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Born: 4 June, 1945, Brooklyn, New York
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CURRICULUM VITAE

EDUCATION

B.A. Swarthmore College, 1967 (High Honors in Political Science)

M.A. University of California, Berkeley, 1968 (Political Science)

Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley, 1974 (Political Science)

EMPLOYMENT

1968, 1972 Teaching Assistant in Political Science, Berkeley

1969 Instructor, National Teacher Education Center, Afgoy,
Somalia

1970-71 Master: Grenada Boys' Secondary School, West Indies

1974-75 Lecturer: Departments of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley and Davis

1975-87 Assistant Professor; Associate Professor (1979); Professor (1984); Chairman (1986):
Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego

1987--1998 Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for the Study of Politics, History
and Culture, University of Chicago

1992-1998 The William R. Kenan Jr. Professor of Political Science and the College at the University of
Chicago

1999-- Professor of Political Science, Stanford University

2003-- The James T. Watkins IV and Elise V. Watkins Professor of Political Science at Stanford
University

HONORS AND AWARDS

Phi Beta Kappa, Swarthmore College, 1967

Master's Essay Prize, Berkeley, 1968

Advanced to candidacy with "distinction", May,
1972

Best dissertation in political theory, Berkeley,
1974

Best dissertation 1974, Western Political Science Association (co-winner)

First Annual Alumni Teaching Award, 1977, Alumni of U.C. San Diego

Invitation to the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, 1983

German Marshall Fund Research Fellow, 1984-85

Howard Foundation Fellow, 1984-85

Invitation to the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J., 1989-90 (declined)

Awarded the William F. Kenan, Jr. Chair in Political Science and the College at the University of Chicago

Elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1995)

The Mary Parker Follett Prize for the best article on politics and history from the Politics and History Section of the American Political Science Association, for "Language and the Construction of States", at the Annual Meeting, New York, 1995.

The Gregory M. Luebbert Memorial Award in Comparative Politics, awarded by the Comparative Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, for "The Tower of Babel as a Coordination Game", at the Annual Meeting, New York, 1995.

Invited as a long-term Resident to the Rockefeller Center at Bellagio (Italy), September, 1996

Invited to spend sabbatical year at Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, May, 1996.

Listed in Who's Who in the United States (1996--)

The Gregory M. Luebbert Memorial Award in Comparative Politics, awarded by the Comparative Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, for "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation" [co-authored with James Fearon] at the Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., 1997.

The Heinz Eulau Award, for the best article in the American Political Science Review in 1996, awarded by the American Political Science Association, for "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation" [co-authored with James Fearon] at the Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., 1997.

The Mattei Dogan Award from the Society for Comparative Research; the Gregory M. Luebbert Memorial Award from the Comparative Politics Section of the American Political Science Association; the David Easton Award from the Foundations of Political Theory Section of the American Political Science Association; and the Wayne Vucinich Book Prize from the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies -- for Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations of the Near Abroad.

Fellow at the Center for the Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (1999-2000) Fellow at the Russell Sage Foundation (2003-2004)

Elected Member of the National Academy of Sciences (2007)

Dean's Award for Distinguished Teaching (2008-09) Stanford University

Castle Endowed Lectures, "Africa: The Last Frontier for Development", Yale University (2015)

American Political Science Association, Comparative Politics Section, 2020 Bingham Powell Mentoring Prize

Johan Skytte Prize in Political Science, 2021, Uppsala University

GRANTS

1973-74 Institute of International Studies Traineeship for dissertation
research

1976 U.C. San Diego Summer Grant from the Committee on Research
1977 National Endowment for the Humanities, Summer Stipend

1979-80 National Endowment for the Humanities, Fellowship to engage in a year of field research
pursuing the theme of "Religion and Political Culture among the Yoruba"

1984-85 German Marshall Fund Fellowship and Howard Foundation Fellowship, to engage in a year
of field research in Spain, pursuing the theme of "Language in the Modern State"

1987 Short Term Fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies, to engage in a
summer of field research in India

1988 Social Science Research Council grant to organize conference on "Institutionalization of the
State" as part of the "States and Social Structures" Project (with Ian Lustick)

1990 Spencer Foundation grant to conduct field research in Ghana for a project "National Language and Education in Ghana"

1992-94 National Science Foundation, two year grant to engage in field research in Estonia and to support related research activities in the former Soviet Union, entitled "Nationality and Politics: The Dismemberment of the Soviet Union" (in collaboration with Jerry Hough)

1995-98 MacArthur Foundation, three year grant of \$750,000 to direct research and graduate education in the field of peace and international cooperation.

1995-96 John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, Fellow.
1997 Fellow at the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Study Center

1997-99 Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, two year grant of \$70,000 to examine ethnic and nationality relations in Moldova and Azerbaijan

1999 National Science Foundation Grant, in collaboration with James D. Fearon, on "'Minorities at Risk' Data Base and Explaining Ethnic Violence"

2001 Carnegie Corporation Grant, in collaboration with James D. Fearon, on "Ethnicization of Civil Wars as a Problem for an International Gendarmerie" (\$203,000)

2001-2004 National Science Foundation Grant, in collaboration with James D. Fearon, to support semi-annual meetings of the Laboratory in Comparative Ethnic Processes (LiCEP)

2008-2009 National Science Foundation Grant, "Muslim Integration into EU Societies: Comparative Perspectives" (\$344,000)

2009-2010 Hoagland award for innovation in teaching, to develop Freshman Intro Seminar "Muslim Integration in France"

2009-2011 Minerva Research Grant, Department of Defense, "Terrorism, Governance, and Development" (With Jacob Shapiro, Eli Berman, and Jeremy Weinstein)

2010 Franco-American Foundation Residency Grant, "'Equality of Opportunity", Paris, February-March

2010 France-Stanford Center for Interdisciplinary Studies (FSCIS), (with Yann Algan) "National/Religious Factionalization and Social Mobility in France: Taking Advantage of Exogenous Assignment of Housing to Migrants"

2011 Library of Congress, Kluge Fellowship (December 2010-March 2011)

2014-16 Minerva Research, Department of the Navy "Deterrence with Proxies" (Sub-contract of Grant Awarded to UCSD, Eli Berman, PI)

2016 Ford Foundation, Grant to provide infrastructure for the Stanford Immigration Policy Lab

2016 National Science Foundation Grant "RAPID: Baseline Survey of Asylum Seekers in Germany"

2017-2019 National Science Foundation Grant "Asylum Seeker and Refugee Integration in Europe"

2018-2019 France-Stanford Center Grant [with Jamila Alaktif and Stéphane Callens] "Maintaining Inclusion in the Shadow of Terrorism, Violence and Populism"

2020-22 National Institute of Health Immigrant Families and Children's Health: The Intergenerational Health Impact of Federal and State Immigration Policy [Jens Hainmueller, PI]

PUBLICATIONS

Books

African Politics since Independence: Order, Development and Democracy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019) [co-authored with Darin Christensen]

Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016) [co-authored with Claire Adida and Marie-Anne Valfort]

Nations, States and Violence (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Identity in Formation: the Russian-speaking Populations in the Near Abroad (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998)

Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Hegemony and Culture: The Politics of Religious Change among the Yoruba (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). [Translated as Hegemonía y cultura: Política y cambio religioso entre los Yoruba, and published by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, Madrid, 2011]

Somalia: Nation in Search of a State (Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1987) (co-authored with Said Samatar).

Politics, Language and Thought: The Somali Experience (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977)

Articles and Review Essays

“Linguistic diversity, official language choice and human capital”, (2022) *Journal of Development Economics*, with Rajesh Ramachandran

“Reporting All Results Efficiently: A RARE proposal to open up the file drawer” (2021) (with Edward Miguel, Katherine Hoerberling and others) *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*

“Le pari de l’inclusion sociale à l’ombre de la violence paroxystique” (with Jamila Alaktif and Stéphane Callens) *Epreuves et Limites*, ed Gilles Ferréol, Paris: Proximité, 2021

“Jerry Hough and the Challenge to Area Studies” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, Summer 2021

“The Onion Principle”. In *Stories from the Field*. Ed. Peter Krause and Ora Szekely, Columbia University Press, 2020

“The Legacy of Colonial Language Policies and their Impact on Student Learning: Evidence from an Experimental Program in Cameroon” (with Rajesh Ramachandran and Stephen L. Walter] *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 68 (1): 239-72, October 2019

“Standardizing the fee waiver application increased naturalization rates of low-income immigrants” [With Vasil Yassenov, Michael Hotard, Duncan Laurence, and Jens Hainmueller] *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* (2019) <https://www.pnas.org/content/116/34/16768>

“A Low-cost information nudge increases citizenship application rates among low-income immigrants” [With Michael Hotard, Duncan Lawrence and Jens Hainmueller] *Nature Human Behaviour* April 15, 2019 <https://www.nature.com/articles/s41562-019-0572-z>

“Multidimensional measure of immigrant integration” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* <http://www.pnas.org/content/early/2018/10/18/1808793115> [with Niklas Harder et al.]

“Breaking Down Barriers to Naturalization for Low-Income Immigrants: Evidence from a Randomized Controlled Design” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* [with Jens Hainmueller et al.]

“Protecting unauthorized immigrant mothers improves their children’s mental health” (2017) *Science* [with Jens Hainmueller et al.]

“‘Sons of the Soil’: A Model of Assimilation and Population Control” (2018) *Journal of Theoretical Politics* [With Ruxi Zhang and Avidit Acharya]

“Trust, Transparency, and Replication in Political Science” (2017) *PS: Political Science and Politics* [With Rob Reich]

“Language Policy and Human Development” (August 2016) *American Political Science Review* [With Rajesh Ramachandran]

“Where Are the Mimics when Passing Seems Easy?: The Rwandan Genocide in Comparative Perspective In Diego Gambetta, ed. *Flight, Fight, Mimic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

“The Social Effects of Ethnic Diversity at the Local Level: A Natural Experiment with Exogenous Residential Allocation” *Journal of Political Economy* (With Yann Algan and Camille Hémet) (2016)

“Exodus: Reflections on European Migration Policy”. In Roland Hsu and Christoph Reinprecht, eds., *Migration and Integration: New Models of Mobility and Coexistence* (Vienna: Vienna University Press, 2016)

- "Religious homophily in a secular country; Evidence from a voting game in France" (With Claire Adida and Marie-Anne Valfort) Economic Inquiry (2015)
- "One Muslim is Enough! Evidence from a Field Experiment in France" (With Claire Adida and Marie-Anne Valfort) Annals of Economics and Statistics (2016).
- "Promoting Transparency in Social Science Research" (2015) Science, 10.1126/science.1245317 [With E. Miguel, C. Camerer, K. Casey, J. Cohen, K. M. Esterling, A. Gerber, R. Glennerster, D. P. Green, M. Humphreys, G. Imbens, T. Madon, L. Nelson, B. A. Nosek, M. Petersen, R. Sedlmayr, J. P. Simmons, U. Simonsohn, M. Van der Laan]
- "Socially relevant ethnic groups, ethnic structure and AMAR." (2015) Journal of Peace Research 52(1): 110-115 [With Johanna K. Birnir, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, James D. Fearon, Ted Robert Gurr, Dawn Brancati, Stephen Saideman, Amy Pate, and Agatha S. Hultquist].
- "Civil War Non-Onsets: The Case of Japan" Journal of Civilization Studies, the journal of the Center for Civilization Studies of Istanbul Medeniyet University, Turkey, 2014 [With James Fearon]
- "Muslims in France: identifying a discriminatory equilibrium" Journal of Population Economics (2014) [with Claire Adida and Marie-Anne Valfort]
- "Gender norms, Muslim immigrants, and economic integration in France." Economics and Politics (2014) [with Claire Adida and Marie-Anne Valfort]
- "Immigration into Europe: Discrimination, Violence and Public Policy" Annual Review of Political Science (2014) [with Rafaela Dancygier].
- "The Industrial Organization of Merged Armies". In Roy Licklider, ed. New Armies from Old: Merging Competing Militaries after Civil War (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2014)
- "The Uniting of Europe: A Memoir of Ernst B. Haas", Baltic Journal of European Studies 3(1), June 2013.
 "Multilingüisme i riquesa dels estats: una investigació empírica". In Alexia Bos I Solé, ed. Les fronteres del multilingüisme (Barcelona: Editorial UOC, 2012)
- "Political Remedies to Economic Inequality". In David B. Grusky et al, Occupy the Future (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2013)
- "Fisheries Management" Political Analysis 21(1): Winter 2013
- "Geographic axes and the persistence of cultural diversity" Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (June 11, 2012) (with Joachim Moortgat and Amanda Robinson)
- "Political Culture", entry in the Oxford Companion to Comparative Politics, Oxford University Press, 2012 (Joel Krieger, editor) [With Nan Zhang].
- "Modeling the Evolution of Ethnic Demography", Chapter 7, in Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics [With Maurits van der Veen] ed. Kanchan Chandra (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- "Ethnicity and Pork: A Virtual Test of Causal Mechanisms", Chapter 9, in Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics (with Maurits van der Veen) ed. Kanchan Chandra (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)
- José Luis Martí and Philip Pettit (2011) *A Political Philosophy in Public Life: Civic Republicanism in Zapatero's Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), review essay in Political Theory (June, 2012)
- "Rational Islamophobia" Archives Européennes de Sociologie (2011)
- "Identifying barriers to Muslim integration in France" Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (2010) (with Claire Adida and Marie-Anne Valfort)
- "Sons-of-the-soil, Migrants, and Civil War" (2011) World Development 39:2 (199-211) (with James Fearon).
- "Debate on David Laitin's Nations, States, and Violence" Nations and Nationalism 15(4), (October 2009).
- "Kto-Kogo?: A Cross-Country Study of the Origins and Targets of Terrorism". In Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness eds. Philip Keefer and Norman Loayza (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 148-73 (with Alan B. Krueger).
- "The Political, Economic, and Organizational Sources of Terrorism". In Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness eds. Philip Keefer and Norman Loayza (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008),

pp. 209-32.

- "Religion, Terrorism and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model". (2008) Journal of Public Economics [PUBEC_2790] (With Eli Berman).
- "Immigrant Communities and Civil War" (2009) International Migration Review, 43:1 (35-59)
- "Integrating Qualitative and Quantitative Methods" (2008). In Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology, eds. Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier and David Collier (Oxford: Oxford University Press). (With James Fearon) [Republished in Oxford Handbook of Political Science, ed. Robert E. Goodin (Oxford University Press, 2009)]
- "American Immigration through Comparativists' Eyes" (October, 2008) Comparative Politics 41(1).
- "Culture, Rationality and the Search for Discipline" (2007). In Gerardo L. Munck and Richard Snyder Passion, Craft, and Method in Comparative Politics (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press)
- "Religion, Terrorism and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model" (2008) (with Eli Berman), Journal of Public Economics [Earlier versions: (a) November 2005: "Hard Targets: Theory and Evidence on Suicide Attacks", NBER Working Paper 11740; (b) 2007. "Religion, Terrorism and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model" NBER, Working Paper Series, 13725.]
- "The Political, Economic and Organizational Sources of Terrorism" In Philip Keefer and Norman Loayza, eds. (2007). Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness (New York: Cambridge University Press). Co-authored with Jacob Shapiro
- "Kto-Kogo: A Cross-Country Study of the Origins and Targets of Terrorism" In Philip Keefer and Norman Loayza, eds. (2007). Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness (New York: Cambridge University Press). Co-authored with Alan B. Krueger.
- "Mann's Dark Side: linking democracy and genocide". In John A. Hall and Ralph Schroeder The Anatomy of Power (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006), pp. 328-339.
- "The De-Cosmopolitanization of the Russian Diaspora: A View from Brooklyn in the 'Far Abroad'" in Diaspora 13 (2004): 5-35 Reprinted in Acta Universitatis Latviensis (Riga, Latvia), 680: 13-33 (2005).
- "Culture Shift in a Postcommunist State", in Zoltan Barany and Robert G. Moser Ethnic Politics After Communism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005)
- "Civil War Narratives" Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales, Working Paper 2005/218 (June 2005) (With James Fearon).
- "Ethnic Unmixing and Civil War" (Summer 2004) Security Studies 13 (4): 350-65. [Reprinted in Roy Licklider and Mia Bloom (2006) Living Together after Ethnic Killing (London: Routledge)]
- "'Misunderestimating' Terrorism: The State Department's Big Mistake" (with Alan Krueger) Foreign Affairs (September/October 2004)
- "Las contribuciones de la ciencia política" (in a symposium with Giovanni Sartori and Josep M. Colomer) Política y gobierno (Mexico) XI, 2 (2004); reprinted and translated as "Whither Political Science? Reflections on Professor Sartori's claim that 'American-type political science...is going nowhere. It is an every growing giant with feet of clay'" in PS (October 2004); reprinted in Revista Española de Ciencia Política (Madrid) 12: 15-20, (April 2005)
- "Language Policy and Civil War" (2004) in Philippe van Parijs, ed. Cultural Diversity versus Economic Solidarity: Proceedings of the Seventh Francqui Colloquium, Brussels, 28 February – 1 March 2003 (Brussels: de Boeck).
- "A Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change" (with Avner Greif), American Political Science Review (November 2004)
- "The Political Science Discipline" in Edward Mansfield and Richard Sisson, eds. The Evolution of Political Knowledge (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2004)
- "Somalia" in William J. Lahneman Intervention: Lessons of the 1990s for the 21st Century (Rowman and Littlefield, 2004) [Reprinted in J. Rudolph Jr. and W. Lahneman From Mediation to Nation Building (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books 2013)]

- "Language Policy and Civil War" in Philippe Van Parijs, ed. Cultural Diversity versus Economic Solidarity, Brussels: Deboeck Université, Francqui Scientific Library (September 2004)
- "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States" (with James Fearon) International Security (Spring 2004)
- "The Perestroika Challenge to Social Science" Politics & Society 31, 1 (2003): 163-84 [Reprinted in Kristen Renwick Monroe (2005) Peerestroika!: The Raucous Rebellion in Political Science (New Haven: Yale University Press)] [Reprinted in Sanford F. Schram and Brian Caterino, eds., Making Political Science Matter (New York: NYU Press, 2006)]
- "A Liberal Democratic Approach to Language Justice" (with Rob Reich) in Will Kymlicka and Alan Patten, eds., Language Rights and Political Theory (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
- "Three Models of Integration and the Estonian/Russian Reality" Journal of Baltic Studies 34, 2, (2003): 197-223
- "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War" (with James Fearon) American Political Science Review 97, 1 (February 2003): 75-90 [Translated in Capacidades estatales: diez textos fundamentales, Banco de Desarrollo de América Latina, 2015]
- "La Modelisation formelle et la science politique americaine: les debats actuels" Sociologie et Sociétés, 34, 1 (Spring 2002): 67-78 [and "Réponse aux commentaires pour le numéro sur le choix rationnel" pp. 155-63]
- "Comparative Politics: The State of the Subdiscipline" in Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, eds. Political Science: The State of the Discipline (New York: Norton, 2002).
- "Culture and National Identity: 'The East' and European Integration" West European Politics 25, 2 (April 2002): 56-80 [Reprinted in Peter Mair and Jan Zielonka, eds. The Enlarged European Union: Diversity and Adaptation. (London: Frank Cass, 2002)]
- "Language Conflict and Violence" Archives Européennes de Sociologie 41/1 (2001) [Reprinted in Daniel Druckman and Paul Stern, eds. International Conflict Resolution After the Cold War (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, Fall 2000)]
- "Comment on Lowell Barrington" (2001) Post-Soviet Affairs 17: 2, pp. 159-63.
- "Secessionist Rebellion in the Former Soviet Union" Comparative Political Studies 34, 8 (2001): 839-861 "The Theoretical Contribution of Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life" in Robert Hardgrave, Jr. "Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India" A Review Symposium, on the publication of a book by Ashutosh Varshney, Commonwealth and Comparative Politics 39.1 (March 2001) pp. 97-110
- Commentary on Francisco J. Gil-White "Are Ethnic Groups Biological 'Species' to the Human Brain?" Current Anthropology 42: 4 (August-October 2001) pp. 542-3
- "Political Science and Nationalism" in Alexander Motyl, ed. Encyclopedia of Nationalism (San Diego: Academic Press, 2000).
- "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identities" (with James Fearon) in International Organization (October, 2000)
- "Post-Soviet Politics" in Annual Review of Political Science, vol. 3 (2000)
- "Language Conflict and Violence", in Paul C. Stern and Daniel Druckman, eds., International Conflict Resolution After the Cold War (National Academy of Sciences Press, Washington, D.C., 2000); reprinted in European Journal of Sociology (2000)
- "What is a Language Community?" American Journal of Political Science 44(1), 2000, pp.142-55
- "Thinking a Way out of Karabakh" (with Ronald Grigor Suny) in Middle East Policy 7, 1 (1999):145-76.
- "Identity Choice under Conditions of Uncertainty" in Competition and Cooperation: Conversations With Nobelists About Economics and Political Science, eds. James E. Alt, Margaret Levi, and Elinor Ostrom (New York: Russell Sage, 1999)
- "The Cultural Elements of Ethnically Mixed States" in State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn, George Steinmetz, ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999)
- "Somalia -- Civil War and International Intervention" in Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder, eds. Civil War,

- Insecurity, and Intervention (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999)
- "Toward a Political Science Discipline: Authority Patterns Revisited" Comparative Political Studies 31, 4 (August, 1998), 423-443
- "Liberal Theory and the Nation" Political Theory 26, 2 (April, 1998), pp. 221-36.
- "The Cultural Identities of a European State" Politics & Society 25, 3 (1997). pp. 277-302 [Reprinted as "National Identities in the Emerging European State" in Michael Keating and John McGarry, eds., Minority Nationalism and the Changing International Order (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)]
- "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation" American Political Science Review (with James D. Fearon) 90, 4, (December, 1996), pp. 715-35.
- "Nationalism and Language: A Post-Soviet Perspective" in John A. Hall, ed. Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 135-57.
- "Introduction" (pp. 2-3), "Language and Nationalism in the Post-Soviet Republics" (pp. 4-24), and "National Revival and Competitive Assimilation in Estonia" (pp. 25-39), in Post-Soviet Affairs vol. 12, January-March, 1996.
- "Transitions to Democracy and Territorial Integrity" chap. 1 in Adam Przeworski et al (1995) Sustainable Democracy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 19-33.
- "Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Nationality in the Post-Soviet Diaspora" Archives Européennes de Sociologie, 36, 2 (1995) [Printed earlier, in a slightly different version, in Studies in Public Policy, no. 249, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow], 281-316.
- "Language Planning in the Former Soviet Union: The Case of Estonia", International Journal of the Sociology of Language Hans Dua, ed. (July, 1995), pp. 43-62.
- "The Qualitative-Quantitative Disputation", a symposium with James Caporaso, David Collier, Ronald Rogowski, Sidney Tarrow, Gary King, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba, in American Political Science Review 89, 2 (June, 1995), pp. 454-56.
- "Russian Nationalism in Post-Soviet Estonia" in Justo G. Beramendi et al. Nationalism in Europe: Past and Present (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 521-44.
- "Political Culture at 30" American Political Science Review 89, 1 (March, 1995), pp. 168-73.
- "National Revivals and Violence" Archives Européennes de Sociologie (Spring 1995) [Translated into Spanish and published in Sistema 132/33, June, 1996] pp. 3-43.
- "The Tower of Babel as a Coordination Game: Political Linguistics in Ghana" American Political Science Review (September, 1994), pp. 622-34.
- "Marginality: A Micro Perspective" Rationality and Society (1995), 7, 1 (January), pp. 31-57
- "Les Russophones d'Estonie" Liber 20 (December, 1994), pp. 7-9.
- "Language and the Construction of States: The Case of Catalonia in Spain" Politics and Society (March, 1994) (with Stathis Kalyvas and Carlota Solé), pp. 5-30.
- "The Russian-Speaking Nationality in Estonia: Two Quasi Constitutional Elections" East European Constitutional Review (Fall, 1993/Winter 1994), pp. 23-27.
- "The Game Theory of Language Régimes" International Political Science Review 14, 3, (1993), pp. 227-40.
- "Migration and Language Shift in Urban India" International Journal of the Sociology of Language (103, 1993), pp. 57-72.
- "Language Normalization in Estonia and Catalonia" Journal of Baltic Studies 23, 2 (Summer, 1992), pp. 149-66.
 "Language, Ideology and the Press in Catalonia" (with Guadalupe Rodríguez Gómez), American Anthropologist (March, 1992), pp. 9-30.
- "Language and the State: Russia and the Soviet Union in Comparative Perspective" in Alexander J. Motyl, ed. Thinking Theoretically about Soviet Nationalities: Concepts, History, and Comparison in the Study of the USSR (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992) (with Roger Petersen and John Slocum)

- "Structure and Irony in Social Revolutions" Political Theory (20, 1, 1992) (with Carolyn Warner), pp. 147-51
- "The Four Nationality Games and Soviet Politics" Journal of Soviet Nationalities, 2, 1 (Spring, 1991), pp. 1-37.
- "The National Uprisings in the Soviet Union" World Politics (October, 1991) [Reprinted in Nancy Bermeo, ed., Liberalization and Democratization (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992)], pp. 139-77.
- "What Language Future for Africa" Transition: an international review (54, n.s. vol. 1, 4, 1991), pp. 131-41.
- "Language Choice Among Ghanaians" Language Problems and Language Planning 15, 2 (Summer, 1991), pp. 139-61.
- "The Economy", in Somalia: A Country Study 1992 edition (Washington D.C., Library of Congress) "Linguistic Conflict in Catalonia" in Modest Reixach, Sociologia de la Llengua, Area 2 of the Segon Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana (Girona, Spain: 1991), pp. 274-83
- "Language Policy and Political Strategy in India" Policy Sciences 22, 4 (1989), pp. 415-36.
- "Linguistic Revival: Politics and Culture in Catalonia" Comparative Studies in Society and History 31, 2 (April, 1989), pp. 297-317.
- "Hegemony and the State" States and Social Structures Newsletter (Social Science Research Council), (Winter, 1989), (with Ian Lustick)
- "Language Conflict: Transactions and Games in Kenya" Cultural Anthropology (February, 1989) (co-authored with Carol Eastman), pp. 51-72.
- "Catalan Elites and Language Normalization" International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy 9, 4 (October, 1989) (with Carlota Solé), pp. 1-26.
- "Language Games" Comparative Politics 20, 3 (April, 1988), pp. 289-302.
- "Political Culture and Political Preferences" American Political Science Review 82, 2 (June, 1988), pp. 589-93.
- "Security, Ideology and Development on Africa's Horn: United States Policy -- Reagan and the Future" in African in the 1990s and Beyond: U.S. Policy Opportunities and Choices, ed. Robert I. Rotberg (Algonac: Reference Publications, 1988)
- "Linguistic Conflict in Catalonia", Language Problems and Language Planning (Summer, 1987), pp. 129-47.
- "Politics, Feminism and the Ethics of Caring", in E Kitay and D. Meyers, eds., Women and Moral Theory, Rowman and Littlefield, (with Mary Katzenstein), 1987.
- "South Africa: Violence, Myths and Democratic Reform," World Politics, (January, 1987), pp. 258-79.
- "Aplicación de la Teoría de los Juegos a las Actitudes y Política Lingüísticas. El Caso de Inmigrantes y Autóctonos en Cataluña," Papers, Revista de Sociologia (Barcelona, Spain), (with Carlota Solé), (1986).
- "Conflicto lingüístico en Cataluña. Una explicación alternativa", Sistema, Revista de Ciencias Sociales, (Madrid, Spain), (with Carlota Solé), (September, 1986).
- "The American--Somali Alliance: Whose Agenda?" in Transafrica Forum 2, 4 (Summer, 1985).
- "Hegemony and Religious Conflict," in T. Skocpol et al., eds., Bringing the State Back In (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)
- "Somalia and the World Economy," Review of African Political Economy, No.30 (with Said Samatar) (September, 1984), pp. 58-72.
- "Changes in the Idea of the Somali Nation," in Horn of Africa: From 'Scramble for Africa' to East-West Conflict (Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1983).
- "Rational Choice and Culture," in F. Eidlen, ed., Festschrift for Henry Ehrmann (New York: Praeger, 1983).
- "The Ogaadeen Question and Changes in Somali Identity" in V. Olorunsola and D. Rothchild, eds., State versus Ethnic Claims: An African Policy Dilemma (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983).
- "Linguistic Dissociation: A Strategy for Africa", in J. Ruggie, ed., Antinomies of Interdependence (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
- "Capitalism and Hegemony: Yorubaland and the International Economy," International Organization, 36, 4

(Autumn, 1982), 687-714.

"The Sharia Debate and the Origins of Nigeria's Second Republic," The Journal of Modern African Studies, 20, 3 (1982), pp. 411-430.

"Conversion and Political Change: A Study of (Anglican) Christianity and Islam among the Yorubas in Ile-Ife" Political Anthropology Yearbook (N.J.: Transaction, 1982).

"Military Rule and National Secession: Nigeria and Ethiopia", in M. Janowitz, ed., Civil-Military Relations in a Regional Perspective (with D. Harker) (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1981).

"The OAU and the Ogaadeen Question: Towards a Solution" Proceedings of the First International Congress of Somali Studies, Mogadisho, (with O. Ojo) (July, 1980)

"Somalia's Military Regime and Scientific Socialism," in Socialism in Sub-Saharan Africa, T. Callaghy and C. Rosberg (eds.), (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, 1979).

"Language Choice and National Development: A Typology for Africa," International Interactions, 6, 3 (1979), pp. 291-321.

"The War in the Ogaden: The Implications for Siyaad's Role in Somali History," Journal of Modern African Studies, 17, 1 (1979), pp. 95-116.

"United States Foreign Policy: Options on the Horn," Horn of Africa (April-June, 1978), pp. 49-51.

"Bearing the Burden: A Model of Presidential Responsibility in Foreign Policy," with Peter Cowhey, International Studies Quarterly 22, No. 2 (June, 1978), 267-96.

"Religion, Political Culture and the Weberian Tradition," World Politics (July, 1978), pp. 563-92.

"Revolutionary Change in Somalia," MERIP Reports, No. 62 (1977), pp. 6-18.

"Somali Territorial Claims in International Perspective," Africa Today (April-June, 1976)

"The Political Economy of Military Rule in Somalia," Journal of Modern African Studies (September, 1976), pp. 449-68.

"Leadership: A Comparative Perspective," with Ian Lustick in International Organization (Winter, 1974), pp. 89-118.

"Somali Nitty Gritty," Africa Report, (April, 1970).

Working Papers

"The Historical Sources of Language Policy" with Rajesh Ramachandran [under review]

"Emigration and Radical Right Populism" with Rafaela Dancygier, Sirius H. Dehdari, Moritz Marbach, and Kåre Vernby (under review)

"Does access to citizenship confer socio-economic returns? Evidence from a randomized control design", with Jens Hainmueller, Elisa Cascardi, Michael Hotard, Duncan Lawrence, Rey Koslowski and Vasil Yassenov

"Gender Gap in Refugee Integration" with Duncan Lawrence, Jens Hainmueller, and Saurabh Khanna

"Perspectives On the Theory of State-Building" (Co-authored with Roger Myerson, James Fearon, and David Lake)

"Integration Failures in France: a search for mechanisms" (with Mathilde Emeriau)

"*Identity in Formation: 20 year retrospective*" (2018)

"Does Armed Conflict Have 'Deep Historical Roots'" (with James Fearon)

"Civil War Terminations" (with James Fearon)

Book Reviews:

Review of *Soldiers and Kinsmen*, by Ali Mazrui. *Western Political Quarterly* (June, 1976).

Review of Conflict in Africa, by Adda Bozeman, in *Contemporary Sociology* (May, 1977), 359-360.

Review of Conflict and Crisis: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1945-1948, by Robert J. Donovan, in *The San Diego Union* (November 20, 1977).

Review of Dulles: A Biography of Eleanor, Allen, and John Foster Dulles and Their Family Network, by Leonard Mosley, in *The San Diego Union* (April 16, 1978).

Review of Political Language: Words That Succeed and Policies That Fail, by Murray Edelman, in *Contemporary Sociology* (August, 1978).

Review of War Clouds on the Horn of Africa: A Crisis for Detente, by Tom J. Farer, in *Horn of Africa* (January-March, 1978), 51-52.

Review of Wittgenstein and Political Philosophy: A Reexamination of the Foundations of Social Science, by John Danford, in *American Political Science Review*, (March, 1980).

Review of Linguistic Diversity and Language Belief in Kenya: The Special Position of Swahili, by John Rhoades, in *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 5, 2 (Summer, 1981).

Review of A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa by I.M. Lewis, in *Horn of Africa*, 4, 2 (1981).

Review of Language and Dialect Atlas of Kenya, by Bernd Heine and Wilhelm J.G. Möhlig, in *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 7, 1 (Spring, 1983).

Review of Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism: The Case of Sayyid Mahammad 'Abdille Hasan, by Said Samatar in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, (1983).

Review of The Foundations of the South African Cheap Labour System, by Norman Levy in *Sociology: Review of New Books*.

Review of L. Dabene et al Status of Migrants' Mother Tongues, in *International Migration Review*, XIX, 3 (Fall, 1985).

Review of J. McCann From Poverty to Famine in Northeast Ethiopia, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (1989) Review of A.I. Samatar, *Socialist Somalia*, in *African Today* (1989)

Review of Harry Huttenbach, Soviet Nationality Policies, in *Russian History* (Winter, 1990)

Review of Anatoly Khazanov, After the USSR, in *Government and Opposition* (Autumn 1996)

Review of Alex Inkeles, National Character: A Psycho-Social Perspective, in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 28, 3 (Winter 1998), 429-31.

Review of James C. Scott, Seeing Like a State, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 1999

Review of Hilary Pilkington, Migration, Displacement and Identity in Post-Soviet Russia, *Slavic Review* 58, no. 1, (1999)

Review of Robert Bates et al, Analytic Narratives, in *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 2000.

Review of Michael Hechter, Containing Nationalism, in *American Journal of Sociology*. 106, no. 3, (2000) Review of Anthony D. Smith: Myths and Memories of the Nation, *Review of Politics*, 63, no. 1, (2001)

Review of Donald Horowitz. The Deadly Ethnic Riot, *Comparative Political Studies*, 34, 9 (2001):1092-1099.

Review of Randall Stone, Lending Credibility, *Comparative Economic Studies* 45, no. 1 (2003): 104-108

Review of Rotimi Suberu, Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria, *The International Migration Review* 37, 2, (2003): 514

Review of John Goldthorpe, On Sociology, *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 45, 4 (2004): 411-16

Review of Georgi Derluguian, Bourdieu's Secret Admirer in the Caucasus, *New Left Review* 38, March/April 2006 [Translated and reprinted in *La Revue internationale des Livres & des idées*, Septembre-octobre 2007, No. 1]

Review of Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, The Political Economy of Terrorism, *Journal of Economic*

Literatures, XLIV (September 2006), pp. 757-760.

Review of Randall Collins, Violence: A Micro-sociological Theory Science, 4 April 2008, pp. 51-52

Review of Paul Nugent, Africa since Independence, New Left Review, 2008.

Conference Papers

1973: "Politics, Education and Language Relativity: A Study of the Somalis in Kenya's Northeastern Province," African Studies Association, Syracuse, New York.

1975: "Language and Political Thought," Western Political Science Association, Seattle, Washington.

1976: "Somalia's Military Regime and Scientific Socialism," American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois.

1977: "Mali and Somalia Under Civilian and Military Rule: The Prospects for Radical Socialism," State University of New York, Conversations in the Discipline, "Can Reformist or Radical Military Regimes Generate Substantial and Rapid Socio-Economic and Political Changes?," Fredonia, New York.

1978: "A Classification of Strategies Designed to Overcome Dependency and Economic Backwardness," paper presented to the Institute for World Order Colloquium on the New International Economic Order.

1978: "The War in the Ogaden," paper presented to African Studies Association, Baltimore, Maryland.

1978: "Dependent Variables, Levels of Analysis and the Development of a Curriculum for International Political Economy", presented with P. Cowhey at the University of Southern California Conference on Graduate Education in International Political Economy, organized by J. Rosenau and S. Strange.

1979: "Language Choice and National Development: A Typology for Africa" presented at the University of Washington Colloquium for the Program in Comparative Studies in Ethnicity and Nationality, Seattle, Washington.

1980: "Conversion and Political Change: A Study of (Anglican) Christianity and Islam Among the Yorubas in Ile-Ife", presented at (a) the University of Ife seminar series of the Department of Political Science; (b) the Institute of African Studies, the University of Ibadan; (c) the American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C.; and (d) the University of Indiana, Colloquium in African Studies.

1980: "Military Rule and National Secession: Nigeria and Ethiopia" presented at the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, University of Chicago (written with Drew Harker).

1980: "The OAU and the Ogaden Question: Towards a Solution" (with O. Ojo), presented at the First International Congress of Somali Studies, Mogadishu, Somalia.

1980: "A Thick Description of Abner Cohen's Hausa Migrants" presented to the U.C.S.D. Department of Anthropology, Faculty Colloquium.

1981: "The International Economy and State Formation among the Yoruba in the 19th Century", prepared for the American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, New York.

1981: "The Ogaadeen Question and Changes in Somali Identity", presented at the Rockefeller Foundation's Conference Center, Bellagio, Italy at a Conference on "Ethnic Self-Determination and State Coherence: African Dilemmas", organized by V. Olorunsola and D. Rothchild.

1981: "The Sharia Debate and the Origins of Nigeria's Second Republic," presented at the African Studies Association, Bloomington, Indiana.

1981/2: "Linguistic Dissociation: A Strategy for Africa," presented to a Conference organized by W. O'Barr, Duke University, Durham, N.C. (1981); and to a Symposium at the Institute for Africanists at the University of Cologne (1982).

1982: "The New Media in State and National Development: The Changing Context of Somali Poetry," presented at an SSRC Conference, organized by B. Jules-Rosette, UCSD, La Jolla, CA.

1982: "The Reagan Foreign Policy in the Horn of Africa," talks delivered to (a) The Berkeley-Stanford Joint Africa Program Annual Conference, and (b) "Africa: Continuity and Change in the 1980s," conference organized by M. Clough and H. Kitchen, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.

1982: "Changes in the Idea of the Somali Nation," paper delivered to the Symposium, "Horn of Africa: From 'Scramble to Africa' to East-West Conflict," sponsored by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bonn, Germany.

1982: "Hegemony and Religious Conflict," presented to the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Denver, Colorado.

1983: "Somali Government and Politics," presented at the Second International Congress of Somali Studies, Hamburg, West Germany.

1982/3: "Hegemony and Culture," Summary of book manuscript presented to Regents Lecturer Kenneth Burke, UCSD, May, 1982; presented to the Social Science Study Group, Institute of International Affairs, Cornell University, May, 1983.

1983: Discussant on panel concerned with "Crisis in the Horn," at the UCLA Conference on African Crisis Areas and American Foreign Policy.

1983: "Some Trends in Somalia's Political Economy," Paper presented at the Second International Congress of Somali Studies, Hamburg, August, 1983.

1985: "Actituds Davant la Llengua: Aplicacio de la Teoria dels jocs al cas dels immigrants i Autoctons de Catalunya" presented at the University of Barcelona, Department of Sociology, January, 1985; and again at the University of Madrid, April, 1985.

1985: "Political Linguistics in Catalonia After Franco" presented to the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, September, 1985.

1985/6: "Language Games: Comparative Speculations" presented at Cornell University, Center of International Studies (November, 1985); Stanford University, Department of Political Science (May, 1986); and the International Sociological Association, New Delhi, (August, 1986) (read en absentia), the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, (October, 1986), and the Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, December, 1986.

1986: "Linguistic Conflict in Catalonia," Second International Congress of the Catalan Language, Gerona, Spain, May, 1986.

1986: "Transactions and Games: Language Policy in Kenya" presented to the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September, 1986 (with Carol Eastman).

1987: "The Catalan Language Under Franco," UCSD Conference on Franco Spain and the Survival of a Democratic Tradition, San Diego (March, 1987).

1987/8: "Politics and Culture in Africa" The Nelson Rockefeller lecture in Public Affairs, Dartmouth College; also the inaugural lecture at the University of Chicago.

1988: "Linguistic Revival: Politics and Culture in Catalonia" American Anthropological Association (Chicago); also at the Modern Europe workshop, University of Chicago.

1988: "Cultura y Ciencia Política en el estudio de las Administraciones Autónomas", Asociacion Madrileña de Antropologia

1989: "Explaining Language Outcomes in India" presented to the Annual Seminar of the Comparative Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism at the University of Washington, Jackson School of International Studies (May), at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Quebec (June), and at the Harvard University Seminar in Comparative Politics (April, 1990)

1989: "Immigrants russos a Estònia: és different llur situació dels andalusos a Catalunya?" Paper presented for the "Seminari Interdisciplinari Sobre l'Aplicació de la teoria dels jocs a les ciències socials" 14 December, 1989, at the Autonomous University of Barcelona

1990: "A Political Perspective on Language Repertoires in Africa" paper presented to the University of Chicago/Northwestern Africa Seminar, February; and to the Harvard University African Seminar, May.

1990: American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, Chair of Panel: "Dilemmas of State Building in a Democratic Era"

1990: "Toward a Formal Theory of Marginal Populations", paper presented to the SSRC working group on "The Security of Marginal Populations", November.

1991: "The National Uprisings in the Soviet Union", Paper presented at the International Center at MIT, February.

1991: "The Stable Boundaries of the Political", paper presented at the African Studies and Research Center conference on Religion and Protest in Africa", Cornell University, April.

1991: "Soviet Nationalities and Comparative Politics", paper presented at the East-West Center, Duke University, April.

1991: "The Tower of Babel as a Coordination Game: Political Linguistics in Ghana" (Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association)

1991: "Marginality: A Micro Perspective" (Paper delivered to the SSRC Committee on the Security of Marginal Populations, New Orleans)

1991: "The Game Theory of Language Regimes" (Paper delivered to the International Political Science Association meeting on International Language Regimes, Amsterdam)

1991: "Language and the Construction of States: The Case of Catalonia in Spain" (Paper presented to the Committee on Social Thought, Washington University; and to the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Department of Political Science).

1992: "Multinationalism and Democratization" (Paper presented to the East-West Systems Transformation group, chaired by Adam Przeworski, at the Rockefeller Foundation Study Center, Bellagio, Italy, for inclusion in a jointed authored book, provisionally entitled "Sustainable Democracy", Cambridge University Press)

1992: "A Formal Theory of National Identity" (Presentation sponsored by IREX and presented at the Institute of Philosophy, Tallinn, Estonia)

1992-93: "Nationalism and Violence" (Paper presented to the Harry F. Guggenheim Foundation, conference in Madrid, 1992; at the Instituto Esudios Avanzados, Madrid, 1993; and the Program in Post-Soviet Studies, U.C. Berkeley, April 1995)

1993: "The Cultural Identities of a European State" (Paper presented at Harvard University, May 1993; the University of Minnesota, May, 1993; UCLA, at a conference "Quo Vadis Europa, 2000?", April 1995; and at the Ford Seminar at the University of Pennsylvania, May, 1995.)

1993: "Russian Nationalism in Post-Soviet Estonia, Congreso Internacional, Os Nacionalismos en Europa, Pasado y Presente, held at Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, September, 1993.

1994: "Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Nationality in the Post Soviet Diaspora", presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, 1994; the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, November, 1994; at the University of Connecticut, October, 1994; at Harvard University, Russian Research Center, October, 1994; at the University of Wisconsin, Political Science Department, July, 1994; at MIT, Center for International Studies, October, 1994; at the University of California, Santa Barbara, April, 1995)

1995: "Language Tipping: Ethnic and Linguistic Politics in the Former Soviet Union", presented at UCLA, Political Economy Seminar, April, 1995; and at Harvard University, CFIA, April, 1995.

1995: "Explaining Inter-Ethnic Cooperation" (with James Fearon), presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York.

1995: "Nationalism and Language: A Post-Soviet Perspective", Paper presented at the Central European University, Centre for the Study of Nationalism, Prague, December; presented in All Souls College, Oxford University, December, 1995; and at the Political Science Department, Columbia University, May, 1996.

1995: "The Cultural Elements of Ethnically-Mixed States: Nationality Re-Formation in the Soviet Successor States" paper presented at a MacArthur Symposium at the University of California, Berkeley, November, 1995; at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, December, 1995; at the Graduate Symposium in Political Science, Rutgers University, in April, 1996; and at the Ford Foundation Eastern Europe history project at the University of Michigan, May, 1996. This paper is slated for publication in a volume to be edited by George Steinmetz, Culture and the State, submitted to Cornell University Press.

1995: "Ethnic Cleansing, Liberal Style", paper presented to the Weyland Colloquium at Brown University, October, 1995; at the Harvard/MIT MacArthur Symposium in February, 1996; at the University of Wisconsin

MacArthur Seminar in April, 1996; and Loyola University (Chicago), November, 1996.

1996: "Somalia", paper prepared for a Ford Foundation supported seminar on "Third Party Military Intervention in Civil Wars", at Columbia University, May 1996. This paper is slated to go into a volume edited by Jack Snyder, John Ruggie, and Barbara Walter, to be published by Columbia University Press.

1996-98: "Identity Choice under Conditions of Uncertainty", paper presented at faculty seminars at University of Michigan, Yale University, Columbia University, New York University, McGill University, Princeton University, Stanford University, Harvard University, and the Russell Sage Foundation program on "Conversations with Nobelists".

1997-98: "National Heterogeneity and Democracy" paper presented at faculty seminars at Columbia University and Notre Dame University.

1998: "The Political Economy of Identity" paper presented as part of the Ford Foundation Undergraduate Lectures in political economy, at Harvard University.

1999: "Weak States, Rough Terrain, and Large-Scale Ethnic Violence since 1945" (with James Fearon), paper presented to the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta.

2000: "Ordinary Language and External Validity: Specifying Concepts in the Study of Ethnicity" (with James Fearon), paper presented to the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C.

2000: "Comparative Politics: State of the Sub-Discipline", paper presented to the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C. (Scheduled to be published in an edited volume on The State of the Discipline, published by the American Political Science Association.

2000: "Transitions to Independence and Commitments to Minorities" (with James Fearon), paper presented to a symposium at Bucknell University, Lewisburg, PA., and a faculty seminar at Cornell University (October).

2001-2008: "Sons of the Soil" (with James Fearon), paper presented at workshops at the University of Washington, Yale University, UCSD, Lake Forest College, the Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, UCLA; and at the Central European University, Budapest.

2002-2003: "Kto-Kovo: A Cross-Country Study of the Origins and Targets of Terrorism" (with Alan B. Krueger), paper developed from Conferences on the Movement of Suicide Bombing, held at Stanford University, November 2002, and September 2003; delivered at the National Bureau of Economic Research (September 2004)

2002-2005: "Rational Martyrs: Evidence from Data on Suicide Attacks" (with Eli Berman), paper developed from Conferences on the Movement of Suicide Bombing, held at Stanford University, November 2002, and September 2003, presented at the Charles Tilly seminar on Contentious Politics, Columbia University; State University of New York at Buffalo; Cornell University; the Rational Models Seminar at the University of Chicago; and Lewis and Clark College.

2002-2005 "Random Narratives on Civil War", paper delivered to seminars at Columbia University, LiCEP; CIDE (Mexico City); Cornell University; EITM Workshop at the University of California, Berkeley; Yale University; and Harvard University

2006: "Immigrant Communities and Violence", paper presented at the 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 31-September 3.

2007: "Civil War Terminations", paper in collaboration with James Fearon presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL; at the Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones, November 2007; at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, February 2008; at the University of Iowa, February 2008; at Princeton University, April 2008.

2007: "Cultural Distance: A Constraint on Mimicry?" Paper prepared for a conference on Mimicry In Civil Wars: The strategic use of identity signals, organized by Diego Gambetta, 7-8 December 2007, Collège de France, Paris

2007-2008: "Linguistic Nationalism as a Consumption Item" Presentation at All Soul's College at Oxford University, and at London School of Economics

2008: "Language Repertoires: State vs. Non-State Societies" Paper prepared for a conference organized by

Jared Diamond and James Robinson on "The World as It Was", at Harvard University.

2008: "Response to Critics of Nations, States, and Violence". Presentation at a symposium conducted at the London School of Economics.

2010: "The Sources of Religious Discrimination: Evidence from a Field Experiment in France" Paper presented to the 2010 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2-5, 2010 (in collaboration with Claire Adida and Marie-Anne Valfort).

2011: "Gender Norms, Muslim Immigrants, and Economic Integration in France" Paper presented to the 2011 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2-5, 2010 (in collaboration with Claire Adida and Marie-Anne Valfort).

2012: "How Persistent is armed conflict?" Paper prepared for presentation at the 2012 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans (in collaboration with James Fearon). Also presented at the XVI World Economic History Congress at Stellenbosch, South Africa, July 2012, and included as a working paper in the Economic Research of Southern Africa (ERSA) series.

2012: "Muslims in France: Identifying a Discriminatory Equilibrium". Paper presented at the Council of European Studies, Boston; at the George Washington University, at the Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies; and at Uppsala Universitet (in collaboration with Claire Adida and Marie-Anne Valfort)

2013: "The Territorial Stability of India and China from a Theoretical Perspective". Paper presented to the Political Instability Task Force, McLean, VA.

2013: "Institutions and Development: Limits to Identification". Keynote address presented to the conference on Institutional Challenges in Emerging Economies sponsored by the Stockholm Institute for Transitional Economies at the Stockholm School of Economics, September 2013

2014 "Language Policy and Human Development" (in collaboration with Rajesh Ramachandran) Paper presented at Language and Colonialism workshop, NYU, March 2014; also at UCSD and UCLA.

2014: "Does Armed Conflict Have 'Deep Historical Roots'" (with James Fearon). Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association; also presented at George Mason University, the University of Maryland, and ITAM, Mexico City

2015 "Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-heritage Societies", Empire Lecture at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL

2016 "The Christian minority in Dakar: how does it fare in a Muslim dominant state?" Paper prepared for presentation at the 112th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in Philadelphia, PA.

2016 "Measuring Immigrant Integration"; presented at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Princeton University

2017 "Linguistic Diversity, Official Language Choice and Nation Building: Theory and Evidence" Paper prepared for presentation at the 113th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in San Francisco, CA

2018 "Populism: the Muslim Connection" Keynote Address at the CESifo Conference "Globalization and Populism - Past and Present" Venice, Italy, June 4th – 5th, 2018.

2018 "*Identity in Formation: 20 year retrospective*" (2018) Paper presented at the Slavic Studies Program, Ohio State University, and at the Association for the Study of Nationalities

Consultancy and Community and University Service

1973/4: Member of University Review Panel examining Boalt Hall Law School (W. Muir, Chairman)

1975/6: Lectures on African politics to AAUW and San Diego Association of Retired professionals

1978: Provided Formal Briefing at the State Department to Mr. D. Peterson, newly appointed U.S. Ambassador to Somalia

1980: Chairman of the Review Committee examining Undergraduate Education at the School of Social Sciences, U.C. Irvine

1980: Member of the U.C.S.D. Subcommittee on Undergraduate Courses of the Committee on Educational Policy 1980/84: Undergraduate Advisor, Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego

1980/3: Member of Program Committee and Education Committee of the San Diego World Affairs Council 1980: Consultant to MacMillan Corporation, for "Somalia" entry in Collier's Encyclopedia

1981: Testified Before House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa concerning Budget Allocation to the Horn of Africa. Prepared statement is published in the Congressional Record

1980/1: Member of Advisory Committee to Reform Curriculum of "Urban Studies and Planning" at University of California, San Diego

1982: Op-Ed Article, "Somalia's A Risk," New York Times, August 16, 1982. (Reprinted in International Herald Tribune)

1983: Testified Before House of Representatives' Appropriations Committee. Prepared statement is published in the Congressional Record

1983/85: Member Third College Curriculum Committee, UCSD

1983: Visiting Honors Examiner, Oberlin College

1984: Referee for the MacArthur Foundation Fellowship Program

1984: Referee for two National Science Foundation Grant Proposals

1987: Organized a Conference at UCSD on "Game Theory and the Ethnography of Speaking" (June, 1987)

1988: Consultant for Personnel matters, Oberlin College

1988: Organized an SSRC-sponsored Conference at Wilder House, University of Chicago, on "The Institutionalization of the State: The Political Construction of Cultural Realities"

1989: External Review Committee, University of California, Riverside, Graduate Program in Political Science

1990-91: Served on two NSF Social Science Division panels

1992: Lectured to Midwest Faculty Seminar, University of Chicago

1995: Editorial Board Member, Rationality and Society

1995--: Co-coordinator (with Gary Becker and Edward Laumann) of Rational Choice Models in the Social Sciences Workshop at the University of Chicago

1996-97: Chair of the Faculty Senate Honorary Degrees Committee 2001-2002 – Freshman Academic Advisor, Stanford University

2001-2002 – Chair of Departmental Search Committee (Comparative Politics)

2001-2003 – Convener for Graduate Program in Comparative Politics, Stanford University

2002-2003 – Omnibus Search Committee for Department and Chair of Divisional Search Committee in African Studies

2002--: Editorial Board Member, European Journal of Sociology

2003--: Editorial Board Member, International Studies Quarterly

2003-5: Consultant to Booz, Allen and Hamilton; to CENTRA Technologies, and to SAIC – for the Political Instability Task Force; and on issues of insurgency and terrorism

2004: Participated in the debriefing of the Special Representative of the Secretary General for Somalia, under auspices of the International Peace Academy

2003-2007: Department of Political Science Omnibus Search Committee; Interdepartmental Search Committee in China Studies; Chair of the International, Comparative and Area Studies Search Committee on Asia.

2005-2006: Consultant to the Worldwide Incidents Team Brain Trust group at the National Counterterrorism Center

2009-2013: Member, Scientific Advisory Board, Sciences-Po, Paris

2014: "America needs a Council of International Strategy" Monkey Cage
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/10/14/america-needs-a-council-of-international-strategy/?utm_term=.2f503ccaf5a1]

2015 "France after Charlie Hebdo" colloquium with John R. Bowen et al, Boston Review (March/April)

2015: Op-ed Article, New York Times "Let Syrians Settle Detroit" (with Marc Jahr) 14 May

2016: "Don't Fear Muslim Immigrants: They aren't the Real Problem" (with Claire L. Adida and Marie-Anne Valfort) *Foreign Affairs* [<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-04-26/dont-fear-muslim-immigrants>]

2017: Is the White House ready for these 'nightmare scenarios' in U.S. foreign policy? Monkey Cage
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/22/is-the-white-house-ready-for-these-nightmare-scenarios-in-u-s-foreign-policy/?utm_term=.154ee15b8f87] (With James Vreeland]

2017: The little-known benefit of DACA: It reduced mental illness in dreamers' children Monkey Cage
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/09/06/the-little-known-benefit-of-daca-it-reduced-mental-illness-in-dreamers-children/?utm_term=.00ec22ddefc7] (With Jens Hainmueller and Linna Martén)

2020-21 Member Faculty Framework Task Force on Race Studies at Stanford

2022- Member Stanford University Institutional Review Board (IRB)

Professional Activities

American Political Science Association

Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi, Research Associate (1973-74)

Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Research Associate (1977-80)

University of Ife, Visiting Senior Lecturer in Political Science (1979-80)

Founding Member, Somali Studies International Association (1978)

Visiting Fellow, ESADE, Barcelona, Spain (1983-84)

Social Science Research Council, Member Joint Committee on African Studies (1988-90)

Visiting Lecturer, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Department of Political Science (December, 1989)

Social Science Research Council, Member of Planning Group for a Research Project on "Marginal Populations" (1990-1991)

Cornell University Press, Editor (with George Steinmetz) of "Wilder House Series in Politics, History and Culture" (1989-1998)

American Political Science Association, Section Chair for the 1991 Annual Meeting, for "Politics in Developing Areas"

American Political Science Association, Chair of Committee to choose winner of the "Heinz Eulau" award for best article in APSR

American Political Science Association, President of Comparative Politics Subsection (1993-95)

American Political Science Association, Executive Committee of Political Economy Subsection (1992-94)

American Political Science Association, Committee to choose winner of "Ralph Bunche" award for the best book in the field of cultural or ethnic pluralism (1995-96)

American Political Science Association, Elected for a Three Year Term to serve on the Executive Council of the Association (1996-99).

American Political Science Association, Appointed to serve on the Administrative Committee of the Executive

Council of the Association (1998-99)

National Science Foundation, Appointed to serve on the Political Science Panel (1998-2000)

Officer Selection Committee, American Political Science Association (2001-2002)

American Political Science Association, Task Force on Terrorism (2004-2006)

American Political Science Association, Vice-President (2005-2006).

Visiting Professor, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences-Po), November-December 2007

Member Scientific Advisory Board, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris 2009-2013

Member Editorial Board American Political Science Review 2008—2012

Member DBASSE (Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education) Council of the National Academy of Sciences 2011-13

Member, IZA (Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn Germany)

Fulbright Visiting Scholar, Tallinn Technical University, Estonia, March 2013

Visiting Scholar, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala Universitet, September 2013

Co-Director, Stanford University, Immigration and Integration Policy Lab 2015—

France-Stanford Center, Executive Committee 2017-2021

Advisory Board of the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB) –2018-2022

Editor, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 2021--

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