#### Michael Woldemariam

### Curriculum Vitae – March 2017

mwoldema@bu.edu

651-334-8107

# **Employment**

**Assistant Professor of International Relations,** Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University, Boston, MA (September 2011 – to the present)

**Graduate Faculty of Political Science,** Department of Political Science, Boston University, Boston, MA (September 2011 – to the present)

**Faculty Affiliate,** African Studies Center, Boston University, Boston, MA (September 2011 – to the present)

Security Fellow, Truman National Security Project, Washington, DC (2017 - to the present)

### Education

Ph.D., Princeton University, Department of Politics, November 2011

<u>Dissertation</u>: "Why Rebels Collide: Factionalism and Fragmentation in African
Insurgencies." Committee: Jennifer Widner (chair), Mark Beissinger, Keren Yarhi-Milo,
Amaney Jamal

M.A., Princeton University, Department of Politics, May 2007
Main Fields: Comparative Politics, African Politics, International Relations

B.A., Beloit College, *Summa Cum Laude*, Department of Political Science and Department of Sociology, May 2005

#### **Research Interests**

Comparative Politics, International Security, Horn of Africa, Political Violence and Conflict, Post-Conflict Governance and Institution Building, Development Policy, and Identity Politics

#### **Books**

**Insurgent Fragmentation in the Horn of Africa: Rebellion and Its Discontents**— Forthcoming with Cambridge University Press

# Refereed Articles and Book Chapters

Michael Woldemariam. "Regional Powers, Great Power Allies, and International Institutions: The Case of Ethiopia," in Timothy Shaw and Jason Warner, eds. African Foreign Policies in International Institutions (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, Forthcoming)

Michael Woldemariam. "The Making of an African 'Pariah': Eritrea in the International System," in Tekle Woldemikael, eds. Post-Liberation Eritrea: Twenty-Five Years After (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, Forthcoming)

Michael Woldemariam and Alden Young. "After the Split: Partition, Successor States, and the Dynamics of War in the Horn of Africa," *Journal of Strategic Studies*. Online First edition (June 2016) 1-37

Michael Woldemariam. "Partition Problems: Relative Power, Historical Memory, and the Origins of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War," Nationalism and Ethnic Politics. Vol. 21, No. 2 (2015) 166-190

Michael Woldemariam. "Battlefield Outcomes and Rebel Cohesion: Lessons from the Eritrean Independence War," Terrorism and Political Violence. Vol. 28, Issue. 1 (2016) 135-156

- Online First edition published July 2014

# Policy Articles/Reports

Michael Woldemariam, Alden Young, Donna Patterson. "America First Shouldn't Mean America Alone," Foreign Policy, February 29, 2017

Michael Woldemariam. "RVI-UNICEF Concept Paper on Eritrea," UNICEF-Rift Valley Institute, November 2016

Michael Woldemariam, Steve Snook, and Salim Hagi. "USAID, Somalia Democracy and Governance Assessment," USAID Democracy and Governance Assessments, Spring 2014

Michael Woldemariam, Jennifer Widner, and Laura Bacon. "Restructuring Service Delivery, Johannesburg, South Africa, 1996-2001," *Princeton University ISS Case Studies* (Fall 2012) 1-14, which can be accessed at

http://successfulsocieties.princeton.edu/sites/successfulsocieties/files/Policy\_Note\_ID207.pdf

Michael Woldemariam. "Badme Border Dispute: Why Ethiopia Wont Back Down on Eritrean Border," African Arguments, May 23, 2012.

Michael Woldemariam. "Municipal Turnaround in Cape Town, South Africa, 2006-2009," Princeton University ISS Case Studies (Summer 2011) 1-15, which can be accessed at <a href="http://successfulsocieties-ga.princeton.edu/sites/successfulsocieties/files/Policy\_Note\_ID162.pdf">http://successfulsocieties-ga.princeton.edu/sites/successfulsocieties/files/Policy\_Note\_ID162.pdf</a>

Richard Bennett and Michael Woldemariam. "Nurturing Democracy in East Africa: Somaliland's First Elections, 2002-2005," *Princeton University ISS Case Studies* (Spring 2011) 1-10, which can be accessed at

http://successfulsocieties.princeton.edu/sites/successfulsocieties/files/Policy\_Note\_ID147.pdf

Richard Bennett and Michael Woldemariam. "Navigating a Broken Transition to Civilian Rule: Somaliland: 1991-2001," *Princeton University ISS Case Studies* (Spring 2011) 1-11, which can be accessed at

http://successfulsocieties.princeton.edu/sites/successfulsocieties/files/Policy\_Note\_ID148.pdf

Michael Woldemariam. "Keeping Up with a Fast Moving City: Service Delivery in Bangalore, India, 1999-2004," *Princeton University ISS Case Studies* (Fall 2010) 1-12, which can be accessed at <a href="http://successfulsocieties.princeton.edu/sites/successfulsocieties/files/Policy\_Note\_ID127.p">http://successfulsocieties.princeton.edu/sites/successfulsocieties/files/Policy\_Note\_ID127.p</a> df

#### Reviews

Michael Woldemariam. Review of Young, Crawford. "The Post-Colonial State in Africa: Fifty Years of Independence, 1960-2010," H-Diplo, H-Net Reviews. June 2013

### **Under Review**

"From Rebelling to Ruling: Insurgent Victory and State Capture in Africa" with Christopher Day

"International Relations Theory in the Horn of Africa: Stasis and Change in Eritrea-Ethiopia Rivalry"

### Working Papers

"Surviving Defection: Insurgent Rehabilitation and Demise in Ethiopia's Long Civil War"

"Al Shabaab in Cross-National Perspective: Violence and Terror in Kenya and Ethiopia"

"Africa's 'Forgotten' Conflicts in an Age of Terror: The Case of US Policy Towards the Eritrea-Ethiopia Stalemate"

### **Invited Talks and Conference Presentations**

Insurgent Fragmentation in the Horn of Africa: Rebellion and its Discontents, George Mason, School of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, invited Speaker, April 27, 2017

Insurgent Fragmentation in the Horn of Africa: Rebellion and its Discontents, Paper presented at International Studies Association, February 23, 2017

State-Building After the Split: Partition and Governance in the Horn of Africa, Georgetown University – Qatar, invited speaker, Doha, Qatar, March 21, 2017

Security in the Horn of Africa, New America, invited speaker, Washington, DC, January 27, 2017

Al Shabaab in Cross-National Perspective: Violence and Terror in Kenya and Ethiopia, US Army/Ft. Bragg, invited speaker, Chapel Hill, NC, October 13, 2016

From Rebelling to Ruling: Insurgent Victory and State Capture in Africa, University of North Carolina- African Studies, Chapel Hill, NC, October 13, 2016

Intra-Rebel Competition in the Horn of Africa, Rand Corporation, Insurgency Board of Experts, Invited Speaker, September 8, 2016

Rebel Groups in the Horn of Africa, Contemporary Eritrea, Political and Economic History of Eritrea, The Eritrean-Ethiopian War, (multiple lectures) invited speaker, Rift Valley Institute Horn of Africa Seminar, Entebbe, Uganda, June 8-16, 2016

Dulling or Sharpening the Horn: Global Security, Justice and the UN in the Horn of Africa, invited speaker, St. Joseph's University, Philadelphia, PA, April 21, 2016

The Fragility of the Strong and the Resilience of the Weak: Lessons on the Nature of the State from a Closer Examination of the Horn of Africa, roundtable, African Studies Association meetings, San Diego, CA, November 21, 2015

The Challenge of "Liberated Territories" in South-Central Somalia, invited speaker, Eleventh Expert Meeting on Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Nairobi, Kenya, November 4, 2015

A Tale of Two Border Crises: Heglig, Badme, and the Politics of Partition in the Greater Horn, invited speaker, Horn of Africa Seminar Series, Oxford University, October 20, 2015

The Eritrean Migration Crisis: Causes, Effects, and EU Policy Responses, invited speaker, Wilton Park Conference (WP1427) – The Migration Challenge: Tackling Root Causes, West Sussex, UK, October 14, 2015

Rebel Groups in the Horn of Africa, Contemporary Eritrea, Justice, Human Rights, and Civil Society in Ethiopia and Eritrea, The Eritrean-Ethiopian War, and the Horn of Africa in Wider Regional Context, (multiple lectures) invited speaker, Rift Valley Institute Horn of Africa Seminar, Navaisha, Kenya, June 13-19, 2015

Syrian and Eritrean Crises: Responsibility, Refugees, Resolution, invited speaker, Drexel University, Philadelphia, PA, April 7, 2015

Partition Problems: Relative Power, Historical Memory, and the Origins of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War, Paper presented at African Studies Association meeting, Indianapolis, IN, November 20, 2014

Al Shabaab in Cross-National Perspective: Violence and Terror in Kenya and Ethiopia, Paper presented at Society for Terrorism Research, Boston, MA, September 18, 2014

Ethiopian Foreign Relations, Contemporary Eritrea, Regional Armed Interventions, and the Horn of Africa in Wider Regional Context (multiple lectures), invited speaker, Rift Valley Institute Horn of Africa Seminar, Lamu, Kenya, June 1-7, 2014

Eritrean Refugees at Risk: Trafficking and Torture in the Sinai, roundtable, African Studies Association meetings, Baltimore, MD, November 21, 2013

The Perils of Partition: Successor States, War, and the Challenge of Eritrean-Ethiopian Relations, invited speaker, Center for African Studies, University of Florida, Gainsville, FL, March 16, 2013

Factionalism and Rebel Resiliency: The Horn of Africa's Long Wars in Comparative Perspective, Paper presented at the American Historical Association meetings, New Orleans, LA, January 5, 2012

Views of the Eritrea-Ethiopia Conflict, with Dan Connell, speaker, Rodney Seminar Series, African Studies Center, Boston University, Boston, MA, December 10, 2012

The Making of an African Pariah: Post-Liberation Eritrea in the International System, Paper to be presented at the African Studies Association meetings, Philadelphia, PA, November, 29, 2012—served as panel chair

**Al Qaeda in Somalia,** speaker, Office of Global Programs, Boston University, Boston, MA, November 16, 2012

The Making of an African Pariah: Post-Liberation Eritrea in the International System, speaker, African Studies Center, Boston University, Boston, MA, Oct 27, 2012

"Cohesive Stalemates" and the Logic of Insurgent Solidarity: Ethiopia's Long War in Historical Perspective, Research in American & Comparative Politics Workshop Series, Boston University, Boston, MA, April 5, 2012

Why Rebels Collide: Factionalism and Fragmentation in African Insurgencies, invited speaker, Africana Research Center, Penn State University, State College, PA, Jan 24, 2012

The African Union in the Horn of Africa: Current Limitations and Future Possibilities, Paper presented at Middle Eastern Studies Association meeting, Washington, DC, Dec 2, 2011

**Somalia in International Relations,** invited speaker, Yale Undergraduate African Political Forum, Yale University, New Haven, CT, Nov 4, 2011

Why Rebels Collide: Factionalism and Fragmentation in African Insurgencies," invited speaker, Department of Political Science, Grinnell College, Grinnell, IA, Nov 11, 2010

Why Rebels Collide: Factionalism and Fragmentation in African Insurgencies," invited speaker, Department of International Relations, Boston University, Boston, MA, Nov 30, 2010

Why Rebels Collide: Factionalism and Fragmentation in African Insurgencies," invited speaker, Department of Political Science, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV, Dec 8, 2010

Weissberg Human Rights Annual Lecture, invited panelist, Beloit College, Beloit, WI, Sept 13, 2010

Success, Failure, and Something in Between: Rebel Fragmentation and the Dynamics of War, Paper presented at International Studies Association Meetings, New Orleans, LA, Feb 18, 2010—Served as panel chair

Success, Failure, and Something in Between: Rebel Fragmentation and the Dynamics of War, Paper presented at African Studies Association Meetings, New Orleans, LA, Nov 20, 2009

Emergency Meeting on Somalia, invited speaker, Global Information Network, New York, NY, August 9, 2009

Why Rebels Collide: Factionalism and Fragmentation in African Insurgencies, Paper presented at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, Summer 2008

In Search of Fear: Anxiety and the Determinants of Fear Post- 911, Poster presentation American Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, IL Fall 2005

In Search of Fear: Anxiety and the Determinants of Fear Post- 911, Paper presented at National Conference of Undergraduate Research, Indianapolis IN, April 22, 2005

# **Teaching Experience**

Instructor, African Politics Today, Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University, Fall 2016

**Instructor,** Contemporary African Politics, Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University, Spring 2015

Instructor, International Security, Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University, Spring 2013

**Instructor,** Conflict and State-Building in Africa, Pardee of Global Studies, Boston University, Spring 2012, 2015, Fall 2016

**Instructor,** Africa in International Politics, Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University, Spring 2012, Fall 2012, Spring 2013, Fall 2014

**Instructor,** *Government and Politics of Contemporary Africa*, Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University, Fall 2011, Fall 2012, Fall 2014

Assistant Instructor, African Politics, Department of Politics, Princeton University, Spring 2010

**Assistant Instructor**, National Security, Intelligence, and Constitutional Democracy, Department of Politics, Princeton University, Spring 2008

Assistant Instructor, International Politics, Department of Politics, Princeton University, Fall 2007

Teaching Assistant, Black Politics, Beloit College, Spring 2004

Teaching Assistant, Civil Rights Movement, Beloit College, Spring 2003

### **Awards and Grants**

Nominated for Sue Bailey Thurman Award, awarded by Boston University's Black Student Union to member of BU faculty "who is an innovator in their field and in their teaching methods," April 2012

**Sigma Kappa Professor of the Semester,** awarded by Sigma Kappa Sorority, BU Chapter, Spring 2015

**Post-Doctoral Fellow,** Africana Research Center and Department of Political Science, Penn State University, 2013-14

Research Grant, Bobst Center for Peace and Justice, Fall 2009

Research Grant, Bobst Center for Peace and Justice, Fall 2008

Research Grant, Princeton Institute of Regional Studies, 2008

Bradley Fellow, Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, 2008

Africanist Doctoral Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2008

**APSA Minority Fellow**, American Political Science Association, 2005-2007

Phi Beta Kappa, Beloit College, 2005

Departmental Prize for Political Science, Beloit College, 2005

Eddie Fergus Award, McNair Program, Beloit College 2005

William L. Kolb Sociology Award, Beloit College, 2005

Shirley White Peterson Scholarship, Beloit College, 2004

Ralph Bunche Fellow, American Political Science Association, Duke University, 2004

Junior Fellow, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 2005

McNair Scholar, Beloit College, 2003-2005

Two time Midwest Conference All-Academic Conference Selection (Soccer), Beloit College, 2002-2003

# Service and Related Work Experience

Media Appearances, Interviewed in Al Jazeera, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, Bloomberg, Dow Jones Newswire, Christian Science Monitor, NECN (TV), Veja (major Brazilian weekly), Voice of America, Morning Wave-Busan (South Korean Radio), Foreign Policy, Chicago Tribune

Director, RVI-UNICEF Eritrea Briefings, October-December 2016, Nairobi, Kenya

Learning Assessment Outcomes Lead, Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University, 2014-present

Consultant, Oxford Analytica, Horn of Africa Division 2015-2016

Consultant, Tetra Tech – USAID Somalia, 2014; Tetra Tech – USAID Ethiopia, 2015

Appointments Committee, African Studies Center, Boston University, 2014-15

Manuscript Reviewer, International Organization, Journal of Eastern African Studies, Democratization, Comparative Politics, James Currey Press, Journal of Peace Research, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Studies in Comparative International Development, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Politics, International Security

M.A. Admissions Committee, Department of International Relations, Boston University, 2012-13

**PhD Affiliate and Research Specialist,** Innovations for Successful Societies Program, Princeton University, 2010-current

Programming Director, Black Graduate Caucus, Princeton University, 2006-2007

Resident Assistant, Department of Residential Life, Beloit College, 2003-2005

Discussion Leader, Black Students United, Beloit College, 2003-2004

Intern, Congresswoman Tammy Baldwin, Beloit Office, 2003-2004

# **International Experience and Skills**

Fieldwork, Ethiopia, Mozambique, and East African refugee communities in London, UK,

Washington, DC, Minneapolis, MN and San Diego, CA, 2008-2009

Bangalore, India and Cape Town/Johannesburg, South Africa for research projects on urban reform, June 2010 and March 2011

Somaliland, for project on governance traps, October 2010

Kenya and Ethiopia, for project on service delivery in conflict zones, summer 2012

South-Central Somalia, Puntland, and Somaliland, for research on governance and state building, January-February 2014

Sudan, for project on the politics of partition, November 2015

In-Country Experience, Sri Lanka (4 years), Pakistan (4 years), Thailand (1 year)

Languages, Tigrinya (proficient), Amharic (basic), French (reading), 1 year of Arabic training

Software Proficiency, STATA, CAT

### References

Available on Request