

SHAMIRAN MAKO

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Academic Appointments and Affiliations

2018-Present	Assistant Professor of International Relations Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University Graduate Faculty of Political Science, Department of Political Science Program Faculty for the Middle East and North Africa Major <i>(BU allocated tenure-track Covid-19 semester teaching release, Fall 2023)</i>
2022	U.S. Fulbright Scholar Canada Chair in Global Governance Balsillie School of International Affairs University of Waterloo <i>(On mid-tenure research leave)</i>
2017-2018	Visiting Assistant Professor Middle East Studies Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs Brown University
2018-2019	Visiting Scholar Center for Middle East Studies, Brown University
2014-2015	Research Fellow Weatherhead Center for International Affairs Harvard University
2014-2015	Carnegie Visiting Scholar Boston Consortium for Arab Region Studies Northeastern University

Education

2011-2016	University of Edinburgh Ph.D. Department of Politics and International Relations
2006-2007	Wilfrid Laurier University M.A. Department of Political Science
2001-2006	York University B.A. with Honors Department of Politics

Peer-Reviewed Publications (Books, Articles and Book Chapters)

Books

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

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

Reviewed in: [Perspectives on Politics](#); [Democratization](#); [The Middle East Journal](#); [Critical Sociology](#); [Contemporary Sociology](#).

Endorsements: Jack Goldstone, Jillian Schwedler, Jason Brownlee, Suad Joseph.

State and Society in Iraq: Citizenship under Occupation, Dictatorship and Democratisation, (co-edited with Benjamin Isakhan and Fadi Dawood), I.B. Tauris/Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017.

Endorsements: Peter Sluglett, Joseph Sassoon and Orit Bashkin

Journal Articles

2024 “Afterword: Consociationalism and the State: Situating Lebanon and Iraq in a Global Perspective,” (with Allison McCulloch), *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 30 (1): 164-72. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537113.2024.2305505>

2023 “Divided Opposition, Fragmented Statebuilding: Elite Bargaining in Pre-and Post-2003 Iraq,” *International Peacekeeping* 30 (5): 585-610. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2023.2221854>

- 2022 “Exploiting Dissent: Foreign Military Interventions in the Arab Uprisings.” *International Politics* 52: 1139-1166.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-021-00352-x>
- 2021 “Subverting Peace: the Origins and Legacies of de-Baathification in Iraq,” *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 15 (4): 476-493.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2021.1937467>
- 2021 “Evaluating the Pitfalls of External Statebuilding in Post-2003 Iraq (2003-2021)” (co-authored with Alistair Edgar), *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 15 (4): 425-440. (Solo special issue editor). <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.
<https://doi.org/10.1163/157181112X639078>

Book Chapters

- 2026 “Arrested History: Hierarchized Knowledge Production and Iraq’s Ba‘th Party Archives” (co-authored with Marsin Alshamary), in *Ba‘thist Iraq through Archives: Reflections, Explorations, and Opportunities* edited by Lisa Blaydes and Samuel Helfont, Stanford University Press, forthcoming 2026.
- 2019 “The Right of Return in Iraq: Conceptualizing Insecurity, State Fragility and Forced Displacement,” (co-authored 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,” (co-authored with 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/Bloomsbury Publishers.
- 2017 “Conclusion,” (co-authored 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/Bloomsbury Publishers.

Book Reviews

- 2023 Critical Dialogue between *After the Arab Uprisings: Progress and Stagnation in the Middle East and North Africa* by Shamiran Mako and Valentine Moghadam and *The Age of Counter-Revolution: States and Revolutions in the Middle East*, by Jamie Allison (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022) in *Perspectives on Politics* 21, no. 2.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592723000737>

- 2023 Review of *Marketing Democracy: the Political Economy of Democracy Aid in the Middle East* by Erin A. Snider (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022), in *Political Science Quarterly* 138 (3): 435-36.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/psquar/qqad051>

Other Publications

- 2023 Special Issue, “The State of Iraq 20 Years After the Invasion,” (co-edited with Marsin Alshamary, Nabil al-Tikriti, and Lisa Hajjar) *Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)*, Issue No. 306.
<https://merip.org/magazine/306/>
- 2022 “Foreign Intervention, Contingent Sovereignty, and Areas of Limited Statehood: the Case of Iraq’s Disputed Territories,” *APSA-MENA Newsletter* 5, no. 1.
https://apsamena.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/APSA_MENA_Spring-2022_V4.pdf
- 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” *Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS)* Studies 35.
<https://pomeps.org/institutionalizing-exclusion-de-bathification-in-post-2003-iraq>
- 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*.
https://www.e-ir.info/2012/07/17/international-response-to-bahrains-arab-spring/#google_vignette
- 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-ABC-CLIO*.
- 2010 “Colonialism in the Middle East,” *World History Encyclopedia-ABC-CLIO*.

Ongoing Research and Works in Progress

Book manuscript

Power-Sharing in Practice: Discursive Institutionalism and Ethnic Elite Competition and Collaboration in Divided Societies
 (Data collection phase with anticipated fieldwork in Northern Ireland, Iraq, Lebanon, and Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Articles and Projects

- 2025 “War, external intervention, and women’s healthcare outcomes in post-2003 Iraq”, with Mahesh Karra, in preparation for review to *Social Science and Medicine*.
- 2025 “Exclusionary by design: ethnic preferentialism and British colonial statebuilding in Iraq,” in preparation for review.
- 2026 “Institutions, ethnic dominance, and British colonial policies: evidence from Iraq and Pakistan” co-authored with Wilfried Swenden, in preparation for submission to *Comparative Politics*.
- 2026 “Can education counter authoritarian nostalgia? Evidence from post-Ba’thist Iraq,” co-authored with Marsin Alshamary and Raed Aldulaimi, data collection phase, fieldwork in Iraq ongoing.
- 2027 “Diaspora ethnic solidarity networks, humanitarian coordination and collective action: evidence from the First Gulf War in Iraq,” co-authored with Andreas Önver Cetrez, data collection phase, with ongoing fieldwork in Iraq, Turkey, Sweden, and Germany.
- 2028 “Census Policies and Ethnic Exclusion in Divided Post-Colonial Societies,” data collection phase.
- 2028 “Exiled Elites and Regime Change: Iraq and Cuba Dissident Opposition Groups Compared,” data collection phase.

Invited Presentations, Seminars and Workshops

- 2025 (June), Presenter, Summer School on the Middle East, University of Montréal.
- 2024 (March), Discussant, Dan Slater *Democracy to Development* Book talk, Pardee School
- 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 Guest Lecture, Iraq War and Outcome of External Statebuilding, Bucknell College
- 2023 (March) ECPR Research Network on Statehood, Sovereignty, and Conflict workshop presenter
- 2023 Presenter, Iraq 20 years after the Invasion, 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, “Civil Conflict and its aftermath in the contemporary Middle East Workshop,” 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 (October), Guest Lecturer, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse 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

2025 (P) International Political Science Association, Seoul, South Korea.

- 2024 (P) APSA-Philadelphia (APSA-MENA politics section program co-chair, paper accepted, unable to attend due to illness)
- 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

Awards, Fellowships and Grants

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| 2024-2025 | Metcalf Award, Boston University, Nominated |
| 2024-2025 | Provost Scholar-Teacher Award, Boston University, Nominated |
| 2024 | Pardee School Summer Research Grant, \$6,000 |
| 2022 | U.S. Fulbright Scholar, \$25,000 |
| 2019 | The Academic Research Institute in Iraq, \$5000 |

Teaching

Boston University

IR 382 Understanding the Modern Middle East, undergraduate

Semesters taught: Fall 2018, Fall 2019, Fall 2020, Fall 2021, Fall 2024

(On research leave Fall 2022 and junior faculty teaching release, Fall 2023)

This survey course offers an introduction to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA region) and focuses on the region's political development throughout the 20th and 21st centuries and explores themes relating to colonial state formation, statebuilding, and regional wars and conflicts.

IR 312 Comparative Development in the MENA, undergraduate

Semesters taught: Spring 2019, Spring 2020, Spring 2021, Spring 2023, Spring 2024, Spring 2025

(On research leave Spring 2022)

This seminar introduces students to the socio-economic and political development in the Middle East. It focuses on themes relating to territorial consolidation and statebuilding, regime types, oil and rentierism, civil society, authoritarianism, democratization, military spending, gender and women's relations, electoral politics and sectarianism and identity politics. It captures regional variation on these themes through in-depth cross-country studies.

IR 560 Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in a Global Perspective, graduate

Semesters taught: Fall 2020, Fall 2021, Spring 2023, Summer 2023, Spring 2024, Spring 2025

(On research leave Spring 2022)

This course surveys prominent ethno-nationalism movements across the globe throughout the 20th and 21st centuries to better understand the causes and consequences of identity-based conflicts around world. The seminar introduces students to theoretical and empirical debates and works on nationalism, ethnicity, and inter and intra-state conflicts. The course also unpacks the relationship between ethnic conflict and civil wars, rebel group formation, and state fragmentation, territorial disputes to analyze case studies ranging from Africa, South Asia, Eastern Europe and the Balkans, and the Middle East.

IR 533 Revolutions and Contentious Politics in the Middle East, graduate

Semesters taught: Spring 2019, Spring 2020, Spring 2021, Fall 2024

(On research leave Spring 2022)

The events that culminated in Arab Spring in 2011 produced divergent outcomes from revolutions to counterrevolutions. This seminar examines how and why the uprisings challenged previous notions of authoritarian durability as republics, monarchies, secular, and theocratic countries across the region experienced varying degrees of instability sparked by protest movements calling for socio-economic and political change. It surveys works on social movements, revolutions, democratization, and authoritarian adaptability to explain divergent trajectories across countries that experienced political ruptures in late 2010-2011, including, but not limited to Bahrain, Libya, Syria, Yemen, Egypt, Tunisia, and Morocco.

Professional Service Activities

Service to the Pardee School and Boston University

2023-Present Fulbright Application Reviewer, Boston University Campus Committee Member
2022-Present Co-convenor, Pardee School Research Seminar Series
2019-Present Faculty Affiliate and Executive Committee Member, Institute on Culture, Religion and World Affairs CURA, Pardee School of Global Studies
Boston University
2019-Present Arabic Language Exam Reviewer, Pardee School

2018-Present	Graduate Faculty Member, Political Science Department, Boston University
2024	Comprehensive exam committee member, Political Science Department, Boston University
2024	Graduate Admissions Committee, Pardee School of Global Studies
2023-2025	Faculty Search Committee Member, Pardee Center Director, Boston University
2023-2024	Co-convenor, Comparative Politics Workshop, Political Science Department, Boston University
2021	By-laws Committee Member, Pardee School, Boston University
2019-2021	Pardee School representative to the Faculty Council, Boston University
2018	Faculty Search Committee Member, Pardee School, Boston University

Service to the Discipline

2023-2024	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
2023-2024	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	Book Development Workshop for Samuel Helfont, Stanford University
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

Thesis Advising and Mentorship

Ph.D. Dissertation Committees

Primary adviser

2022-present	Marwa Ben Khalifa, Political Science Department, Boston University
2024-present	Yasir Kuoti Political Science Department, Boston University
2024-present	Shivan Fazil, Political Science Department, Boston University

Secondary adviser

2023-present	Caden Brown, Political Science Department, Boston University
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External examiner

- 2024-present Janda Barazni, Genocide Studies student at The Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University.
- 2024 Zeidon Alkinani, “ Intra-Group Political Competition in Consociational Democracies: the Case of Post-2003 Iraq’s Intra-Shia Political Rivalry,” University of Aberdeen.
- 2024 Alexandra Lazar, Ph.D. Candidate, External Committee Reviewer, Political Science Department, University of California, Davis.

Ph.D. Mentorship

- 2021 Haidar Reda (Chiba University-Japan)

MA theses advising and defenses

- 2024-2025 Visterna Acharya (primary advisor)
- 2023-2024 Fotouh Alawadhi (primary advisor), Eilts Prize nominated thesis
- 2023-2024 Rebin Najmaldin (second reader)
- 2023-2024 Amelia Atalay (second reader)
- 2023-2024 Kevin L'Herrou (second reader)
- 2022-2023 Ian Rollins (second reader)

Honors BA theses advising and defenses

- 2024-2025 Aiden Cardozo (primary advisor)
- 2023-2024 Gideon Gordon (primary advisor), Eilts Prize winning thesis
- 2023-2024 Madhri Yehiya (primary advisor), Eilts Prize nominated thesis
- 2023-2024 Ashari Bilan-Cooper (primary advisor), Eilts Prize nominated thesis
- 2020-2021 Jannah Kalai (primary advisor), Eilts Prize nominated thesis
- 2019-2020 Emmett Foxe (primary advisor)
- 2019-2020 Augustine Ramirez-Jimenez (primary advisor)
- 2019-2020 Pablo Jimenez (primary advisor)

Pardee School Undergraduate Faculty Advisor

- 2024-2025 Middle East and North Africa Major Faculty Program Co-Mentor (101 students)
- 2023-2024 16 students
- 2021-2022 26 students
- 2019-2020 18 students
- 2018-2019 16 students
- 2022 (on research leave)
- 2023 26 students

Referee Activities

Journals

International Security
Comparative Politics
International Studies Review
Middle East Journal
Middle East Law and Governance
Perspectives on Politics
Third World Quarterly
Nations and Nationalism
Mediterranean Politics
Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism
Regional and Federal Studies
Brookings Institution
Century Foundation
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)
Clingendael Institute

Book presses:

Oxford University Press, University of Edinburgh Press, Hurst Publishers.

Grants:

Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Media Appearances

CNN International
NPR
al-Jazeera
CTV News Canada
WHDH 7 News Boston
Vox News
Public Radio International
BU Today
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 and Research Memberships

American Political Science Association (APSA)
International Political Science Association (IPSA)
International Studies Association (ISA)

Middle East Studies Association (MESA)
Women in International Security (WIIS)
Women in Conflict Studies (WICS)
MENA Social Science Workshop Network, Department of Government, Harvard University
Member, Research Cluster on Identity Politics, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs,
Harvard University

Professional Consulting

United States Government
U.K. Cabinet Office
Government of Canada
The Netherlands
Global Center for Cooperation and Security

Languages and Skills

Languages: English (native proficiency), Arabic (native proficiency), Aramaic (native proficiency).

Skills: NVivo, SPSS, SurveyCTO, archival research and data collection.

Fieldwork

Iraq, Turkey, Germany, Sweden

Archives: Iraq Ba‘th Party archives Hoover Institution and the Conflict Records Research Center at National Defense University; British National Archives; League of Nations Archives; Iraq National Archives; Library of Congress.

Updated February 2025