

SHAMIRAN MAKO

Boston University, Pardee School of Global Studies, 156 Bay State Road, Boston, MA, USA
smako@bu.edu | 617-353-9399 | www.shamiranmako.com

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Assistant Professor of International Relations 2018-Present
Pardee School of Global Studies
and the Political Science Department, Boston University

U.S. Fulbright Scholar September 2022-January 2023

EDUCATION

University of Edinburgh 2011-2016
Department of Politics and International Relations
Ph.D. in Politics

Wilfrid Laurier University, Department of Political Science
M.A. in Political Science 2006-2007

York University, Department of Politics
B.A. (Honors) 2001-2006

RESEARCH FIELDS

International Relations, Comparative Politics, Ethnic Politics, Post-Conflict Statebuilding,
Governing in Divided Societies, Middle East Politics

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

Structuring Exclusion: Institutions, Grievances and Ethnic State Capture in Iraq. Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2025.

After the Arab Uprisings: Progress and Stagnation in the Middle East and North Africa, with Valentine Moghadam, Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Reviewed in: *Perspectives on Politics; Democratization; Middle East Journal; Contemporary Sociology*. Endorsed by Jack Goldstone, Jillian Schwedler, Jason Brownlee, Suad Joseph.

State and Society in Iraq: Citizenship under Occupation, Dictatorship and Democratisation, editor with Benjamin Isakhan and Fadi Dawood, I.B. Tauris, 2017

ARTICLES

- 2024 “Afterword: Consociationalism and the State: Situating Lebanon and Iraq in a Global Perspective,” w/Allison McCulloch, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*.
- 2023 “Divided Opposition, Fragmented Statebuilding: Elite Bargaining in Pre-and Post-2003 Iraq,” forthcoming in *International Peacekeeping*.
- 2023 Special Issue co-editor, “Iraq War and Its Legacies Twenty Years since Regime Change,” *MERIP* (forthcoming, April 2023)
- 2022 “Exploiting Dissent: Foreign Military Interventions in the Arab Uprisings.” *International Politics* 52: 1139-1166. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-021-00352-x>
- 2022 “Foreign Intervention, Contingent Sovereignty, and Areas of Limited Statehood: the Case of Iraq’s disputed territories,” *APSA-MENA Newsletter* 5, no. 1. Available at: https://apsamena.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/APSA_MENA_Spring-2022_V4.pdf
- 2021 “Subverting Peace: the Origins and Legacies of de-Baathification in Iraq”, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 15 (4): 476-493. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2021.1937467>
- 2021 “Evaluating the Pitfalls of External Statebuilding in Post-2003 Iraq (2003-2021)”, with Alistair Edgar, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 15 (4): 425-440. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2021.1958292>
- 2012 “Cultural Genocide and Key International Instruments: Framing the Indigenous Experience,” *International Journal of Minority and Group Rights*, 19: 175-194.
- 2009 “Ethno-Cultural and Religious Identity of Syrian Orthodox Christians,” *Chronos*, 19: 71-113.

BOOK CHAPTERS

- 2024 “Arrested History: Hierarchized Knowledge Production and Iraq’s Ba’th Party Archives” with Marsin Alshamary, in *The Ba’ath Party Archives and Authoritarianism in Iraq*, edited by Lisa Blaydes and Samuel Helfont, Stanford University Press, forthcoming 2025.
- 2019 “The Right of Return in Iraq: Conceptualizing Insecurity, State Fragility and Forced Displacement,” with Hannibal Travis in *Transitional Justice and Forced Migration: Critical Perspectives from the Global South*, pp. 158-189. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- 2017 “Political Parties, Elections and the Transformation of Iraqi Politics since 2003,” w/Marc Lemieux in *State and Society in Iraq: Negotiating Citizenship under Occupation, Authoritarianism and Democratization*, eds., Benjamin Isakhan, Shamiran Mako, and Fadi Dawood, 238-259. London: I.B. Tauris.
- 2017 “Conclusion,” with Benjamin Isakhan, in *State and Society in Iraq: Negotiating Citizenship under Occupation, Authoritarianism and Democratization*, eds., Benjamin Isakhan, Shamiran Mako, and Fadi Dawood, 280-288. London: I.B. Tauris.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

“War, External Intervention, and Women’s Healthcare Outcomes in Post-2003 Iraq”, with Mahesh Karra, in progress.

“Colonial Statebuilding, Exclusion and Ethnic State Capture in Iraq,” in progress.

“Ethnic Dominance in Iraq and Pakistan: a Comparative-Historical Approach,” with Wilfried Swenden, in progress.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- 2021 “Negotiating Peace in Iraq’s Disputed Territories: Modifying the Baghdad-Erbil Sinjar Agreement.” *Lawfare Blog*. Available at: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/negotiating-peace-iraqs-disputed-territories-modifying-sinjar-agreement>
- 2019 “Institutionalizing Exclusion: de-Baathification in Post-2003 Iraq” POMEPS Studies 35. Available at: <https://pomeps.org/institutionalizing-exclusion-de-bathification-in-post-2003-iraq>
- 2014 “Iraq: Who’s to Blame?” *World Affairs Journal*.
- 2014 “The State of Higher Education in Iraq: Lessons from Eight Iraqi Fulbright Scholars,” Co-authored w/ Denis J. Sullivan, *The American Academic Research Institute in Iraq*.
- 2012 "International Response to Bahrain's Arab Spring," *e-International Relations*.
- 2016 “Saddam Hussein: a Political Biography,” *The Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, 2nd edition. Ed. Richard C. Martin. 2 Vols. Detroit: Macmillan Reference.
- 2010 “Peshmerga Fighters,” *Encyclopedia of Modern Middle East Wars*.
- 2010 “Colonialism in the Middle East,” *World History Encyclopedia*.

INVITED PRESENTATIONS AND WORKSHOPS

- 2023 (November), Presenter, Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Brandeis University
- 2023 (August), Presenter, Hoover Institution Ba'ath Party conference, Stanford University
- 2023 (June), Presenter, Twenty years on: the geopolitical reverberations of the Iraq war, Columbia University Global Center, Amman, Jordan.
- 2023 (April) Guest Editor, MERIP Special Issue on 20 years since Iraq invasion webinar
- 2023 (March) How Wars End conference presenter, Boston University
- 2023 (March) ECPR Research Network on Statehood, Sovereignty, and Conflict workshop presenter
- 2023 Yale University, International Security Studies Center
- 2023 Beyond the Headlines: the State of Democracy in the World, Boston University
- 2022 (December), Presenter, Global Center for Cooperation and Security (closed workshop)
- 2022 (December), Presenter, Arab Center, Washington, D.C.
- 2022 (November), Presenter, Balsillie School of International Affairs-University of Waterloo
- 2022 (October), Presenter, the Atlantic Council Iraq Initiative
- 2022 (August), Presenter, the Atlantic Council Iraq Initiative
- 2022 (May) Presenter, Clingendael Institute
- 2022 (April) Presenter, Transregional Institute, Princeton University
- 2022 (March) Presenter, Center for Middle East Studies, University of Madison-Wisconsin
- 2022 (February) Presenter, Brookings Institution
- 2021 (December) Presenter, John W. Kluge Center, Library of Congress
- 2021 (November) Presenter, LSE Middle East Studies Center, London, UK
- 2021 (October) Presenter, Pardee School Research Seminar Series, Boston University
- 2021 (April) Presenter, Women in Conflict Studies (WICS) Professional Development Session
- 2021 (April) Presenter, Middle Eastern and North African Studies Colloquium Series, the University of Arizona
- 2021 (March) Presenter, Muslim Studies Program, Boston University
- 2020 (July) Presenter, Massachusetts Peace Action, "Iraq: Occupation, Governance, Protests"
- 2020 (May) Presenter, Boston University, Pardee School of Global Studies Beyond the Headlines Series
- 2020 (April) Presenter, Northeast Middle East Working Group Workshop, Smith College (cancelled due to Covid-19)
- 2019 (November) Presenter, Kennedy School, Harvard University
- 2019 (November) Keynote speaker, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
- 2019 (November) Presenter, Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University
- 2019 (October) Presenter, Beyond the Headlines, Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University
- 2019 (June) Participant, International Policy Summer Institute-Bridging the Gap, American University
- 2019 (April) Presenter, Project on Middle East Political Science and the Crown Center, Brandeis University
- 2019 (April) Presenter, Delta Phi Epsilon, Boston University
- 2019 (April) Presenter Beyond the Headlines, Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University
- 2018 (November) Presenter, Presidential Panel, Middle East Studies Association (MESA)

- 2018 (January) Presenter, Watson Institute for International Affairs, Brown University
 2016 (October) Presenter, Roger Williams University
 2015 (March) Presenter, Center for Middle East Studies, Harvard University
 2014 (February) Presenter, International Affairs Program, Northeastern University
 2013 (May) Presenter, Constitutional Law Discussion Group, University of Edinburgh

CONFERENCES

(P)presenter, (C)hair, (D)discussant

- 2024 (P), (D) APSA-Philadelphia
 2022 (P) APSA-Montreal.
 2022 (P) (C), MPSA-Chicago.
 2021 November (P), ISA-International Security Studies Section, Bloomington, IN
 2021 April (P), Progress and Stagnation after the Arab Uprisings: 10 years on. Center for Religion and World Affairs, Boston University (virtual)
 2020 August (D), American Political Science Association (APSA), MENA Region Workshops (virtual)
 2020 June (P), Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS), George Washington University (virtual)
 2020 February (P), Research Seminar Series, Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University
 2019 November (P), Middle East Studies Association
 2019 April (P), Workshop on Peacebuilding and Transitional Justice in Iraq, Boston University
 2017 September (D), American Political Science Association
 2016 November (P) Project on Middle East Political Science, The Junior Scholars Book Development Workshop
 2016 November (P) Middle East Studies Association
 2016 September (P) American Political Science Association
 2016 March (P) The Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice, Princeton University
 2014 November (P) Middle East Studies Association
 2014 July (P) International Studies Association
 2014 May (P) Workshop on displacement, Boston University
 2013 November (P) Middle East Studies Association

FELLOWSHIPS

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| U.S. Fulbright Scholar | 2022 |
| Canada Research Chair in Global Governance
Balsillie School of International Affairs
University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario | |
| Center for Middle East Studies, Brown University
(Visiting Scholar) | 2018-2019 |

Visiting Assistant Professor

Center for Middle East Studies, Brown University	2017-2018
Research Fellow Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University	2014-2015
Carnegie Visiting Scholar Boston Consortium for Arab Region Studies, Northeastern University	2014-2015

TEACHING

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

IR 382	Understanding the Modern Middle East, undergraduate
IR 560	Ethnic Conflict in a Global Perspective, graduate
IR 312	Comparative Development in the MENA, undergraduate
IR 533	Contentious Politics and the Arab Uprisings, graduate

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

SERVICE TO BOSTON UNIVERSITY

2024	Comprehensive exam committee member, Political Science Department, Boston University
2024	Graduate Admissions Committee, Pardee School of Global Studies
2023	Faculty Search Committee Member, Pardee Center Director, Boston University
2023-Present	Fulbright Applicant Reviewer, Boston University Campus Committee Member
2023-2025	Co-convenor, Comparative Politics Workshop, Political Science Department, Boston University
2022-Present	Co-convenor, Pardee School Research Seminar Series
2018-Present	Graduate Faculty Member, Political Science Department, Boston University
2019-Present	Executive Committee Member, CURA, Boston University
2021	By-laws Committee, Pardee School, Boston University
2019-2021	Faculty Council, Boston University
2018	Faculty Search Committee Member, Pardee School, Boston University

SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

2024	External Ph.D. Examiner for Zeidon Alkinani, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Aberdeen.
2024-present	Best Dissertation Committee member, Middle East Politics Section, American Political Science Association
2024	Annual Conference Co-Chair, Middle East Politics Section, American Political Science Association
2023-Present	Member, Research Cluster on Identity Politics, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University

- 2023-Present Dissertation Award Committee, Middle East Politics Section, American Political Science Association
- 2023-Present Book Award Committee, Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Migration Section of the International Studies Association (ENMISA)2022 Section Chair, Middle East Politics Section, Midwest Political Science Association
- 2021 Afghan Scholars Support Network, Middle East Studies Association Global Academy
- 2021 American Political Science Association MENA Junior Scholars Mentorship Program
- 2020 American Political Science Association MENA Workshop Discussant
- 2020 Middle East Studies Association Program Committee Member
- 2014 Middle East Studies Association Program Committee Member

REFEREE ACTIVITIES

Manuscript reviewer for: International Security, Comparative Politics, International Studies Review, Middle East Journal, Third World Quarterly, Nations and Nationalism, Mediterranean Politics, Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism, Brookings Institution, Century Foundation, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Clingendael Institute, Oxford University Press, University of Edinburgh Press. Grant reviewer for Carnegie Corporation of New York.

UNDERGRADUATE AND MASTERS ADVISING AND MENTORSHIP

- 2023-2024 16 students
- 2021-2022 26 students
- 2019-2020 18 students
- 2018-2019 16 students
- 2022 (on research leave)
- 2023 26 students

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS ADVISER

- 2022-2023 Gideon Gordon, Madhri Yehiya, and Ashari Bilan-Cooper
- 2020-2021 Jannah Kalai
- 2019-2020 Emmett Foxe
Augustine Ramirez-Jimenez
Pablo Jimenez

GRADUATE MENTORSHIP (Ph.D. and MA)

- 2024 Alexandra Lazar, Ph.D. Candidate, External Committee Reviewer, Political Science Department, University of California, Davis.
- 2023-present Caden Brown, Ph.D., Political Science Department, Boston University
- 2022-present Marwa Bin Khalifa, Ph.D., Political Science Department, Boston University
- 2024-present Yasir Kouti, Ph.D., student, Political Science Department, Boston University

2024-present Shivan Fazil, Ph.D., student, Political Science Department, Boston University
2023-2024 Fotouh Alawadhi, MA
2021 Haidar Reda (Chiba University-Japan)

MEDIA APPEARANCES

al-Jazeera, CNN International, NPR, the World, CTV News Canada, WHDH 7 News Boston, Vox news, Public Radio International, East is a Podcast, UFAHAMU Africa podcast, Project on Middle East Political Science Podcast, 1001 Iraqi Thoughts podcast, Sectarianism, Proxies and De-Sectarianization Podcast

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Political Science Association (APSA)
International Studies Association (ISA)
Middle East Studies Association (MESA)
Women in International Security (WIIS)
Women in Conflict Studies (WICS)

LANGUAGES

English (native proficiency), Arabic (native proficiency), Assyrian/Aramaic (native proficiency)

Updated April 2024