy W. Luke). Course buy-out.

1998.

Varenius Seed Grant, Geography and Regional Science Program, National Science Foundation, “The Vietnam War and Geopolitical Knowledge.” \$3,000 award.

Humanities Summer Stipend Award. “Balkanizing Bosnia: The Rhetoric of US Foreign Policy Towards Bosnia.” \$5,000.

“Developing Geography 2034 and 2134 as totally online courses.” Virginia Tech, Teaching Learning Grant, Center for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching. Course buy-out.

1997

“Developing Internet Resources for Geography 2034: Geography of the Global Economy.” Virginia Tech, Teaching Learning Grant, Center for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching.

1990.

Humanities Summer Stipend Award. “The Rhetoric of Geopolitics: Representations of the USSR in US Security Discourse.” \$5,000.

### **Fellowships, Prizes, Recognition**

Virginia Tech, College of Architecture and Urban Studies, 2009-10 Award for Research Excellence.

Political Geography Career Award 2008 (features a sponsored plenary lecture at the AAG, a response by commentators, and the subsequent publication of proceedings in the journal **Political Geography**).

Virginia Tech ‘Faculty Scholar of the Week,’ Office of the Vice-President for Research, 7-14 February 2005.

Euan Hague, “Gearóid Ó Tuathail/Gerard Toal.” Chapter in the volume **Key Thinkers on Space and Place**, edited by Phil J Hubbard, Rob Kitchin and Gill Valentine. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 2004 (second edition, 2010).

Research Fellowship, Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, Fall 1999.

Faculty Fellowship, U.S. Institute of Peace, Summer 1998.

1992 Memorial Prize from **Environment and Planning A** for the paper "Pearl Harbor Without Bombs": A Critical Geopolitics of the US-Japan "FSX" Debate. Announcement and photograph, August 1993 issue.

University of Southern California, Research Fellowship, Center for International Studies, 1987-88.



Syracuse University Fellowship, 1984-87.

### **Editorial and Review Activities**

Editorial Board: **Eurasian Geography and Economics, Political Geography, Nationalities Papers, Communist and Post-Communist Studies.**

Paper reviews for: *Alternatives: Social Transformation and Humane Governance; Annals of the Association of American Geographers; Antipode; Cooperation and Conflict; Communist and Post-Communist Studies; Environment and Planning A; Europe-Asia Studies; Foreign Policy Analysis; Geoforum; Geografiska Annaler; Geographical Review; Geopolitics; Gender, Place and Culture; International Migration; International Peacekeeping; International Studies Quarterly; Journal of Geography in Higher Education; Journal of Peace Research; Nationalities Papers; Political Geography; Progress in Human Geography; Millennium: Journal of International Studies; Security Dialogue; Social and Cultural Geography; Transactions, Institute of British Geographers; Society and Space*, and others.

### **TEACHING, MENTORING AND ADVISING**

#### **Courses Taught**

GIA 5004: Power and Policy in the United States  
GIA 5254: Global Conflicts\*  
GIA 5264: Global Change and Local Impacts  
GIA 5404: Topics in Political Geography  
GIA 5424: Communist and Post-Communist Systems\*  
GIA 5444: International Politics  
GIA 5474: Global Governance  
GIA 5484: Contemporary American Foreign Policy  
GIA 5504: Discourse Analysis\*  
GIA 6114: Critical Geopolitics

\* Developed as online courses (featuring recorded audio lectures, extensive notes, and assignment modules)

#### **Advising and Supervision**

##### Major Paper Supervisions:

“Keeping the Next Generation HIV-Free: Efforts to Prevent Mother-to-Child Transmission in Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia and West Africa.” Emily Korff. Graduated May 2004, MPIA.

“The Open Software Movement in Latin America: A Comparison of Brazil and Argentina.” Marco Manilla. Graduated May 2004, MPIA.

“The Crisis in Darfur: An Analysis of Its Origins and Storylines.” Thu Quach. Graduated December 2004, MPIA.

“Rhetoric Versus Reality: Prospects for Women’s Rights in Post-Taliban Afghanistan.” Susan Cathcart. Graduated December 2004, MPIA.

“Technological Fundamentalism? The Use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles in the Conduct of War.” Doris J. Futrell. Graduated December 2004, MPIA.

“The Jacksonian Tradition and The Bush Administration: Policy Perspectives On The International Criminal Court.” Jennifer S. Cheyne. Graduated May 2005, MPIA.

“Nuclear Nonproliferation: The Conceptualization of Threats from Nunn-Lugar to the Global War on Terror in U.S. Security Policy.” Suzanne Lemieux. Graduated May 2006, MPIA.

“Nation Building and the Politics of Language in Contemporary Ukraine: Analyzing the Discourse of the Party of Regions in Select Russophone Majority Areas.” Olga Fishel. Graduated December 2006, MPIA.

“Beyond Ethnic Conflict: Exploring the Reasons for Dagestan’s Endemic Violence.” Andrew Proscowitz. Graduated May 2007, MPIA.

“The IMF and Conditionality: An Exploration of Charges of Panopticonism.” David Reynolds. Graduated December 2007, MPIA.

“Putin’s Framing of Beslan and Authoritarianism in Russia.” Patrick Scoville. Graduated May 2008, MPIA.

“The Practical Geopolitical Reasoning of Richard Holbrooke: Making the case for US support for United Nations intervention in the DRC.” Mindi R. Mebane. Graduated May 2010, MPIA.

A Quasi-state in East Africa? A Portrait of Puntland. Pablo Ricardo Paldao. Graduated May 2010, MPIA.

“Visualizing Superpower Invasions: The Photographic Framing of Soviet and US Intervention in Afghanistan in *TIME* magazine.” Walter Frederick Landgraf III, Graduated December 2010, MPIA.

“The Transformation of National Identification: How Japan Became Part of the West.” Atsuko Watanabe. Graduated December 2010.

“Protectors, Wimps and Macho Men: A Feminist Analysis of the 1989 U.S. Invasion of Panama.” Sandra M. Soriano, Graduated December 2010.

“The Georgian-Abkhaz War of 1992-93: A Narrative Based Multicausal Argument.” Matthew Osterrieder. Graduated December 2010.

“Moscow Disaggregated and Localized: The Role of the Soviet and Russian States in the 1991-1992 Georgia-South Ossetia War.” Christopher Lee Walker. Graduated December 2010.

"A “New Way Forward” or More Iraq Policy Failure? Examining the Surge within US Geopolitical Debate, January 11-February 11, 2007." Brian Clevenger, Graduated December 2011.

"Producing the Muslim World: Pew Global Attitudes Survey Results as Geopolitical Performance." Deepak Dobhal, Graduated December 2012.

“Speculative Power or Legitimate Power? The Debate over the US State’s use of Financial Intelligence Data.” Tamsen Rea, Graduated December 2013.

“Information Management and the Global War on Terror: Security Dilemmas Resulting from Overclassification.” Christopher Michael Craddock, Graduated May 2015.

“Presidential Decision-Making and Military Occupations: The United States in Germany and Iraq.” Kevin T. Joyce, Graduated May 2015.

“Criminal Responsibility and Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Contemplating the Nexus of Feminist Advocacy and Juridical Discourses.” Meaghan C. Foran, Graduated May 2015.

“The Georgia-Russia War on 2008: Western Media Storylines on its Causes and Significance.” Heather Westerman King, Graduated May 2015.

“Nuclear Narration: The Role of Storylines in how the White House and Congress Manage Nuclear Weapons Modernization.” Sharon Pritz, Graduated May 2015.

“The Imaging of Invasion: The Use of Satellite Imagery in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict,” Julie M. Adameck, Graduated May 2016.

“Restructuring the U.S. International Broadcasting System to Counter the Russian Information Threat.” Keeley McCoy, Graduated May 2016.

“Can Somalia Become a Coherent State? Obstacles, Divisions and Debates.” Ibrahim Mohammad, Graduated May 2017.

“Examining the Forces Driving China’s South China Sea Policy.” Joshua Miller, Graduated May 2018

“Balancing Support for an Ally with Human Rights: US Weapons Sales to Saudi Arabia.” Crystal Kappleman, Graduated December 2019.

#### Thesis Supervision:

“Did Sarajevo’s Multiethnic Spatiality Survive? An Analysis of a Residential Building in the City Through War and Peace.” Ira Kurtagic. Graduated May 2007, MPIA.

Jeff Owen, GIA, “Neopatrimonialism in the Transnistrian Moldovan Republic.” Graduated August 2009, MPIA.

Adis Maksis, “Republic of Srpska Referendum Discourse 2006- 2008: Understanding Emergence and Performative Structure through its expression in two Bosnian daily newspapers.” Graduated December 2009, OLMA.

Emil Sanamyan, “The Logic of Occupation in the Nagorno-Karabakh War: The Cases of Agdam and Shaumyan.” Graduated, May 2016, MPIA.

#### Ph D Committee Service

Jon Bohland, “A Lost Cause Found: Vestiges of Old South Memory in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.” Graduated December 2006, Ph D in Environment, Design and Planning.

Nicholas Kiersey, “Power and International Relations Theory: Why the ‘Debate About *Empire*’ Matters?” Graduated May 2007, Ph D, PG&G.

Ken Thompson, “The Politics of U.S. Commercial Remote Sensing: Conflict and Collaboration in the High-Tech World of Earth Observation Satellites.” Graduated May 2008, Ph D in Science and Technology Studies.

Ted Holland, Geography Department, University of Colorado, “Buddhism in Post-Soviet Russia: The Geographic Contexts of ‘Revival.’” Ph D committee, external member. Graduated 2012.

Natalie Koch, Geography Department, University of Colorado, "Oil and Order in Astana: The Political Economy of Building Kazakhstan's New Capital," Ph D committee, external member. Graduated 2012.

Ph D Students (Note: the PG&G Ph D for full and part-time students started in NCR in August 2007).

David Belt, "Framing Islam as a Threat: Use of Islam as a Platform for Cultural Politics in Decade after 9/11." Graduated May 2015.

Adis Maksić, "Mobilizing for Ethnic Violence? Ethnonationalist Political Parties and the Dynamics of Ethno-Politicization." Graduated May 2015.

Bryan Riddle, "The Essence of Desperation: Accounting for Counterinsurgency Doctrines as Solutions to War Fighting Failures in Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan." Graduated May 2016.

Sonya Finley, "Recommending Political Warfare—The Role of Eisenhower's Presidential Committee on International Information Activities in the United States' Approach to the Cold War." Graduated Dec 2016.

Adna Karamelic-Oates, "Redefining Bosnianness: Identity Negotiation of Bosnian Natives in the United States." Graduated May 2019.

Gela Merabishvili, "The Politics of Border Walls in Georgia, Hungary and Israel." Graduated December 2020.

Walter Landgraf III, "The American Presence in Europe and the Future of NATO." Ph D Candidate.  
Nareg Saferian, "The Backbone of the Country: The Shifting Place of Siunik in Armenia's Geopolitical Culture." Ph D Candidate.

Jasper Schneider, "US Sphere of Influence Geopolitics During the Cold War." Ph D Pre-Candidate.

Active Ph D advisees: James Davitch, Carol Beck, Emina Muzaferija, Yagiz Sulla.

## **SERVICE**

### **Professional Service**

Member of the following associations: Association of American Geographers, Association for the Study of Nationalities, Association of Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, American Political Science Association, International Studies Association, International Geographic Union, Border Areas in Transition working group, Political Geography Specialty Group of the AAG.

Co-organizer of the international conference "The PKK, Kurdish Nationalism and the Future of Turkey." Virginia Tech National Capital Region, 7 November 2013.

Co-organizer with John O'Loughlin, Denis Pringle and Peter Shirlow of the International Geographic Union Commission on the World Political Map conference on "Nationalisms and Identities in a Globalized World" in Maynooth and Belfast, Ireland, August 1998.

Co-organizer with Andrew Herod, University of Georgia, and Susan Roberts, University of Kentucky of the conference "Crises of Global Governance and Regulation," Athens, Georgia, 5-7 April 1996.

Co-author of the decade and a 15 year sub-disciplinary review: "Political Geography: From the 'Long 1989' to the Millennium." In Geography in America, eds. G. Gale and J. Willmott. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill.

### **Campus Service**

Government and International Affairs Director, National Capital Region, 2000-2016.

Graduate Director, Planning, Globalization and Governance Ph D.

Promotions and Tenure Committee, School of Public and International Affairs.

Promotions and Tenure Committee, College of Architecture and Urban Studies.

Executive Committee, School of Public and International Affairs.

### **Community, State and National Service**

Presentation to Foreign Service Institute personnel on BiH, May 2014 & new US Ambassador to Bosnia.

Presentation at the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, US Department of State, 14 January 2013.

Presentation at the Bosnia-Herzegovina Round Table, Foreign Service Institute, US Department of State, 7 February 2008; participant, 20 October 2010.

Testimony before Subcommittee on Europe and Emerging Threats, International Relations Committee, House of Representatives, U.S. Congress as an expert witness at the hearings 'Bosnia-Herzegovina: Unfinished Business.' 6 April, 2005.

### **ACADEMIC REFEREES**

Dr Timothy Luke, University Distinguished Professor, Chair Department of Political Science, Virginia Tech. Email: [twluke@vt.edu](mailto:twluke@vt.edu)

Dr John Agnew, Distinguished Professor of Geography and Italian, UCLA, 1255 Bunche Hall, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1524. Email: [jagnew@geog.ucla.edu](mailto:jagnew@geog.ucla.edu)

Dr John O'Loughlin, College Professor of Distinction, Professor of Geography and Faculty Research Associate, Political and Economic Change Program, Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado at Boulder. Email: [Johno@colorado.edu](mailto:Johno@colorado.edu)

Dr Paul Knox, University Distinguished Professor, Founding Dean, Honors College, Virginia Tech. Email: [knox@vt.edu](mailto:knox@vt.edu)

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