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Emerita Professor of Political Science, Stanford University
Senior Fellow, Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University
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Education

Ph.D. Harvard University 1974 (Government)
A.B. Bryn Mawr College 1968 (Political Science, cum laude)

Work History

Director, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences @ Stanford University, 2014-2022
Professor of Political Science, Stanford University, 2014-2024
Senior Fellow, Center for Democracy, Development and Rule of Law (CDDRL) of the Freeman Spogli Institute, Stanford University, 2022-
Senior Fellow, Stanford Woods Institute of the Environment, 2016-2024
Professor of Political Science, University of Washington, 1987-2014 (went half time in 2009)
Senior Fellow, Watson Institute of International Studies, Brown University, 2013-14 (half-time)
Chair in U.S. Politics, United States Studies Centre at the University of Sydney, 2009-13 (half-time)
Director, CHAOS (Comparative and Historical Analysis of Organizations and States) Center, UW, 2002-14
Harry Bridges Chair and Director, University of Washington Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies, 1996-2000
Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Washington, 1981-87
Assistant Professor of Political Science and Public Affairs, University of Washington, 1974-81
Research Associate, Organizational Development, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1973-74

Honors and Awards

Johan Skytte Prize, 2019
Falling Walls Foundation, Breakthrough of the Year in Social Sciences and Humanities, 2020
Honorary Doctorate (Honoris Causa), Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, 2019
National Academy of Sciences, elected 2015
British Academy of Sciences, elected 2022
American Philosophical Society, elected 2018
American Academy of Political and Social Science (AAPSS), inducted 2017
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, elected 2001
Honorary Fellow of the IC3JM (Carlos III Juan March Institute), 2023-
Distinguished Fellow, Samuel DuBois Cook Center, 2023
“50 Influential Researchers Whose Work Could Help Shape 21st Century Politicians,” Apolitical Foundation 2022
International Studies Association (ISA) 2016 Outstanding Activist Scholar Award
William Riker Prize in Political Science, 2014
Co-winner, 2014 Book Award of Labor Project of American Political Science Association for *In the Interests of Others*
President (2004-5), President-Elect (2003-4), and Vice-President (2002-3), American Political Science Association
Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholar, 2006-7

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship, 2002-2003
S. Sterling Munro Public Service Teaching Award, University of Washington, 2001
Honorable Mention, 1998 Allan Sharlin Memorial Prize, Social Science History Association, for *Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism*
Woodrow Wilson in Political Science, 1968
National Merit Scholarship Certificate of Merit, 1963
100 Top Collectors (with Robert Kaplan), Arts & Antique Magazine, 2004, 2006. *Lifestyle* 2007, 2008.

Books (sole-authored)

Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
Of Rule and Revenue. Berkeley: University of California, 1988. (Translated into Italian as *Teoria dello stato predatore* and with a new preface by the author, Edizioni di Comunita, Milan, 1997; translated into Chinese, 2007, by Shanghai Peoples' Publishing House)
Bureaucratic Insurgency: The Case of Police Unions. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1977.

Books (multi-authored)

Moral Political Economy: Past, Present, and Future, co-authored with Federica Carugati. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021.
Labor Standards in International Supply Chains: Aligning Rights and Incentives (with Daniel Berliner, Anne Greenleaf, Milli Lake, and Jennifer Noveck). Northampton, Mass: Edward Elgar, 2015.
In the Interest of Others: Leaders, Governance, and Political Activism in Membership Organizations (with John S. Ahlquist). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013. Being translated into Chinese by Peking University Press. <http://depts.washington.edu/ilwu/index.php>
Cooperation without Trust? (with Karen Cook and Russell Hardin). New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005. Translated into Chinese and published by China Social Sciences Press, 2019. Selections reprinted in Craig Calhoun et al, eds. *Contemporary Sociological Theory* (Cambridge, U.K., 2007), chapter 9, pp. 125-138
Analytic Narratives (with Robert Bates, Avner Greif, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, and Barry Weingast). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998. Translated into Chinese and published by China Renmin University Press, 2008.

Books and Journal Issues (editor and contributor)

The Social Science of Caregiving (with Alison Gopnik and Zachary Ugolnik), *Daedalus*, Spring 2025
Moral Political Economy (with Henry Farrell), *Daedalus* Winter 2023
The Encyclopedia of Political Science (co-edited with George Thomas Kurian, James Alt, Simone Chambers, Geoffrey Garrett, and Paula McClain). Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010.
Whom Can We Trust? (co-edited and with a joint introduction by Karen S. Cook and Russell Hardin) New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2009.
Designing Democratic Government: Making Institutions Work (co-edited and with a joint introduction by James Johnson, Jack Knight and Susan Stokes). New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008.
Democracy at Risk: Renewing the Political Science of Citizenship. With Stephen Macedo et al. (Report of the American Political Science Association's Standing Committee on Civic Education and Engagement). Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2005.
Competition and Cooperation: Conversations with Nobelists about Economics and Political Science. (co-edited and with joint introductions and conclusions by James Alt and Elinor Ostrom). New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999.
Trust and Governance, edited with Valerie Braithwaite. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1998.
The Limits of Rationality, edited with Karen Schweers Cook. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
Schools of Thought in Politics: Marxism 2 vols. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, Limited, 1991. (Brian Barry, Series editor).
The Political Economy of French and English Development, edited with Robert Bates. (Special Issue of *Politics & Society* 16, nos. 2-3, 1988).

Articles in Journals

- “Property Righting: The politics of rights over land and labor,” with Emily Russell. *Annual Review of Political Science* 2025.
- “Technology and the Dynamics of Care for Older People,” with Elizabeth Fetterolff, Andrew Elder, and Ranak Trivedi, *Daedalus* 2025.
- “Expanding the Community of Fate by Expanding the Community of Care,” *Daedalus* 2025.
- “Toward a framework for risk mitigation of potential misuse of artificial intelligence in biomedical research” (2024). With Trotsyuk, A.A., Waeiss, Q., Bhatia, R.T. *et al. Nature Machine Intelligence*. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s42256-024-00926-3>
- [Political equality: what is it and why does it matter?](#) (2024) with Pablo Beramendi and Tim Besley. *Oxford Open Economics* 3: i262-i81
- “[Mobilizing in the Interest of Others](#),” (with Zachary Ugolnik), *Daedalus* Winter 2023
- “[Reducing the Transactional Value of Identity and Race](#),” (with Henry Farrell), *Daedalus* Winter 2023
- “[Trustworthy Government: The Obligations of Government and the Responsibilities of the Governed](#),” in Institutions, Experts & the Loss of Trust, eds. Henry Brady and Kay Schlozman. *Daedalus*, Fall 2022
- “[The Power of Beliefs](#),” *Annual Review of Political Science* 2022 25:1 <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-051120-013517>
- “[Capitalism: What Has Gone Wrong? How Can It Be Fixed?](#)”. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 37, no. 4 (2021): 773-82. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/grab033>.
- “[Ethics and Society Review: Ethics Reflection as a Precondition to Research Funding](#)” (with Michael S. Bernstein, David Magnus, Betsy A. Rajala, Debra Satz, and Charla Waeiss. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118, no. 52 (2021): <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2117261118>.
- “[Synergistic interactions among growing stressors increase risk to an Arctic ecosystem](#)” (with Kevin Arrigo, Gert van Dijken, Mary Cameron, Jesse van der Grient, Lisa Wedding, Lucie Hazen, Jim Leape, George Leonard, Andreas Merkl, Fiorenza Micheli, Matthew Mills, Stephen Monismith, Nicholas Ouellette, Anna Zivian, and Richard Bailey). *Nature Communications* 11, December 2020.
- “[The COVID-19 Lockdowns: A Window into the Earth System](#)” (with Noah S. Diffenbaugh, Christopher B. Field, Eric Appel, Ines Azevedo, Dennis Baldocchi, Marshall Burke, Jennifer Burney, Philippe Ciais, Steven J. Davis, Arlene M. Fiore, Sarah Fletcher, Thomas Hertel, Daniel E. Horton, Solomon Hsiang, Robert B. Jackson, Xiaomeng Jin, David Lobell, Galen A. McKinley, Frances C. Moore, Anastasia Montgomery, Kari C. Nadeau, Diane Pataki, James T. Randerson, Markus Reichstein, Jordan Schnell, Sonia I. Seneviratne, Deepti Singh, Allison Steiner, Gabrielle Wong-Parodi), *Nature Reviews Earth & Environment*, published 29 July 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43017-020-0079-1>
- “[Alternatives to Social Science One](#)” (with Betsy Rajala), *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Published online by Cambridge University Press: 25 June 2020.
- “[Twentieth Century America as a Developing Country: Conflict, Institutional Change, and the Evolution of Public Law](#)” (with Mariano-Florentino Cuellar and Barry Weingast), *Harvard Journal of Legislation*, v. 57 (2020):1, 25-66
- “Douglass North's Theory of Politics,” with Barry Weingast, *PS*, 2019
- “Trustworthy Government and Legitimizing Beliefs,” *NOMOS LXI: Political Legitimacy*, 2019.
- “The Who, What, and Why of Performance-based Legitimacy, in *Virtuous or Vicious Circle? Governance Effectiveness and Legitimacy in Areas of Limited Statehood*,” *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* (JSIB), v. 4, 2018, 603-10.
- “Examining Crowd Work Through the Historical Lens of Piecework,” with Ali Alkhatib and Michael Bernstein, *SIGCHI* 2017.
- “[Aligning Rights and Interests in Global Supply Chains](#),” (with Daniel Berliner, Anne Greenleaf, Milli Lake, and Jennifer Noveck). *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, v. 11 (2015): 193-209
- “Provoking Preferences: Unionization, Workers' Attitudes toward International Trade, and the ILWU Puzzle” (with John S. Ahlquist and Amanda Clayton), *International Organization* 68:1 (January 2014): 33-75.

- “Can Nations Succeed?” *Perspectives on Politics*, v. 11, no. 1(March) (2013): 187-192.
- “[Leadership: What it means, what it does, and what we want to know about it](#)” (with John S. Ahlquist). *Annual Review of Political Science*, v. 14 (2011): 1-24.
- “Measuring Government Effectiveness and Its Consequences for Social Welfare in African States” (with Audrey Sacks). *Social Forces* 88(5) (July 2010): 2325-52.
- “Legitimizing Beliefs: Concepts and Measurements” (with Audrey Sacks). *Regulation and Governance* 3 (December 2009): 311-333.
- “Conceptualizing Legitimacy, Measuring Legitimizing Beliefs” (with Audrey Sacks and Tom Tyler). *American Behavioral Scientist*. 2009 53: 354-375.
- “Union Democracy Reexamined” (with David Olson, Jon Agnone, and Devin Kelly). *Politics & Society* 37: 2 (June 2009), 203-228.
- “Coalitions of Contention: The Case of the WTO Protests in Seattle” (with Gillian Murphy). *Political Studies* 54 (December 2006): 651-70.
- “Why We Need a New Theory of Government,” *Perspectives on Politics* 4:1 (March 2006): 5-19. Also published as “Por qué necesitamos una nueva teoría del gobierno,” *Revista Española de Ciencia Política* 14 (Abril 2006): 9-40.
- “Fair Trade: A Cup at a Time?” (with April Linton). *Politics & Society* 31:3 (September 2003): 407-432.
- “Organizing Power: Prospects for the American Labor Movement.” *Perspectives on Politics* I: 1 (March 2003): 45-68.
- “Living Wage Campaigns and Laws.” (with David J. Olson and Erich Steinman). *Working USA* 6, 3 (winter 2002-3): 111-132.
- “Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism: A Summary.” “An Analytic Narrative of Conscription: Cases, Contexts, and Causes.” *Comparative Social Research XX: The Comparative Study of Conscription in the Armed Forces*, ed. Lars Mjoset and Stephen van Holde (2002): 337-346, 377-387. (Pieces for a review symposium on *Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism*).
- “Analytic Narratives Revisited” (with Robert Bates, Avner Greif, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, and Barry Weingast). *Social Science History* 24, 4 (winter 2000): 679-690.
- “The Analytic Narrative Project” (with Robert Bates, Avner Greif, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, and Barry Weingast). *American Political Science Review* 94, 3 (September 2000): 696-702.
- “The Battles in Seattle” (with David Olson). *Politics & Society* 28, 3 (2000): 217-237.
- “The Economic Turn in Comparative Politics” *Comparative Political Studies* 33, 6/7 (August/September, 2000): 822-844. Translated into Ukraine and published in OIKUMENE in 2004.
- “Political Trust and Trustworthiness” (with Laura Stoker). *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000): 475-507.
- “Social and Unsocial Capital.” *Politics & Society* 24:1 (1996): 45-55.
- “The Institution of Conscription.” *Social Science History* (special issue on “Institutionalism and the Historical Turn”), eds. Eileen McDonagh and Phil Ethington. 20,1 (Spring 1996): 133-167.
- “A Weapon Against War: Conscientious Objection in the U.S., Australia, and France” (with Stephen DeTray). *Politics & Society* 21,4 (1993): 425-64.
- “Women in ‘the Workingman’s Paradise’: Sole Parents, the Women’s Movement, and the Social Policy Bargain in Australia” (with Sara Singleton). *Social Research* 58, 3 (Fall 1991): 627-51.
- “Are There Limits to Rationality?” *Archives européennes de sociologie* 32 (1991): 130-41.
- “The Geography of Rebellion: Rulers, Rebels and Regions, 1500-1700” (with William Brustein). *Theory and Society*, 16 (1987): 467-95.
- “The Predatory Theory of Rule.” *Politics & Society* 10, no. 4 (1981):431-65. Revised and reprinted in *The Microfoundations of Macrosociology*, ed. Michael Hechter, pp. 216-249. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983. Reprinted in *The State: Critical Concepts*, v. I, ed. John A. Hall, pp. 146-75. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- “Towards a Property Rights Theory of Exploitation” (with Douglass North). *Politics & Society* 11, 3 (1982): 315-20.
- “Collective Bargaining as a Power Resource for Professional Goals” (with Irene Eldridge). *Nursing Administration Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (1982): 29-40.
- “Functional Redundancy and the Process of Professionalization: The Case of Registered Nurses in the United States.” *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 5 (Summer 1980): 333-353. Reprinted

in *Contemporary Leadership Behavior: Selected Readings*, eds. Eleanor Hein and Jean Nicholson, pp. 269-285. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1982. (Second edition, 1986, pp. 251 -267); and in *Readings in American Health Care: Current Issues in Socio-Historical Perspective* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994).

“The Political Economy of Public Employee Unionism.” *Monthly Review* 4 (September 1980): 46-54.

“The Comparative Analysis of Ethnoregional Movements” (with Michael Hechter). *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 11 (July 1979): 260-74. Reprinted in *The Oxford Reader on Nationalism*, eds. Anthony Smith and John Hutchinson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

“Determinants of Multi-Employer Bargaining in Metropolitan Hospitals” (with Peter Feuille, Charles Maxey, and Hervey Juris). *The Employee Relations Law Journal* 4 (Summer 1978):98-115.

“Poor People Against the State.” *The Review of Radical Political Economics* 6 (Spring 1974):76-98.

“Public Housing Managers: An Appraisal” (with Chester Hartman). *Journal of American Institute of Planners* (March 1973): 125-138. Partially reprinted in *An Introduction to American Land Law*. ed. George Lefcoe. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1974.

“Community Organization as a Political Resource” (with Michael Lipsky), *People and Politics in Urban Society*. ed. Harlan Hahn, pp. 175-199. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1972.

Articles in Edited Books

“Analytic Narratives and Case Studies” (with Barry Weingast). Jennifer Widener, Michael Woodcock, and Daniel Ortega Nieto, eds. *Case Studies in Development Practice*, pp. 239-257. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022.

“Democratic Societal Collaboration in a Whitewater Sociotechnical World” (with David Lee and John Seely Brown). Lucy Bernholz, Helene Landemore, and Rob Reich, eds. *Digital Technology and Democratic Theory*, pp. 219-40. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021.
doi:10.7208/9780226748603-009

“Opening Access, Ending the Violence Trap: Labor, Business, Government, and the National Labor Relations Act” (with Tania Melo, Barry Weingast, and Frances Zlotnick). Naomi Lamoreaux and John Wallis, eds. *Organizations, Civil Society, and the Roots of Development*, pp. 331-366. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.

“The New Economic Institutionalism in Historical Perspective,” (with Victor Menaldo). Jennifer Gandhi and Rubén Ruiz-Rufino, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Comparative Political Institutions*, pp. 15-30. London: Routledge, 2015.

“Interpreting the Comparative History of Fiscal Regimes,” with Edgar Kiser in Andrew Monson and Walter Scheidel, eds. *Fiscal Regimes and the Political Economy of Premodern States*, pp. 57-70. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

“Aligning Rights and Incentives: Why, When, and How to Uphold Labor Standards” (with Christopher Adolph, Daniel Berliner, Aaron Erlich, Anne Greenleaf, and Milli Lake), background paper for World Development Report 2013. Washington, D.C: World Bank, 2012.
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTNWDR2013/Resources/8258024-1320950747192/8260293-1320956712276/8261091-1348683883703/WDR2013_bp_Aligning_Rights_and_Incentives.pdf

“After Eden: The Transformation of the Landscape of Political Power in the United States,” in *Anxieties of Democracy*, Partha Chatterjee and Ira Katzenelson, eds. pp. 257-83. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012.

“The Reasons for Compliance with Law” (with Tom Tyler and Audrey Sacks) in *Understanding Social Action, Promoting Human Rights*, Ryan Goodman, Derek Jinks, and Andrew K. Woods, eds., pp. 70-93. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2012.

“Gobierno Eficaz, Consentimiento Ciudadano Y, Quizá Legitimidad”(with Audrey Sacks) in *Democracia y socialdemocracia. Homenaje a José María Maravall*, Adam Przeworski and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca, eds., pp. 61-89. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2012.

- “Principled Principals in the Founding Moments of the Rule of Law” (with Brad Epperly) in James Heckman, Robert Nelson, and Lee Cabatingan, eds. *Global Perspectives on the Rule of Law*, pp. 192-209. London: Routledge, 2009.
- “Reconsiderations of Rational Choice in Comparative and Historical Analysis,” for Mark Lichbach and Alan Zuckerman, *Comparative Politics* (2nd edition), pp. 117-133. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- “Inducing Preferences within Organizations” for Ira Katznelson and Barry Weingast, eds. *Preferences and Situations: Points of Intersection Between Historical and Rational Choice Institutionalism*, pp. 219-46. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Press, 2005.
- “An Analytic Narrative Approach to Puzzles and Problems” for Ian Shapiro, Rogers Smith, and Tarek Masoud, eds. *Problems and Methods in the Study of Politics*, pp. 201-226. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- “Does Lustration Promote Trustworthy Governance? An Exploration of the Experience of Central and Eastern Europe” (with Cynthia Horne). In *Building a Trustworthy State in Post-Socialist Transition*, edited by Susan Rose-Ackerman and Janos Kornai, pp. 52-74. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004.
- “Institutionalizing Trustworthiness through the NLRB?” (with Matt Moe and Theresa Buckley). In *Distrust*, ed. Russell Hardin, pp. 106-135. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Press, 2004.
- “Battling for Global Justice: Protests Against the WTO in Seattle.” (with Gillian Hughes Murphy). In *The Encyclopedia of American Social Movements*, ed. Immanuel Ness, pp. 1482-90. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2004.
- “Living Wage Campaigns and Laws,” (with David J. Olson and Erich Steinman). In *The Encyclopedia of American Social Movements*, ed. Immanuel Ness, pp. 1471-1481. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2004.
- “The State of the Study of the State” in *The State of the Discipline*, eds. Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner, pp. 33-55. New York: Norton (with APSA), 2002.
- “Modeling Complex Historical Processes with Analytic Narratives,” *Akteure, Mechanismen, Modelle: Zur Theoriefähigkeit makrosozialer Analysen*, ed. Renate Mayntz, pp. 108-127. Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 2002. Also appearing as “Modelando procesos históricos complejos con Narrativas Analíticas”. *Revista Uruguaya de Ciencia Política* 15 (December 2006): 11-20.
- “Capitalizing on Labor’s Capital” in *Social Capital and Poor Communities*, edited by Mark E. Warren, Phil Thompson, and Susan Saegert, pp. 246-266. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001.
- “When Good Defenses Make Good Neighbors.” In *Institutions, Contracts, and Organizations: Perspectives from New Institutional Economics*, ed. Claude Menard, pp. 137-157. Chichester, U.K.: Edward Elgar, 2000. Reprinted in *The International Library of the New Institutional Economics*, v. 7: *Controversies and Challenges in the New Institutional Economics*, ed. Claude Menard. Chichester, U.K.: Edward Elgar, 2004.
- “Producing an Analytic Narrative.” In *Critical Comparisons in Politics and Culture*, eds. John Bowen and Roger Petersen, pp. 152-72. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- “Death and Taxes: The Extractive State and the Development of Democratic Institutions,” In *Democracy’s Value*, eds. Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon, pp. 112-31. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- “A State of Trust” in Braithwaite and Levi, eds. *Trust and Governance*, pp. 77-101. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1998.
- “A Model, A Method, and a Map: Rational Choice in Comparative and Historical Analysis”. In *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, eds. Mark Lichbach and Alan Zuckerman, pp.19-41. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- “Rationalized Bureaucracies and Rational Compliance” (with Richard Sherman). In *Institutions and Economic Development: Growth and Governance in Less-Developed and Post-Socialist Countries*, ed. Christopher Clague, pp. 316-40. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
- “Using Counterfactuals in Historical Analysis: Theories of Revolution” (with Edgar Kiser). In *Counterfactual Thought Experiments in World Politics*, eds. Philip Tetlock and Aaron Belkin, pp. 187-207 Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- “Introduction,” and “The Dilemmas of Femocratic Reform” (with Meredith Edwards). In *Going Public: National Histories of Women’s Enfranchisement and Women’s Participation Within State*

Institutions, eds. Mary F. Katzenstein and Hege Skjeie. Oslo: ISF Report 90:4 (May 1990): 107-110, 141-72.

- “Bringing People Back into the State” (abridged from *Of Rule and Revenue* and tr. into Chinese). 1989. *Digest of Foreign Philosophy and Social Sciences*. Shanghai: Academy of Social Sciences.
- “A Rational Choice Approach to the Rise and Decline of Ethnoregional Political Parties” (with Michael Hechter), *New Nationalisms of the Developed West: Towards Explanation*, eds. Edward Tiryakian and Ronald Rogowski, pp. 128-146. London and Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1985.
- “The Rise and Decline of Ethnoregional Political Parties: Scotland, Wales, and Brittany” (with Michael Hechter), *Ethnic Challenge: The Politics of Ethnicity*, eds. Hans Vermeulen and Jeremy Boissevain, pp. 14-34. Gottingen: Edition Herodot, 1984.
- “Conflict and Collusion: Police Collective Bargaining,” *Police Accountability*. ed. Richard Larson, pp. 113-128. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1978.
- “And the Beat Goes on,” *Police Accountability*. ed. Richard Larson, pp. 129-166. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1978.
- “The Political Significance of Citizen Participation” (with Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz), *Power and Poverty*. eds. Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, pp. 201-213. New York: Oxford, 1970. (Translated into German in an edition edited by Claus Offe. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1977; reprinted in Italian, 1986).

Work-in-progress

- Book on “Political Inequality,” with Tim Besley and Pablo Beramendi.
- “Property Rights in Land and Labor” (tentative title), with Emily Russell. To appear in *Annual Review of Political Science*
- “Future of the University,” (in progress) with Roberta Katz. To appear in Michael Crow and William Dabars, *Academic Cultures: Perspectives from the Twenty-Second Century*
- “Community of Fate” (with John Ahlquist)

Comments, Invited Essays, Op Eds, and Online Publications

- [“When Politics Dams Feedback,”](#) *Hypertext*, vol. VIII “Cybernetics”, 13 January 2025
- [“Democracy for All: Review of Danielle Allen, *Justice By Means of Democracy*,”](#) *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, Summer 2023, no. 69
- [“The 21st Century Social Scientist”](#) (with Roberta Katz). Essay on Gillian Tett’s *Anthrovision Public Books* 6.29.2022
- [“A Meeting of Two Minds.”](#) Essay on Michael Lewis, *The Undoing Project*. *Public Books* 5.29.2017
- [“Who owns the facts about the gig economy? We Need a “Data Tax”](#) (with John Ahlquist). *Medium* 4 August 2020
- [“An Expanded Community of Fate.”](#) *Noema*. 7 July 2020.
- [“What Kind of Moment Are We In?”](#) (with Michael Lipsky) *Social Science Space*. 18 June 2020.
- [“Frances Perkins Was Ready.”](#) *Social Science Space*. 31 March 2020.
- [“Mark Zuckerberg Runs a Nation-State, and He’s the King,”](#) (with Henry Farrell and Tim O’Reilly) *Vox* 10 April 2018.
- [“The Devastated House of Labor”](#) *Public Books*. 11/01/17.
- [“Meeting of Minds,”](#) *Public Books*, 5/29/17
- “Government Hurts the Economy More Than It Helps,” pp. 87-8 in Bruno Frey and David Iselin, eds, *Economic Ideas You Should Forget*, Cham, Switzerland: Springer International.
- [“Reports of U.S. Democracy’s Death Have Been Greatly Exaggerated,”](#) *Zócalo Public Square* 3/1/17
- [“Diversity Of Views In The Women’s March Is, Actually, An Asset,”](#) *World Post* 1/26/2017
- [“This Woman Wanted to Make the World a Better Place Through Popular, Not Populist, Action,”](#) *World Post* 10/28/16
- [“Doug North was a Visionary”](#) (with Barry Weingast). *Monkey Cage* in *Washington Post*. 9 December 2015.
- [“Human Responsibility for Machines that Think”](#), *The Edge* answer to 2015 annual question. *What do you think about machines that think?* Ed. John Brockman. New York, Harper Perennial, 2015

- “[A Future Like the Past](#),” *Pacific Standard* for CASBS Future of Work Project, 3 August 2015
<http://www.psmag.com/business-economics/the-future-of-work-a-future-like-the-past>
- “[Entwined Fates](#),” *The Edge* 24 November 2014
- “[Homo Economicus](#),” *The Edge*, answer to 2014 annual question. *What Should We Be Worried About?: The Hidden Threats Nobody Is Talking About (And False Fears Everyone Is Distracted By)*, ed. John Brockman. New York: Harper Perennial, 2014.
- “[What are the implications of the AFL-CIO’s expanding membership criteria?](#)” (with John Ahlquist and Amanda Clayton) *The Monkey Cage* in the *Washington Post*, 28 October 2013
- “[The Decline of Union Membership and what it means for politics](#),” (with John Ahlquist). *The Monkey Cage* in the *Washington Post*, 24 October 2013.
- “[AFL-CIO takes a big, but necessary, leap of faith](#),” (with John S. Ahlquist), *Detroit Free Press*, 17 September 2013
- “[Can U.S. Unions Learn to Mobilize in New Ways?](#)” (with John S. Ahlquist), *Scholars Strategy Network Key Findings*, August 2013
- “[With Fortresses Like These...](#)” (with John S. Ahlquist), *Crooked Timber*, 9 July 2013
- “[Communities of Fate](#),” *The Edge*, answer to 2013 annual question.
- “Trade Unions” (with Jon Agnone and Amanda Clayton) in David Coates, ed. *The Oxford Companion to American Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- “Collectors’ Statement” (with Robert Kaplan) in Pamela McClusky, Wally Caruana, Lisa Grazioplene Corrin, and Stephen Gilchrist, *Ancestral Modern: Australian Aboriginal Art*. Seattle and New Haven: Seattle Art Museum and Yale University Press, 2012.
- Response to Dara O’Rourke, “Citizen Consumer,” *Boston Review* (November/December 2011), 24-5.
- “Beyond the Tragedy of the Commons: A Discussion of *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*.” *Perspectives on Politics* 8(2) (2010): 573–574
- “Power and Empowerment,” Contribution to a Symposium on Peter Bacharach. *PS* (January 2010): 85-7.
- “Macroprocesses from Microfoundations” *Sociologica*. February 2008.
- “Rebuilding the House of Labor” (with Morgen Myrdal and George Robertson), *New Political Science* (December 2007).
- “Failed and Failing States” *Perspectives on Politics* 3:2 (June 2005): 311-12.
- “Power and Norms: Constraints on PUNEs, Quasi-PUNEs, and PUNEES.” Comment on John Roemer’s “Does Democracy Engender Equality?” In *Political Knowledge and the Public Interest*, eds. Edward Mansfield and Richard Sisson. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2004, 274-7.
- “The Transformation of a Skeptic: What Nonexperimentalists Can Learn from Experimentalists” in *Trust and Reciprocity: Interdisciplinary Lessons from Experimental Research*, eds. Elinor Ostrom and James Walker, pp. 373-380. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Press, 2003.
- “Sociology of Trust.” *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, eds. Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes. Oxford: Elsevier Science, 2002: 15922-15926.
- “Conscription.” *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, eds. Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes. Oxford: Elsevier Science, 2002: 2604-2608.
- “Making a Case for Case Studies,” Symposium: Is There a Crisis in Area Studies Publishing? *Comparative Politics Newsletter* (summer 2000): 19-21.
- “Introduction to Urban Justice: A Special Issue of Urban Policy and Research in Honour of Patrick Troy” (with Tim Bonyhady and Mark Peel). *Urban Policy and Research* 18: 2 (June 2000): 141-144.
- “Trust, Trade, and the Role of Government.” *Comparative Politics Newsletter* (summer 1999):
 Jean Ensminger and Jack Knight, “Changing Social Norms: Common Property, Bridewealth, and Clan Exogamy.” *Current Anthropology* 38: 1 (February 1997): 17-18.
- Elinor Ostrom’s “Incentives, Rules of the Game and Development.” *Proceedings of the World Bank Annual Conference on Development Economics 1995*. D.C.: The World Bank, 1996.
- Hilton Root’s “Tying the King’s Hands.” *Rationality and Society* 2 (July 1990): 383-5.
- “The Rationality of Compliance.” *Rationality, Individualism and Public Policy*, eds. Geoffrey Brennan and Cliff Walsh. (Canberra: Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, 1989): 141-44.
- “Theories of Historical and Institutional Change.” *PS* (Summer 1987): 684-688.

“William C. Mitchell.” *Political Economy: Recent Views* ed. Larry Wade (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff, 1983): 114-119.

Video, audio, and podcasts

“[Radical Sharing](#)”, Long Now at the Interval, 22 August 2023.

“[Toward a Moral Political Economy](#),” KQED Forum with Alexis Madrigal. 9 May 2023.

“[A Moral Political Economy](#)” Sean Carroll’s Mindscape podcast no. 217. 14 November 2022.

“[How Labor Unions Shape Society](#)” TedX Seattle, November 2021. Published on Ted.com in May 2022.
Republished on [TED Business](#) October 2022

“[How Labor Unions Create Worker Power](#)” “How to Be a Better Human” from TED and PRX. 31 October 2022.

“[What is Political Equality?](#)” Philosophy Talk podcast. 14 August 2022

“[A Trustworthy Government](#)” “Trust Talks” with Severin de Wit 15 June 2022

“[Designing a Future of Human Flourishing](#)” Stanford Alums. 16 November 2021

“[Margaret Levi reimagines an economy that works for everyone](#)” “Disrupted” interviewed by Khalila Brown-Dean, 27 October 2021

“[A Moral Political Economy: Past, Present, and Future](#)” “In the Moment”, Seattle Town Hall with Steve Scher. 21 September 2021.

“[What convinces people to act in the interest of others?](#)” “Pitchfork Economics” with Nick Hanauer. 14 September 2021

“[Margaret Levi: swimming, flashing octopi](#)” New Constellations (audio journey)

“[How Pandemic Response Can Inform the Path Forward](#),” Stanford Woods Institute for the Environment, 30 August 2020

“[Academic Influence Interview with Dr. Jed Macosko](#)”

“[What is the Proper Place of Technocracy in Democracy](#),” Plenary talk at RadicalXChange conference, June 2020

“[Crucial Role of State Capacity in Crisis Response](#),” LSE Institute of Global Affairs, June 2020. Conversation with Tim Besley, Adnan Khan, and Erik Berglof

“[America as a Developing Country](#),” CASBS and FSI, June 2020. Discussion with Mariano-Florentino Cuellar and Barry Weingast.

“[Politics as the Problem and Solution During COVID-19 and Beyond](#)” CASBS and Annual Reviews, May 2020. Discussion with Tim Besley, moderated by Binyamin Appelbaum.

[Skytte Prize Lecture](#), September 2019

“[Creating a Moral Economy](#),” TedX Marin, September 2018

“[AI, Automation and Society](#)”, Human Intelligence and Artificial Intelligence in Medicine, Presence, April 2018

“[2017 Elinor Ostrom Memorial Lecture: Creating a Commons in a Whitewater World, Part 1](#)” [Part 2](#). 11 October 2017

“[The Organized Pursuit of Knowledge](#)” CASBS @ The Interval, September 2017

“[Margaret & Bob @ the Met's recognition of Kaplan-Levi gift](#)” 27 September 2017

“[Does the Future of Work Belong to the Machines?](#)” Panel with Caroline Fairchild and Roy Bahat, Ozy.Com/BEAM Stanford Career Education. 18 September 2017

“[President Trump's First Summer in the White House](#)” on CBC “The National” 6 September 2017

“[Ancestral Modern: A Conversation with Robert Kaplan & Margaret Levi](#)” *The Frist*. 29 June 2017

“[The Age of Distrust](#)” on CBC “The National” 10 June 2017

“[Remarks at Induction as Robert Dahl Fellow, American Academy of Political and Social Science](#)”. 18 May 2017

“[The Stein Rokkan Lecture/2017 ECPR Joint Sessions](#)” 5 May 2017

“[Just the Facts](#)” Worldview Stanford. 7 September 2016

“[Trust, Confidence, and Institutions](#)” Worldview Stanford. Published 16 December 2015.

“[Dr. Margaret Levi: Professor and Collector](#)” CIAF 2014 Collectors and Curators Program. 18 June 2015.

“[Entwined Fates](#)” Edge.org 24 November 2014

["An Interview with Elinor Ostrom"](#). *Annual Reviews Conversations*. Published 13 May 2011
["An Interview with Robert Dahl."](#) *Annual Reviews Conversations*. Published 13 May 2011.
["Achieving Good Government"](#) John Hope Franklin Center at Duke University Published 14 August 2008

Web-Based Projects

[Brand Responsibility Project](#) (with Anne Greenleaf and Milli Lake)
[Union Democracy Reexamined](#) (with John Ahlquist, Jon Agnone, and Amanda Clayton)
[Waterfront Workers History Project](#) (with James Gregory)
[WTO History Project](#) (with Lance Bennett and Gillian Murphy)

Book Reviews

Robert E. Goodin and Charles Tilly, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*. *Political Studies Review*.

Leonard Seabrooke, The social sources of financial power: domestic legitimacy and international financial orders. *Economic History Review*.

Ian Dunlop. "Thirty Years of Yolngu in Yirrkala: The Yirrkala Film Project (5 videos)." *Visual Anthropology* 16: 1-3 (2003).

William B. Gould IV. Labored Relations: Law, Politics, and the NLRB. *Political Studies* 49: 4 (September 2001): 810.

Paul A. C. Koistinen, Mobilizing for Modern War: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1865–191, *Journal of Economic History* 59 (March 1999): (1) 237-238.

Adam B. Seligman, *The Problem of Trust*, *American Journal of Sociology* 104: 4 (January 1999): 1245-46.

Donald P. Green and Ian Shapiro, The Pathologies of Rational Choice, *Political Science Quarterly* 110:2 (summer 1995): 326-7.

John Waterbury, *Exposed to Innumerable Delusions*. *APSR* 89:1 (March 1995): 238-9.

Robert H. Bates and Anne O. Krueger, eds. *Political and Economic Interactions in Economic Policy Reform*. *APSR* 88:2 (June 1994).

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*. *Comparative Political Studies* 26, no. 3 (1993):375-9.

Diego Gambetta, ed. *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*. *Public Choice* 71(1991):120-22.

Ronald Rogowski, *Commerce and Coalitions: How Trade Affects Domestic Political Alignments*. *Comparative Political Studies*. 23:4 (January 1991):549-51.

Pierre Birnbaum, States and Collective Action: The European Experience. *Political Theory*. 18: 1 (February 1990): 174-8.

James B. Collins, *Fiscal Limits of Absolutism: Direct Taxation in Early Modern France*. *American Journal of Sociology*. (July 1989):226-27.

James S. Coleman, Individual Interests and Collective Action. *Ethics*. (October 1988): 177-80.

Carol Heimer, Reactive Risk and Rational Action. *Social Forces*. 66:2 (December 1987):583-4.

Kerry Schott, Policy. Power and Order. *American Political Science Review* 80:2 (June 1986):659-60.

"Bringing Pinocchio to Life," a review essay of Charles Tilly, *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons*. *Contemporary Sociology* 14 (November 1985):693-5.

John Roemer, A General Theory of Exploitation and Class. *American Political Science Review* 78 (March 1984):292-4.

Nicos Poulantzas, State, Power and Socialism. *The Journal of Economic History* 41 (September 1981):716.

Curt Lamb, Political Power in Poor Neighborhoods. *American Political Science Review* 72 (June 1978):685-7.

Leonard Ruchelman, Police Politics. *Journal of Criminal Justice* 3 (Fall 1975):247-8.

Edward Banfield, *The Unheavenly City*. *Boston* 62 (May 1970):60-66.

Working Papers and Other Publications

- Beramendi, Pablo, Tim Besley, and Margaret Levi. 2022. "[Political Equality: What is it and why does it matter?](#)" The IFS Deaton Review.
- Bernstein, Michael S., Margaret Levi, David Magnus, Betsy Rajala, Deborah Satz, and Charla Waeiss. 2021. "[ESR: Ethics and Society Review of Artificial Intelligence Research.](#)" In arxiv.org.
- Clayton, Amanda, Jennifer Noveck, and Margaret Levi. 2015. "[When Elites Meet: Decentralization, Power-Sharing, and Public Goods Provision in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone.](#)" Washington, D.C: World Bank.
- "Union Democracy Reexamined" (with David Olson, Jon Agnone, and Devin Kelly). Estudio/Working Paper 2008/. Madrid: Juan March Institute.
- "Legitimizing Beliefs: Sources and Indicators" (with Audrey Sacks). Afrobarometer Working Paper #74. 2007. "An Analytic Narrative Approach to Puzzles and Problems" 2003. Estudio/Working Paper 2003/192. Madrid: Juan March Institute.
- "Embrace All Four Freedoms this Memorial Day." *The Seattle Times* (27 May 2002): 35.
- "STRIKES! Past and Present: The Battles in Seattle" (with David Olson). UW Center for Labor Studies Occasional Working Paper No. 13 (April 2000).
- "Capitalizing on Labor's Capital" 1999. Estudio/Working Paper 1999/140. Madrid: Juan March Institute.
- "Trust and Social Capital." 1998. *ECPR News* (spring), special section on social capital and trust
- "Postscript." 1997. Catalogue of the Justice Series by sculptor Nancy Mee.
- "A State of Trust." 1996. EUI Working Paper RSC No. 96/23, European University Institute, Florence.
- "Rationalized Bureaucracy and Rational Compliance" (with Edgardo Campos and Richard Sherman). 1994. IRIS (Center for Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector) Working Paper No. 105 (April).
- "When Citizens Won't Comply: Institutional Change and Strategic Consent." *Australian Society*. (December 1988).
- "The Impact of Social, Political, and Economic Changes on Voluntary Organizations." *Washington State Journal of Nursing* (1980):33-9.
- "1976 RN Strike." *Seattle Nurse* (June 1979).
- "Police Collective Bargaining: The Gain and Loss of Power." *Public Service Journal* (October 1978) and (November 1978); reprinted in *The Washington Policeman* (December 1978).
- "Some Questions About Productivity." *Public Service Journal* (1979).
- "Housing Action" (with a research group headed by Jill Hamburg). OSTI Press (1969).

Grants for Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences

- Sloan Foundation, "The Social Science of Care-giving" (Alison Gopnik principal PI), \$600,000+
- Hewlett Foundation, "EnCOREage," \$150,000, 2022-4
- Sloan Foundation, "EnCOREage," \$659,000, 2022-4
- Patrick McGovern Foundation, "Ethics and Society Review," \$300,000, 2022
- MacArthur Foundation and Spencer Foundations, "Diversity Institute", \$575,000, 2021-4
- National Science Foundation, "Developing an Ethics and Society Review for Research," (with Michael Bernstein), \$400,000, 2021-4
- Templeton Foundation (through Berkeley and Alison Gopnik), "Social Science of Care-Giving," \$88,500, 2022-24
- Siegel Family Endowment, support of a fellow in technology governance, \$50,000, 2021-22, \$50,000, 2022-23
- Rockefeller Foundation, "Founding a Science of AI Practice," 2021-2, \$ 200,000
- Stanford Humanities, "Imagining Adaptive Societies" (with James Holland Jones), 2021-22, \$58,000
- Stanford Global Health, "Modeling the Aggregate Effects of Structural Uncertainty and Their Effects on Epidemic Control" (with James Holland Jones), 2021-22, \$50,000
- Stanford HAI, Stanford EST Hub, "ERB: Developing, Evaluating, and Disseminating An Ethics Review Board For Human-Centered Artificial Intelligence Research," (with Michael Bernstein), \$159,000, 2021
- Ford Foundation, general operating gift, 2020-3, \$1,000,000

Rockefeller Foundation, Governance of AI and Technology planning grant, \$225,000, 2020-21
 Reid Hoffman gift, “Moral political economy,” \$300,000, 2019-
 William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, “Moral political economy,” \$100,000, 2018-19; \$100,000, 2019-21; \$223,000, 2021-3
 Ford Foundation, “Moral political economy,” \$50,000, 2019-20.
 Sloan Foundation, CASBS Impact Evaluation Design Lab, \$125,000, 2018-19; \$91,000, 2020-22
 Knight Foundation, “iGeneration”, \$250,000, 2016-20
 AiMIE seed grant, \$25,000, 2018-19.
 Chan Zuckerberg Initiative (CZI), ethical standards for philanthropic-funded research, cost of workshop
 Knight Foundation strategy meeting, \$42,000, 2018
 HAI seed grant, \$50,000, 2018-19
 Pew Foundation meeting, c. \$40,000, 2018.
 Sage Publications, CASBS Impact Evaluation Design Lab, \$50,000, 2018
 Berggruen Institute, “Moral Economy,” \$50,000. 2018-19.
 Berggruen Institute, workshop on “Transformation of the Human” workshop, \$35,000. 2018.
 Chan Zuckerberg Initiative (CZI), Global Literacy, 2018, c. \$50,000
 Catalyst Challenge grant, \$100,000, 2017-18.
 Ford Foundation, core support for CASBS, \$1,350,000, 2017-19.
 Future of Scholarly Knowledge, \$50,000, 2016-
 Knight Foundation, “Workshop on observational data”, 2016, \$15,000
 Ford Foundation, “Workshop on Ethical Consumption,” 2016, \$30,000
 Hewlett Foundation (with Woods Institute), “Climate Change and the Cities”, \$150,000, 2016-7
 Rockefeller Foundation, “Future of Work and Workers,” \$150,000. 2015
 Hewlett Foundation, general purpose grant, \$500,000. 2015-17
 Wenner-Gren Foundation, “Metacategories in Anthropology,” \$10,000 for fall 2015 workshop
 Sloan Foundation, “Regulations as Organizations acting on Organizations,” \$20,000 for fall 2015 workshop
 Hewlett Foundation, “Ethical Practices in Field Experiments,” \$25,000. 2015.
 Luce Foundation, support for Social and Behavioral Sciences Summit 2015, \$22,000. 2015
 Raikes Foundation, “Mindset Scholars Network,” \$2,500,000. 2014-17
 Hewlett Foundation, support for Social and Behavioral Sciences Summit 2014, \$50,000. 2014.

Research Grants

“Reimagining Property Rights,” a collaborative project under the auspices of the Rockefeller, Omidyar and Berggruen Foundations
 "Rating Systems and The Future of Algorithmic Worker Evaluation" with Michael Bernstein and Ramesh Johari. HAI seed grant. \$75K. 2021-22
 “Harnessing the Data Revolution to Secure the Future of the Oceans” (Fiorenza Micheli, PI), Catalyst grant, \$450,000, 2017-18.
 “Collective Action and Governance” (with Michael Bernstein), Stanford Cyber Initiative \$50,000, 2016-17
 Cyber work: the future of networked labor” (with Michael Bernstein, Melissa Valentine, and Ramesh Johari), Stanford Cyber Initiative \$150,000, 2015-16
 Royalty Research Fund, University of Washington, “Creating Brand Responsibility,” \$39,478.00 (with Anne Greenleaf and Milli Lake), 2011-2012.
 American Bar Foundation (with Robert Nelson, Tom Ginsburg, Jack Knight, and Beatriz Magaloni), “Measuring the Rule of Law”. \$41,000. 2011-12.
 World Justice Project (with Robert Nelson). Support for Scholars’ Group, 2010. \$25,000. Renewed with additional \$25,000 for 2011.
 World Justice Project (with Audrey Sacks) for a survey and workshop in Zambia on how donor aid affects government-citizen relationship, 2009. \$15,600.
 Working Group on Waterfront Workers’ History (with James Gregory), Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies, 2008-9, \$7500

Washington State Labor Research Grant, "ILWU Contract Negotiations: The Confluence of State-Level Politics, Economics and Labor," 2008-9, \$10,000

"Provoking Preferences by Changing Beliefs," National Science Foundation SES-0717454, 2007-10, \$300,100. Also received an REU (Research Experiences for Undergraduates) of \$14,000 to supplement this grant and a supplementary grant of \$49,000.

"Legitimizing Beliefs: Concepts, Indicators and Measurement". Royalty Research Fund, 2007-8. \$30,000.

"Exploring Conditions of Cooperation and Sacrifice in Political and Social Settings." National Science Foundation SES-0517735, 2005-7, \$178,315

"Institutional Barriers to Mobilizing Democracy" with James Johnson, Jack Knight and Susan Stokes. Russell Sage Foundation, 2005-6. \$35,000.

Working Group on Labor Markets, Inequality, and Interest Representation, El Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales del Instituto Juan March, Madrid, 2004-7 (travel and lodging)

"Living Wages in the U.S.: Setting an Agenda for Research and Activism" with David J. Olson, Shelly Lundberg, Michael McCann, Elaina Rose, and Dan Jacoby. Russell Sage Foundation, 2001-3. (\$35,000).

"Union Democracy Revisited: The ILWU" (with David J. Olson), Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies, 2001-2 (\$2000). Renewed 2002-3 (\$2500). Became a working group, 2004-6 (c. \$15,000). Additional \$15,000 from *Politics & Society* to fund conference.

"In Unions We Trust" Russell Sage Foundation, 2001-2 (\$26,300)

"Global Citizen Project" Co-principal Investigator (with Lance Bennett), UW Royalty Research Fund, 2001 (\$30,000)

"WTO History Project" College of Arts and Sciences (\$2500) and Provost's Fund (with Lance Bennett), 2000-1 (\$34,300).

"Labor-Management Cooperation in the Public Sector" Co-principal Investigator with Jon Brock. Ford Foundation Grant, 1998-2000 (\$200,000).

"The Construction and Maintenance of Trust" Co-principal Investigator (with Karen Cook and Russell Hardin, Russell Sage Foundation, 1994-6 (\$20,000). Renewed and enlarged for 1996-8 (c. \$100,000). Continuation grant 1998 (\$9,000). Renewal grant 1999-2002 (\$310,000). (Total grant: c. \$439,000)

"The Impact of the Nobelists on Political Science," Russell Sage Foundation, 1997-98 (\$27,000) Conference Grant (with Karen Cook and Russell Hardin), The Rockefeller Foundation, Bellagio, October 1997. Room and board provided by the Rockefeller Foundation. Airfares provided by the Russell Sage Foundation.

Team Residency (with Karen Cook and Russell Hardin), The Rockefeller Foundation, Bellagio, May-June 1996. Room and board provided by the Rockefeller Foundation. Airfares provided by the Russell Sage Foundation.

Co-Coordinator (with Barry Weingast), Special Project on Political and Economic Development, sponsored by CASBS, 1993-94, and SSRC, 1994-5. Other Participants: Robert Bates, Avner Greif, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal.

"Institutional Arrangements, Compliance and the Informal Sector in Developing Economies," IRISAID, 1993-94 (\$13,000). Co-principal investigator (with Edgardo Campos),

"Compliance, Predation and the Informal Sector in Developing Economies," Royalty Research Fund, University of Washington, 1992-93 (\$22,000).

"The Politics of Conscription," Canadian Studies Faculty Research Grant, 1992 (\$4000).

"To Volunteer or Resist," National Science Foundation, 1991-92 (\$45,000).

"Democracy, Markets, and Choice," National Science Foundation, Democracy and Markets Training Initiative, 1991-92 (\$50,000).

"Administration, Compliance, and Governability," Australian National University. Includes contracts from Departments of Social Security and of Immigration, Australia. 1989-1996. Consultant Investigator.

SSRC Grant for conference, "Revenue Extraction and the Institutionalization of the State," 1990 (\$3000)

"Compliance with Conscription," Australian War Memorial, 1990, 1991. (\$4000).

German Marshall Fund Fellowship, 1988-89 (\$55,000) "The Costs of Achieving Compliance," National Science Foundation Research Planning Grant, 1987-88

Graduate School Research Fund, University of Washington, Summers of 1978, 1977, 1988.
"Labor-management Relations in Hospitals," U.S. Public Health Service directed by Professor Hervey
Juris, Northwestern University, 1976-77. Sub-contracted investigator.
Faculty Scholarly Development Award, University of Washington, Summer 1976.
Samuel Andrew Stouffer Fellowship, Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard, 1972-73.
Harvard University Department of Government Teaching Fellow, 1970-72. NDEA Title IV,
1968-71.

Distinguished Lectureships

Max Weber Lecture, Instituto Carlos III-Juan March de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Carlos III de
Madrid, November 2024
Oxford Philosophy, Law, and Politics Colloquium Series, October 2024
PSPE (Political Science and Political Economy) Annual Lecture, LSE, March 2024
Cadario Lecture at the University of Toronto, September 2022
Academy of Science of South Africa, November 2020
WZB Distinguished Lecture for 50th Anniversary, Berlin, November 2019
Skytte Prize Lecture, Uppsala, September 2019
20th anniversary lecturer, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, June 2018
Elinor Ostrom Memorial Lecture, Indiana University, October 2017
Stein Rokkan Lecture, European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), Nottingham University,
April 2017
William H. Riker Lecture, University of Rochester, October 2014
Distinguished Lecturer, University of Peking, September 2013
Stein Rokkan Lecture, University of Bergen, October 2012
Tocqueville Lecture, Department of Political Science, University of Colorado, October 2010
Sydney Ideas Lecture, Sydney University, June 2009
Alec McDonald Memorial Lecture, Brisbane, May 2009
Kobe University North American Lecture, November 2007
Featherman Lecture, Temple University, April 2006
Hierta Symposium, Stockholm University, September 2005
Munro Lecture, Stanford University, June 2005
Public Policy Series, Reed College, February 2005
Ida Beam Lecture, University of Iowa, February 2004
Distinguished University of Washington Women Scholar Series, May 2002
Keynote address, International Society for Comparative Research, Yale, May 2001
Montague Burton Visiting Professor, Cardiff University, September-October 2000
Rockefeller Lecture in Government, Dartmouth College, May 1999
William C. Mitchell Lecture in Political Economy, University of Oregon, April 1998
Havens Center Visiting Scholar, University of Wisconsin, April 1992, April 2003

Visiting Appointments and Fellowships

London School of Economics, Spring 2025
Institute for Advanced Studies, Juan March Institute, Madrid, Autumn 2001; Spring 2003. Budapest
Collegium, October-November 2002. Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung, Koeln,
October-December, 2000; September 1998; September-December 1995.
Fellow, Exeter College, Oxford University, Trinity Term, 1996.
Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, 1993-94.
Political and Social Sciences, European University Institute, Fiesole, March 1996; May 1989. Shanghai
Teachers' College (with lectures also at Fudan University), March 1993.
Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris, March-April 1989, June-July 1990.
Department of Government, London School of Economics and Political Science, January-March 1989.
Center for Ethics, Rationality and Society, University of Chicago, October-November 1988.

Economic History, Research School of Social Sciences, Institute for Advanced Studies, Australian National University, July-September 1986.
Social Justice Project, Research School of Social Sciences, Institute for Advanced Studies, Australian National University, April-July 1984.
Department of Sociology, University of Essex, 1981 -82.
NASPAA Faculty Fellow in Department of Social Security, 1981-82. (Declined)

Teaching Grants and Activities

“Global Classrooms” UW Office of Undergraduate Education and Hewlett Foundation, subcontract for curricular development of Global Citizen Project, 2001-3 (\$35,000)
“Service and Research Based Learning in Labor Studies” with Michael Honey and Daniel Jacoby, UW Tools for Transformation grant, 1999-2001 (\$112,000).
Co-Facilitator, Workshop on Service Learning, Fourth Annual UW Faculty Workshop on Teaching and Learning, August 1999
Planning grant, "Introduction to Labor Studies" with service learning component, Center for Labor Studies and Vice-Provost's Office, summer 1996.
“Crossing Borders: Revitalizing Area Studies,” Ford Foundation and University of Washington grant, 1997-98. Group member.
“Teaching in the Diverse Classroom.” One of my classes was taped for a teacher training video prepared by CIDR, University of Washington. Video is used widely throughout the country and has won a national award.
Principal Investigator, Olympus Project Grant, University of Washington, "Games for Classroom Use," 1985-87.
Board, College Studies Major, 1986-87.
Board, College Honors Program, 1981-84.
Coordinator (and co-founder with Douglass C. North), Undergraduate Concentration in Political Economy, jointly run by Departments of Political Science and Economics, 1976-1994.
Coordinator, Political Economy Graduate Field, 1976-present
Coordinator, Comparative Politics Graduate Field, 1998-present

Professional Activities

Editorial board, *Combinations*, 2024-
CORE Board of Trustees, 2022-
Berggruen Index of Government, advisory board, 2022-
Actuate, board member, 2021-3
Chair of Section 53, National Academy of Sciences, 2020-23
Board of Directors, Berggruen Institute, 2014-
Editorial Board, *PNAS*, 2019-
General Editor, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2006-; became co-General Editor in 2013
Z-Inspection(R) Advisory Board, 2020-2022
Apple Academic Advisory Board, 2012-17
Co-coordinator, American Academy of Arts and Sciences Project on Supply Chains, 2020-21
External Advisory Board, University of Washington Population Health Initiative, 2020-22
General Editor, Cambridge University Press Studies in Comparative Politics, 1999-2014; editorial board, 2014-
Co-General Editor (with Karen Cook and Russell Hardin), Series on Trust, Russell Sage Foundation Press, 1997-
Research Council, Canadian Institute for Advanced Research (CIFAR), 2020-
International Advisory Committee, CEACS (Center for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences) now the Carlos III-Juan March Institute, Madrid, 2010-2023
International Advisory Committee, IBEI (Institut Barcelona d'Estudes Internacionals), Barcelona, 2005-2016

Board of Trustees, Institute for Advanced Study, 2014-2016
 Board of Directors, Watson Institute of International Studies, Brown University, 2014-2016
 Board of Directors, Social Science Research Council, 2010-2016, Chair of Executive Committee, 2013-14
 Chair, Search Committee for APSA Executive Director, 2012-13
 Consultant, World Bank: Governance Division of World Bank Institute, March 2010-2011; WDR 2013 in 2011; Sierra Leone Project 2013; WDR 2015 in 2013
 Co-Chair of Scholars Program, World Justice Program, 2009-2013; member, 2013-
 Member, Just Supply Chains network, United States
 Co-coordinator, Ethical Supply Chains, Australia
 Committee of Visitors, Social and Behavioral Sciences, National Science Foundation, 2010
 World Justice Commission, American Bar Association, 2008-2010
 Chair, Board of Directors, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford (CASBS), 2007-9, Member, 2002-5; Vice-Chair, 2005-7
 Chair, Fellowship Selection Committee, CASBS, 2007-2008
 Council Member (1993-5), Program Chair (with James Alt, 1996-7), American Political Science Association
 Task Force on Political Violence and Terror, American Political Science Association, 2004-7
 Political Science Selection Panel, Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center, 2006-7
 Advisory Committee, Russell Sage Foundation Project on Trust, 1996-2002, 2004-5
 Advisory Committee on Special Projects, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1999-2002
 Standing Committee on Civic Education, American Political Science Association, 2002-4
 Task Force on Civic Education, American Political Science Association, 1997-2002
 Executive Committee, Society for Comparative Research, 1999-2004
 American Philosophical Society, Fellowship Selection Committee, 1998-2002
 Chair, Luebbert Book Prize Committee, Comparative Politics Section, 1993, 1994, 2003
 Harrison Prize Committee for best paper in Political Studies, 2002
 Council, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), 1995-97; Chair of Archival Development Committee (1996-7)
 Chair, Election Committee, American Political Science Association, 1993-5
 Editorial Boards: *Politics & Society*. 1972-(Manuscript Editor, 1975-78); *Rationality & Society*, 1995-; *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1996-2004; *Political Studies*, 2000-; SSRN's New Institutional Economics (NIE) Abstracting Journal, 2005-; *Regulation and Governance*, 2006-
 Advisory Committee, *Institutional Analysis*, University of Michigan Press in collaboration with the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis of Indiana University
 Consultant, MacArthur Foundation, Project on Economics, 1993-4
 Task Force on the Future of International Programs, Social Science Research Council (SSRC), 1994
 SOPE (Section on Political Economy, APSA), Chair, 1992-4; Secretary-Treasurer, 1994-6
 Departmental and Program Review Committees: Duke University (1998), University of Minnesota (1998), MIT (2003-7); Indiana University (2006); Research School of Social Sciences, ANU (2006), Ohio State (2008); Workshop in Political Analysis, Indiana University (2009); Princeton University (2010); Radcliffe Institute (2013)
 Chair, Awards Committee, Organized Section in Comparative Politics, APSA, 1991-4, 2002-3
 Evaluation Panel in Political Science, International Relations, Geography, and Urban and Regional Planning, NSF Graduate Fellowship Program, 1991, 1992, Chair 1993 and 1995
 Ad Hoc Council of Social Science Editors, 1975-78
 Section Chair, 1984 Meetings of Western Political Science Association Meetings; 1987 Midwest Political Science Association Meetings; 1990 and 1992 American Political Science Association Meetings
 Referee for: *American Political Science Review*; *American Sociological Review*; *American Journal of Political Science*; *Comparative Politics*; *Comparative Political Studies*; *Ethics*; *Polity*; *Journal of Theoretical Politics*; *Rationality and Society*; *Western Political Quarterly*; *Explorations in Economic History*; *The Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*; *Regulation and Governance*

Referee for Chicago, Cambridge, California, Michigan, and Oxford University Presses, Russell Sage Foundation Press, and Sage Publications.

University of Washington Service

Faculty Chair, Licensing Advisory Committee, 2007-2008; Advisory Committee on Trademarks and Licensing, 2009-
Chairperson, Review of Law School Graduate Programs, 1999-2001
Member, Recruitment Committee, Dean of the Law School, 1999-2001
Member, Licensing Review Committee, 2000-2
Member, Faculty Advisory Committee to the University Archivist, 2000
Committee on College Initiative Funds, 1999
Advisory Committee, "All Powers" Project, 1997-98
Associate Chair, Department of Political Science, 1991-93
Acting Chair, Department of Political Science, Spring 1992
Member, Dean's Review Committee, 1992-93
Panelist, Royalty Research Fund, 1992-93
Standing Committee, University of Washington Center for Labor Studies, 1992-3, 1994-5
Co-convenor (with Edgar Kiser), College Colloquium Series on "Democracy, Markets, and Economic Development," 1991-92
Co-chair (with Karen Cook and Robert Pollak), College Initiative on Research in the Social Sciences, 1991
Co-convenor (with Karen Cook), College Colloquium Series on "The Limits of Rationality," 1985
Chairperson, Dean's Special Committee on the Social Sciences, 1985-86

Stanford University Service

Co-chair, Integrative Hub on Ethics, Science, and Technology, 2019-
Ethics in Society Advisory Board, 2016-
Race Institute Task Force, 2022
Sustainability Blueprint Advisory Committee, 2021
Design Team, Human-Centered AI, Long Range Planning, 2018-19
Search Committee, Dean of Research, 2017-18
Joint Woods-Sociology Search Committee, 2017-18
Chair, Advisory Panel on Investment Responsibility and Licensing (APIRL), 2016-18; member, 2014-16
Senior Search Committee, Department of Political Science, 2014-15

Community Service and memberships

Advisory Committee, Kluge-Ruhe Collection of Australian Aboriginal Art, University of Virginia, 2010-2014
National Commission on Elections and Voting, 2004-5 (created by Social Science Research Council)
Donor (with Robert Kaplan) of Australian Aboriginal Art to Seattle Art Museum, (give talks at Museum and other venues about the collection and art form), Metropolitan Museum, and Women's Museum of Art
Co-curator with Robert Kaplan, "Aboriginal Vision in Contemporary Australian Art," Wright Exhibition Space, April-September 2005
Community Committee for Intiman Theater's world premiere staging of *Nickel and Dimed*, 2002
ArtTable, the national organization of professional women in the visual arts, elected 2002
Board of Directors, Odyssey Maritime Discovery Center, 2000
Advisory Board, The Center for a Changing Workforce, 1999-2005
Advisory Committee, HistoryLink (www.historylink.org), 1999-2006
Jobs with Justice Workers' Rights Board, Seattle, 1997-1999, 2004
Coordinator, University of Washington Teach-In on the Future of Labor and Labor Arts and History Festival at Northwest Folklife, May 1997.

Coordinating Committee, Scholars, Artists and Writers for Social Justice (SAWSJ), 1997-9
Steering Committee, SAWSJ, 1997-2000
Advisor to the Organizing Institute, AFL-CIO, 1997-8, consulted on publication of *Faculty@Work*
Chairperson, Mayor Charles Royer's Task Force on City of Seattle Personnel Law, 1978