

KRISTIN MARIE BAKKE

Curriculum Vitae
May 2025

University College London
Department of Political Science

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Employment

Professor, Department of Political Science and the Program on European and International Social and Political Studies, University College London (UCL), Oct. 2016–present.

- *Senior Lecturer*, Oct. 2013–Sept. 2016.
- *Lecturer*, Sept. 2009–Sept. 2013.

Research Professor (Associate), Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Sept. 2016–Dec. 2023

- *Senior Researcher (Associate)*, Jan. 2009–Dec. 2009, March 2015–Aug. 2016.
- *Researcher (Associate)*, Jan. 2008–Dec. 2008.

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Leiden University, Aug. 2008–Sept. 2009.

Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Belfer Center, Harvard University, Sept. 2007–July 2008.

Education

PhD in Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle, 2007.

Fields: International Relations, Comparative Politics, Post-Communist Studies.

MA in Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle, 2003.

BA in Journalism and Political Science, Indiana University, Bloomington, 2000.

Semester Units in Philosophy and Theater Theory, University of Oslo (Norway), 1998.

One-Year Course in Political Science, Østfold College, Halden (Norway), 1997.

Book

Bakke, Kristin M. 2015. *Decentralization and Intrastate Struggles: Chechnya, Punjab, and Québec*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Recipient of the Conflict Research Society's Book of the Year Award, 2016.
- Reviewed in *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Politics*, and "Critical Dialogues" in *Perspectives on Politics*.

Journal Articles

Bakke, Kristin M., Marianne Dahl, and Kit Rickard. 2026. "Conflict Exposure and Democratic

Values: Evidence from Wartime Ukraine,” *Journal of Peace Research*, forthcoming.

Rickard, Kit, Gerard Toal, Kristin M. Bakke, and John O’Loughlin. 2020. “The Challenges of Surveying in War Zones: Lessons from Ukraine?” (research note). *Journal of Peace Research*, OnlineFirst: doi.org/10.1177/00223433251321763.

Smidt, Hannah, Neil J. Mitchell, and Kristin M. Bakke. 2025. “A Red Flag for Public Goods: The Correlates of Civil Society Restrictions.” *Governance* 38 (2).

Bakke, Kristin M., Kit Rickard, John O’Loughlin, and Gerard Toal. 2025. “Politicizing Memory: Evidence from Ukraine.” *Problems of Post-Communism* 72 (1): 16–35.

O’Loughlin, John, Andrew M. Linke, Gerard Toal, and Kristin M. Bakke. 2024. “Support for Vladimir Putin in Russia’s Neighbors: Survey Evidence from an Endorsement Experiment in Six Post-Soviet Countries.” *Political Geography* 108 (January).

Bakke, Kristin M., Kit Rickard, and John O’Loughlin. 2023. “Perceptions of the Past in the Post-Soviet Space.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 39 (4): 223–256.

Godefroidt, Amélie, Karin Dyrstad, and Kristin M. Bakke. 2022. “The Past, Brexit, and the Future in Northern Ireland: A Quasi-Experiment” (research note). *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 33 (1): 149–161.

Dyrstad, Karin, Helga M. Binningsbø, and Kristin M. Bakke. 2022. “Wartime Experiences and Popular Support for Peace Agreements: Comparative Evidence from Three Cases.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 66 (9): 1562–1588.

Rickard, Kit, and Kristin M. Bakke. 2021. “Legacies of Wartime Institutions: Punishment Attacks and Social Control in Northern Ireland.” *Security Studies* 30 (4): 603–636.

Dyrstad, Karin, Kristin M. Bakke, and Helga Malmin Binningsbø. 2021. “Perceptions of Peace Agreements and Political Trust in Post-War Guatemala, Nepal, and Northern Ireland.” *International Peacekeeping* 28 (4): 606–631.

Smidt, Hannah M., Dominic Perera, Neil J. Mitchell, and Kristin M. Bakke. 2020. “Silencing Their Critics: How Effective are Governments in Restricting Civil Society?” *British Journal of Political Science* 51 (3): 1270–1291.

Bakke, Kristin M., Neil J. Mitchell, and Hannah M. Smidt. 2019. “When States Crack Down on Human Rights Defenders.” *International Studies Quarterly* 64 (1): 85–96.

Bakke, Kristin M., Andrew Linke, John O’Loughlin, and Gerard Toal. 2018. “Dynamics of State-Building after War: External-Internal Relations in Eurasian *de facto* States.” *Political Geography* 63 (March): 159–173.

Seymour, Lee J.M., Kristin M. Bakke, and Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham. 2016. “E Pluribus Unum, Ex Uno Plures: Competition, Violence, and Fragmentation in Ethnopolitical Movements.” *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (1): 3–18.

Bakke, Kristin M., John O’Loughlin, Gerard Toal, and Michael D. Ward. 2014. “Convincing State-Builders? Disaggregating Internal Legitimacy in Abkhazia.” *International Studies Quarterly* 58 (3): 591–607.

Bakke, Kristin M. 2014. “Help Wanted? The Mixed Record of Foreign Fighters in Domestic Insurgencies.” *International Security* 38 (4): 150–187.

Bakke, Kristin M., Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, and Lee J.M. Seymour. 2012. "A Plague of Initials: Fragmentation, Cohesion, and Infighting in Civil Wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 10 (2): 265–284.

Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher, Kristin M. Bakke, and Lee J.M. Seymour. 2012. "Shirts Today, Skins Tomorrow: Dual Contests and the Effects of Fragmentation in Self-Determination Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56 (1): 57–93.

Ward, Michael D., Brian Greenhill, and Kristin M. Bakke. 2010. "The Perils of Policy by P-Value: Predicting Civil Conflicts." *Journal of Peace Research* 47 (4): 1–13.

- Selected as the 2010 *JPR* Article of the Year.

Bakke, Kristin M., John O'Loughlin, and Michael D. Ward. 2009. "Reconciliation in Conflict-Affected Societies: Multilevel Modeling of Individual and Contextual Factors in the North Caucasus of Russia." *Annals of American Association of Geographers* 99 (1): 1012–1021.

Bakke, Kristin M. 2009. "State, Society, and Separatism in Punjab." *Regional and Federal Studies* 19 (2): 291–308.

Bakke, Kristin M., Xun Cao, John O'Loughlin, and Michael D. Ward. 2009. "Social Distance in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus Region of Russia: Inter and Intra-Ethnic Attitudes and Identities." *Nations and Nationalism* 15 (2): 229–255.

Bakke, Kristin M., and Erik Wibbels. 2006. "Diversity, Disparity, and Civil Conflict in Federal States." *World Politics* 59 (1): 1–50.

Book Chapters

Rickard, Kit, and Kristin M. Bakke. 2025 (forthcoming). "'Ten Pound Touts': Post-Conflict Trust and the Legacy of Counterinsurgency in Northern Ireland." In *Institutional Legacies of Violent Conflict*, ed. Patricia Justino. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Juon, Andreas, and Kristin M. Bakke. 2023. "Managing Self-Determination Struggles Through Decentralization." In *The Routledge Handbook of Self-Determination and Secession*, ed. Ryan D. Griffiths, Aleksandar Pavković, Peter Radan. London: Routledge.

Bakke, Kristin M. 2013. "Copying and Learning from Outsiders? Assessing Diffusion from Transnational Insurgents in the Chechen Wars." In *Transnational Dynamics of Civil War*, ed. Jeffrey Checkel. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bakke, Kristin M. 2010. "The Turn to Violence in Chechnya and Punjab: Self-Determination Struggles in Decentralized States." In *Rethinking Violence*, ed. Adria Lawrence and Erica Chenoweth. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bakke, Kristin M. 2010. "After the War Ends: Violence and Viability of Unrecognized States." In *Unrecognized States in the International System*, ed. Nina Caspersen and Gareth Stansfield. London: Routledge.

Work in Progress

"Contentious Rituals and Inter-Group Relations: Parading in Northern Ireland" (with Kit Rickard,

Giovanni Hollenweger, and Sigrid Weber), article manuscript (minor revisions).

“Coercion or Consent: Local Support for Armed Groups’ Informal Rule in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland” (with Kit Rickard), article manuscript.

“The Russian Invasion of Ukraine and Geopolitical Attitudes in Russia’s ‘Near Abroad’” (with John O’Loughlin, Kit Rickard, and Gerard Toal), article manuscript.

Shorter Works and Book Reviews

O’Loughlin, Gerard Toal, and Kristin M. Bakke. 2021. “Territorial Ambitions in Nagorno-Karabakh: Survey Results before the 2020 War.” *Caucasus Analytical Digest* 121(May): 15–18.

Bakke, Kristin M. 2017. “Critical Dialogues.” Review of *Nationalist Violence in Postwar Europe* by Luis De la Calle. *Perspectives on Politics* 15 (3): 786–790.

Bakke, Kristin M. 2012. Review of *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life during War* by Zachariah Cherian Mampilly. *Perspectives on Politics* 10 (4): 1129–1130.

Bakke, Kristin M. 2011. “Chechnya: A Military Suppression of a Secession at a Cost.” In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Secession*, ed. Aleksander Pavković and Peter Radan. Farnham, UK: Ashgate.

Bakke, Kristin M. 2011. Review of *Asymmetric Autonomy and the Settlement of Ethnic Conflicts* by Marc Weller and Katherine Nobbs, eds. *Journal of Peace Research* 48 (2): 269.

Bakke, Kristin M. 2010. Review of *The Robust Federation: Principles of Design* by Jenna Bednar. *The Journal of Politics* 72 (2): 599–600.

Bakke, Kristin M., 2010. Review of *State Collapse and Reconstruction in the Periphery: Political Economy, Ethnicity and Development in Yugoslavia, Serbia and Kosovo* by Jens Stilhoff Sørensen. *Nordisk Østforum* 24 (2): 224–227 (in Norwegian).

Bakke, Kristin M. 2009. “Beslan and the Study of Violence.” *Political Geography* 28 (1): 16–18.

Bakke, Kristin M., 2005. Review of *Religion, Civilization and Civil War* by Jonathan Fox. *International Studies Review* 7 (1): 87–89.

Media and Public Dissemination

“Ukraine: Ordinary People’s Views in a Geopolitical Battle,” UCL European Institute blog, March 24, 2025.

“Are Ukrainians Ready for Ceasefire and Concessions? Here’s What the Polls Say” (with John O’Loughlin and Gerard Toal), *The Conversation*, March 13, 2025.

“La oss gjøre som Zelenskyj ber om: Vi må høre hva Ukrainas befolkning vil,” *Aftenposten*, March 5, 2025 (in Norwegian).

“Growing Number of War-weary Ukrainians Would Reluctantly Give Up Territory to Save Lives, Suggests Recent Survey” (with John O’Loughlin and Gerard Toal), *The Conversation*, Sept. 18, 2024.

“Politicising Memory: Evidence from Ukraine,” *UCL Uncovering Politics* podcast, Nov. 28, 2024.

“How Reliable Are Wartime Polls in Ukraine?” (with John O’Loughlin, Kit Rickard, and Gerard Toal), *PONARS Memo*, Feb. 15, 2023.

“Putins krig i Ukraina har forsterket vanlige folks vestlige orientering” (with Marianne Dahl), *Aftenposten*, Jan. 11, 2023 (in Norwegian).

“Putin’s Plan to Stop Ukraine Turning to the West Has Failed: Our Survey Shows Support for NATO Is at an All-Time High” (with John O’Loughlin, Kit Rickard, and Gerard Toal), *The Conversation*, Jan. 4, 2023.

“The State of the World” (with Lisa Vanhala and Meg Russell), *UCL Uncovering Politics* Podcast, Oct. 7, 2022.

“Ukraine: Most People Refuse to Compromise on Territory, but Willingness to Make Peace Depends on Their War Experiences: New Survey” (with John O’Loughlin and Gerard Toal), *The Conversation*, June 15, 2022.

“Hva vil folket i Ukraina?” *Aftenposten*, March 1, 2022 (in Norwegian).

“What Do People in Ukraine Want?” UCL Conflict & Change, Feb. 25, 2022.

“Legacies of Armed Conflict in Northern Ireland” (with Kit Rickard), *UCL Uncovering Politics* podcast, Dec. 2, 2021.

“Punishment Attacks and Paramilitary Groups in Northern Ireland” (with Kit Rickard), *Peace in Pod* Podcast, Peace Research Institute Oslo, May 13, 2021.

“Northern Ireland: How to Understand the Influence of Paramilitary Groups” (with Kit Rickard), *The Conversation*, April 12, 2021.

“Capturing the Mood on Both Sides of the Ukraine-Russia Conflict in the Donbas” (with John O’Loughlin, Gerard Toal, and Gwendolyn Sasse), *Global Voices*, Feb. 17, 2021.

“A New Survey of the Ukraine-Russia Conflict Finds Deeply Divided Views in the Contested Donbas Region” (with John O’Loughlin, Gerard Toal, and Gwendolyn Sasse), *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage*, Feb. 12, 2021.

“Contentious Politics under Covid-19” (with Nils Metternich and Katerina Tertychnaya), *UCL Uncovering Politics* Podcast, Jan. 14, 2021.

“Nagorno-Karabakh: What Do Residents of the Contested Territory Want for their Future?” (with John O’Loughlin and Gerard Toal), *The Conversation*, Oct. 12, 2020.

“The Fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh is about Local Territories and Wider Rivalries” (with John O’Loughlin and Gerard Toal), *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage*, Oct. 2, 2020.

“Is Belarus in the Midst of a Generational Upheaval?” (with John O’Loughlin and Gerard Toal), *Global Voices*, Sept. 17, 2020.

“What’s Driving the Belarus Protests?” (with John O’Loughlin and Gerard Toal), *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage*, Aug. 21, 2020.

“Governments Around the World Are Restricting Rights, Using the Pandemic as Cover” (with Neil Mitchell and Hannah Smidt), *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage*, May 6, 2020.

“Domestic Repression and International Order: The Plight of Human Rights after Covid-19” (with Melanie Garson, Rod Abouharb, and Julie Norman), *UCL Covid-19 Symposia* Podcast, June 4, 2021.

“Kazakhs Are Weary of Neighbours Bearing Gifts” (with Marlene Laruelle, John O’Loughlin, and Gerard Toal), *Open Democracy*, April 30, 2020.

“Are Some NGOs Really ‘Foreign Agents’? Here’s What People in Georgia and Ukraine Say” (with John O’Loughlin and Gerard Toal), *Open Democracy*, April 16, 2020.

“To Russia with Love” (with John O’Loughlin and Gerard Toal). *Foreign Affairs*, April 3, 2020.

“Six Years and \$20 Billion in Russian Investment Later, Crimeans Are Happy with Russian Annexation” (with John O’Loughlin and Gerard Toal), *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage*, March 18, 2020.

“Is Ukraine Caught between Europe and Russia? We Asked Ukrainians This Important Question” (with John O’Loughlin and Gerard Toal), *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage*, Feb. 26, 2020.

“With Politicians Who Can’t Be Bothered to Read Peace Agreements, No Wonder Brexit Negotiations Are Such a Mess” (with Kit Rickard), *The Independent*, Feb. 2, 2019.

“Why Changing the Good Friday Agreement Because of Brexit Is Such a Dangerous Idea” (with Kit Rickard), *The Conversation*, Jan. 28, 2019.

“What Happens after Civil Wars End?” Talk at the Pint of Science Festival, London, May 24, 2016.

“What the People of Nagorno-Karabakh Think about the Future of Their Homeland” (with Lee J.M. Seymour), *The Conversation*, April 20, 2016.

“How ISIS Rule and Mobilization Matters for the Military Response to the Paris Attack,” UCL European Institute blog, Dec. 16, 2015.

“War and Peace... and Institutions: When Do Political Institutions Prevent, rather than Promote, Civil Wars?” (with Nils Metternich and Julian Wucherpfennig). Talk at Policy & Practice Series, University College London, Nov. 19, 2015.

“The Problem with Fragmented Insurgencies” (with Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham and Lee J.M. Seymour), *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage*, May 13, 2015.

“Islamic State: No-one Wants to Talk to Terrorists, but We Always Do—and Sometimes It Works” (with Govinda Clayton), *The Conversation*, Oct. 14, 2014.

“Foreign Fighters Don’t Always Help,” *The Washington Post’s Monkey Cage*, May 28, 2014.

- Follow-up interview in “Frivillige krigere forlenger krigen” by Per Anders Johansen, *Aftenposten*, May 30, 2014 (in Norwegian).

“Splittet opposisjon,” *Aftenposten*, Nov. 19, 2012 (in Norwegian).

“When the Enemy of My Enemy Is Not My Friend: Why Rebels Sometimes Target Their Own.” Talk at TEDxUCL, June 3, 2012.

“Folkets makt: Hva kan revolusjonene i Øst-Europa i 1989 fortelle oss om dagens demonstrasjoner i Egypt?” *Verdens Gang*, Feb. 3, 2011 (in Norwegian).

Grants and Fellowships

- British Academy: PI on “Contentious Rituals and Intergroup Relations: Parading in Northern Ireland” (~ GBP 9,900), with Kit Rickard (co-PI), 2022–2023.
- Norwegian Research Council: Co-I for project on “Dynamics of *De Facto* State Patron-Client Relations” (~ NOK 9,500,000), with Helge Blakkisrud (PI), Nina Caspersen (Co-I), and Pål Kolstø (Co-I), 2020–2023.
- Norwegian Research Council: PI for project on “Street-Level Autocrats: Individual Decisions with Collective Consequences” (~ NOK 9,700,000), with Marianne Dahl (Co-I), Scott Gates (Co-I), Håvard Mokleiv Nygård (Co-I), and Pavel Baev (Co-I), 2018–2022.
- National Science Foundation (US) and the Economic and Social Research Council (UK): PI for ESRC-end of project on “The Geopolitical Orientations of Russia’s Neighboring State Populations” (~ USD 660,000 + GBP 411,000), with John O’Loughlin (PI on NSF-end) and Gerard Toal (Co-PI), 2018–2023.
- British Academy: PI for project on “International Commitments, Accountability, and the Political Control of Civil Society” (~ GBP 9,900), with Neil J. Mitchell (Co-PI), 2016–2017.
- Norwegian Research Council: Co-I for project on “Attitudes for Peace: Post-Conflict Public Opinion” (~ NOK 7,000,000), with Karin Dyrstad (PI), Helga Malmin Binningsbø (Co-I), and Arne Eide (Co-I), 2015–2018.
- Economic and Social Research Council (UK): PI for project on “After the War Ends: Violence in Unrecognized States” (~ GBP 99,000), 2012–2014.
- International Studies Association: Catalytic Research Grant for workshop on “Exploring Actors in Ethnic Conflict,” with Kathleen G. Cunningham and Lee J.M. Seymour, 2009.
- Harvard University, Belfer Center: Post-Doctoral Fellowship, 2007–2008.
- University of Washington: Dissertation Writing Fellowship, 2007.
- National Science Foundation (US): Doctoral Dissertation Research Grant, 2005–2006.
- Chr. Michelsen Institute (Norway): “Nationalgaven” Scholarship, 2005–2006.
- University of Washington: Chester Fritz Grant for International Exchanges, 2005.
- Norwegian Research Council: International Stipend for Studies at the Pushkin Institute of Russian Language in Moscow, summers 2002 and 2004 (declined 2004).

Workshops Organized

Academic-practitioner workshop on “Geopolitics, Geopolitical Attitudes, and the Russia-Ukraine War,” Department of Political Science and the Policy Lab, University College London, February 2025.

Academic-practitioner workshop on “The Future of Protest,” Faculty of Social and Historical Sciences and the Institute of Advanced Studies, University College London, June 2022.

Workshop on “State-Citizen Interactions during and after Violence,” Global Governance Institute, University College London, May 2019.

Workshop on “Challenges to Global Governance: Conflict, Contagion, and Citizens’ Rights,” Global Governance Institute, University College London, Feb. 2019.

Academic-practitioner workshop on “Conflict and Governance: Working with Informal Institutions during and after War,” Global Governance Institute, University College London, June 2018.

Academic-practitioner workshop on “Institutions in Conflicted and Fragile States,” Global Governance Institute, University College London, Oct. 2017.

Academic-practitioner workshop on “Restrictions on Civil Society and the Free Flow of Information,”

Global Governance Institute, University College London, May 2017.

Academic-practitioner workshop on “Perceptions of Security and Governance in *de facto* and Partially Recognized States” (ESRC-funded), University College London, Sept. 2014.

Workshop on “Shaping the Territory in Scotland, Catalonia, and Flanders” (with Claire Colomb and John Tomaney), European Institute, University College London, Nov. 2013.

Policy Outreach

Invited roundtable participation on “Are Wars Intensifying?”, Chatham House and UCL Policy Lab, Oct. 11, 2024.

Invited roundtable participation on the war in Ukraine with academics and policy-makers, the British Academy, June 7 and Nov. 28, 2022; May 1, 2024.

Invited presentation on “Decentralization and Syria,” at workshop on “Syria and Global Security: A Multilateral Dialogue Project on Transition and Post-War Syria,” organized by the Geneva Center for Security Policy and the Omran Center for Strategic Studies, Caux, Switzerland, Feb. 2018.

Invited presentation on “Public Attitudes and Prospects for a Peace Settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh,” Foreign and Commonwealth Office (UK), June 2016, and the British Academy, June 2016.

Invited presentation on “Decentralization as ‘Peace Preserving’?” Foreign and Commonwealth Office (UK), May 2016, and academic/practitioner workshop at the University of Birmingham, Feb. 2016.

Invited presentation/report on “Foreign Fighters: Assessing Their Influence at Home and Abroad.” Workshop on “Future Trends,” organized by the National Intelligence Council (US), Development, Concepts and Doctrine Centre, Ministry of Defense (UK), and Oxford University, June 2015.

Invited presentation on “Foreign Fighters: The Possible Perils of Helping Hands,” Strategic Early Warning, Cabinet Office (UK), July 2014.

Invited participation at conference on “Countries at Risk,” Strategic Early Warning Unit, Cabinet Office (UK), June 2014.

Invited presentation on “Preserving Peace? Decentralization and Intrastate Struggles” at the Conference on Human Rights and the Question of Democratization and Federalism in Iran, the European Parliament, Brussels, April 2009.

Conference Papers

“Conflict Exposure and People’s Perception of Protection of Democratic Principles: Evidence from Wartime Ukraine” (with Marianne Dahl and Kit Rickard). Conference of the Conflict Research Society, Edinburgh, September 2024.

“‘Ten Pound Touts’: Post-Conflict Trust and the Legacy of Counterinsurgency in Northern Ireland” (with Kit Rickard). Jan Tinbergen European Peace Science Conference, Bologna, June 2023; Conference of the Conflict Research Society, London, September 2023.

“Women, Protests, and Defection” (with Marianne Dahl and Kit Rickard). Jan Tinbergen European Peace Science Conference, London, June 2022; Conference of the Conflict Research Society, Belfast,

September 2022.

“Vigilante Practices: Retributive Justice after War” (with Kit Rickard). (Virtual) Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, April 2021; (Virtual) Conference of the Conflict Research Society, Sept. 2021; Households in Conflict Conference, Warwick University, Nov. 2022.

“Geopolitics and Perceptions of Historical Victimisation and Resistance” (with Kit Rickard, John O’Loughlin, and Gerard Toal). Conference of the Conflict Research Society, Brighton, Sept. 2019; (Virtual) Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sept. 2020; Conference of the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies, Cambridge, April 2022.

“Legacies of Wartime Institutions: Vigilantism and the State in Northern Ireland” (with Kit Rickard). Conference of the Conflict Research Society, Birmingham, Sept. 2018; Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, March 2019; Annual Meeting of the European Political Science Association, Belfast, June 2019.

“Attitudes to Peace: Public Opinion in Three Post-Conflict Countries” (with Karin Dyrstad and Helga Malmin Binningsbø). Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, March 2016; Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, Sept. 2017.

“When States Crack Down on Human Rights Defenders” (with Neil J. Mitchell and Hannah Smidt). Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Sept. 2016.

“Building One State, Jeopardizing Another? *De facto* Statehood and Prospects for a Settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh.” The European Peace Science Conference, Milan, June 2016.

“Bringing the State Back in, Again: How State Organization Shapes Paths of Resistance” (with Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham and Lee J.M. Seymour). Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Philadelphia, March 2016.

“International Commitments, Accountability, and the Political Control of Civil Society” (with Neil J. Mitchell and Hannah Smidt). Conference of the Conflict Research Society, Canterbury, Sept. 2015.

“Legacies of Violence: Security Sector Trust and Authority in Nagorno-Karabakh.” The Pan-European Conference on International Relations, Giardini Naxos, Italy, Sept. 2015.

“The Internal Dynamics of Armed Groups and Opposition Movements: Implications for Policy” (with Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham and Lee J.M. Seymour). Conference of the European Network for Conflict Research, Bonn, March 2015.

“External Patrons, Violence, and Internal Legitimacy in *de facto* States: Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia, and Transdniestria Compared” (with John O’Loughlin, Andrew Linke, and Gerard Toal). General Conference of the European Political Science Association, Edinburgh, June 2014; FLASCO-ISA Joint International Conference, Buenos Aires, July 2014; Conference of the Conflict Research Society, Leeds, Sept. 2014; OxPeace Conference, Oxford, May 2016.

“E Pluribus Unum, Ex Uno Plures? Correlates and Causes of Fragmentation in Ethnopolitical Movements” (with Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham and Lee J.M. Seymour). Conference of the European Network for Conflict Research, Istanbul, April 2014.

“From War-Making to State-Making in *de facto* States: The Effects of War-Time Fragmentation on Post-War Violence.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Aug. 2013; Conference of the Conflict Research Society/European Network for Conflict Research, Colchester, Sept. 2013; Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, Feb. 2015.

“From War-Making to State-Making in *de facto* States: The Case of Transdnistria.” Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, April 2013.

“The Viability of *de facto* States: Post-War Developments and Internal Legitimacy in Abkhazia (with John O’Loughlin and Michael D. Ward). Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, Sept. 2011; World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2012.

“A Typology of Fragmentation” (with Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham and Lee J.M. Seymour). Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montréal, March 2011; Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, Sept. 2011.

“Copying and Learning from Outsiders? Diffusion from Transnational Insurgents in the Chechen Wars.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C., Sept. 2010.

“After the War Ends: Violence and Viability of Unrecognized States.” Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, Feb. 2010.

“Shirts Today, Skins Tomorrow: The Effects of Fragmentation on Civil War Processes and Outcomes” (with Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham and Lee J.M. Seymour). Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, New York, Feb. 2009; Annual Convention of International Studies Association, New Orleans, Feb. 2010.

“The Turn to Violence in Chechnya and Punjab: Separatist Struggles in Decentralized States.” World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2008; Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, Aug. 2008.

“Transnational Insurgents and Domestic Rebel Movement’s Goals and Strategies.” Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, March 2008.

“Separatism and Center-Region Relations in Chechnya, Punjab, and Québec.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Aug. 2007.

“Social Distance in Bosnia and the North Caucasus Region of Russia” (with Michael D. Ward, John O’Loughlin, and Xun Cao). World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, April 2007.

“Cooperation without Trust in Conflict-Ridden Societies: Survey Results from Bosnia and the North Caucasus” (with Michael D. Ward, John O’Loughlin, and Xun Cao). Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Sept. 2006.

“Democratic Competition, Decentralization, and Divided States.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C., Sept. 2005.

“Chechnya: Revolution or Separatist Conflict?” Presented at the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Honolulu, March 2005.

“Inequality, Ethnic Diversity, and Conflict in Federal States” (with Erik Wibbels). Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Sept. 2004; the Norwegian Annual Political Science Conference, Hurdalsjøen, Jan. 2005; Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, San Diego, March 2006.

“Federalism in Russia and India: A Means for Managing Conflict in Multiethnic States?” Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montréal, March 2004.

“State Framing and Social Movement Impact: The Committee of Soldiers’ Mothers from Gorbachev to Putin.” Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Portland, Feb. 2003.

Invited Talks and Workshops

- Seminar, The Institut Barcelona d’Estudis Internacionals (IBEI), Feb. 3, 2025.
- Seminar, European Institute, London School of Economics, Nov. 26, 2024.
- Seminar, School of Sociology, Politics and International Studies, University of Bristol, Oct. 29, 2024.
- Workshop, University of Sarajevo-Oxford University, Sarajevo, Oct. 24-25, 2024.
- Workshop, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo, Aug. 2024.
- Seminar, T.E. Lawrence Program on the Study of Conflict, Oxford, Feb. 2024.
- Workshop, Peace Research Institute Oslo, Norway, Dec. 2023.
- Roundtable, Italian Political Science Association, Genoa, Sept. 2023.
- Workshop, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Oxford, March 2023.
- Keynote lecture, York Centre for Conflict and Security, University of York, Feb. 2023.
- Keynote lecture, Eilert Sundt Lecture, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Oslo, Nov. 2022.
- Workshop, Department of Government, University of Essex, Sept. 2022.
- Workshop, Department of Government, University of Essex, June 2022.
- Seminar (virtual), Institut Barcelona d’Estudis Internacionals (IBEI), April 2022.
- Talk (virtual), Department of Political Science and International Relations, Oxford, June 2021.
- Seminar (virtual), Conflict, Security & Development Research Group, King’s College London, Dec. 2020.
- Webinar, Brussels School of International Studies, University of Kent, Oct. 2020.
- Seminar (virtual), Department of Political Economy, King’s College London, Oct. 2020.
- Seminar, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Reading, Feb. 2020.
- Talk, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Warwick, Feb. 2020.
- Workshop in honor of Joel Migdal, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, Sept. 2019.
- Workshop on “A New Geopolitics of Eurasia,” Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen and the International Institute for Peace, Vienna, May 2019.
- Public lecture, Department of Human Geography, Tbilisi State University, May 2019.
- Workshop on “Managing Intra-State Territorial Contestation: Iraq’s Disputed Territories in Comparative Perspective,” Royal United Service Institute, London, Feb. 2019.
- Seminar, Statecraft and Security Research Group, Department of International Relations, London School of Economics, Dec. 2018.
- Workshop on “Academic Research on Conflict and Contention,” London School of Economics, June 2018.
- Talk, Blavatnik School of Government, University of Oxford, Feb. 2018.
- Workshop on “The Islamic State in Retreat,” London School of Economics, May 2018.
- Workshop on “Individuals in Conflict-affected Societies,” Oslo, May 2018.
- Seminar, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Glasgow, Jan. 2018.
- Workshop on “Political Dissent: Causes, Tactics, and Outcomes,” Department of Government, University of Essex, Colchester, Dec. 2017.
- IR Research Colloquium, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, Nov. 2017.
- Seminar, International Development Department, University of Birmingham, Nov. 2017.
- Seminar, School of Government and Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, March 2017.

- Seminar, Conflict Research Group, Department of Government, London School of Economics, March 2017.
- Workshop on “Russia and the ‘de facto’ States in the former Soviet Space,” Norwegian University Centre St. Petersburg, Russia, April 2017.
- Workshop, Lehrstuhl Politische Wissenschaft IV, University of Mannheim, May 2017.
- Seminar, Center for Comparative and International Studies, ETH Zurich, Dec. 2016.
- Workshop, Political Sciences Department, University of Genoa, June 2016.
- Workshop, Department of Politics, York University, March 2016.
- Seminar, Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, Oct. 2015.
- Workshop, Department of Government, University of Essex, Colchester, June 2015.
- Seminar, Department of Government, University of Essex, Colchester, June 2015.
- Workshop on “Sovereignty under Threat,” Weiser Center for Emerging Democracies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, May 2015.
- Seminar, Department of Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle, Feb. 2015.
- Seminar, Department of Political Science, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago, Aug. 2014.
- Workshop, Lehrstuhl Politische Wissenschaft IV, University of Mannheim, Sept. 2014.
- Workshop, International Relations and European Studies Department, Central European University, Budapest, June 2013.
- Workshop, Center for Comparative and International Studies, ETH Zurich, May 2013.
- Seminar, Department of Government, University of Essex, Colchester, Nov. 2012.
- Seminar, School of Politics and International Relations, University of Kent, Canterbury, Feb. 2011.
- Seminar, Department of Politics and International Studies, SOAS, London, Jan. 2011.
- Seminar, Nuffield College, Oxford University, Nov. 2010.
- Seminar, Department of International Relations, University of Sussex, Brighton, Oct. 2010.
- Seminar, Mellon Sawyer Seminar Series, University of London, May 2010.
- Workshop on “Transnationalism, Mechanisms, and Civil War,” Greenberg House (Syracuse University), Washington D.C., Oct. 2008.
- Invited response, plenary lecture of the Political Geography Specialty Group, Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, Boston, April 2008.
- Seminar, Program on Order, Conflict and Violence, Yale University, New Haven, March 2008.
- Seminar, Belfer Center, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, Feb. 2008.
- Seminar, Identity Politics Working Group, MIT, Cambridge, MA, Nov. 2007.
- Workshop on “Power-Sharing and Democratic Governance in Divided Societies,” Peace Research Institute Oslo, Aug. 2006.
- Workshop on “Decentralization, Federalism, and Conflict,” Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, Oxford University, Oct. 2006.
- Seminar, Montréal Research Group on Ethnic Conflict, McGill University, Montréal, Nov. 2005.
- Seminar, Institut Québécois des Hautes Études Internationales, Laval University, Québec, Oct. 2005.

Research Skills

- Languages: Norwegian (native), English (fluent), Russian (intermediate), German (intermediate), Dutch (basic), French (basic).
- Field research: Russia, spring 2005; Canada, fall 2005; India, winter 2006; Transdnistria, fall 2012; Nagorno-Karabakh, spring 2013; Abkhazia, fall 2013; Guatemala, spring 2016; Northern Ireland, spring 2016 and fall 2018; Georgia, spring 2019; Ukraine, spring 2019.

- Statistical programs: Stata and affiliated programs.

PhD Students (UCL)

- Sam Erkiletian, “Former Combatants and Resocialization Programs” (primary supervisor/co-supervision), 2019–2024. *Now APSA Congressional Fellow.*
- Finn Klebe, “Nonviolent Resistance and Radical Flanks” (primary supervisor/co-supervision), 2021–present.
- Melanie Garson, “The Third Pillar: Supporting Settlements to End Protracted Conflicts” (primary supervisor), 2009–2017. *Now at the Institute for Global Change and at UCL.*
- Jennifer Hodge, “Theorizing the Transformative Quality of Transitional Justice Processes” (primary supervisor/co-supervision), 2018–2024. *Now at PeaceRep, University of Stirling.*
- Giovanni Hollenweger, “Rebel Governance and Post-War Democracy” (co-supervisor), 2022–present.
- Andreas Juon, “Status Equalization, Threat Alleviation, or Reification? The Effects of Ethno-Accommodation on the Salience of Ethnic Identities” (primary supervisor/co-supervision), 2016–2020. *Now at ETH Zurich.*
- Sarah Leo, “Carrots vs. Sticks: How Should Governments Deal with Terrorist Violence?” (secondary supervisor), 2015–2020. *Now at The Economist.*
- Katy Norris, “The Politics of Higher Education Provision” (co-supervision), 2023–present.
- Dominic Perera, “Civic Space, Civil Society, and Citizen Action: Responses to a Declining Environment for Civic Activism” (primary supervisor/co-supervision), 2017–2022. *Now at the FCDO, UK.*
- Kit Rickard, “Cooperation or Competition: How External Support Shapes Rebel Behavior in Intrastate Conflict” (primary supervisor/co-supervision), 2017–2022. *Now at ETH Zurich.*
- Hannah Smidt, “The Impact of International Peacekeeping on Election-Related Violence in Post-Civil War Countries” (primary supervisor/co-supervision), 2013–2017. *Now at University of St. Gallen.*
- Yilin Su, “Protest Restrictions, Protesters, and Protest Bystanders in Illiberal Regimes” (co-supervisor), 2021–present.
- Yuri Shliakov, “Deepening Authoritarianism: How Indoctrination Fosters Regime Support Among Russian Educators?” (secondary supervisor). 2024–present.
- Beth Souris, “Transnational Ethnic Groups and Civil Conflict: The Impact of the Karen’s Transnational Ethnic Kin Groups on the KNU Insurgency in Myanmar” (secondary supervisor), 2012–2020. *Now at CGA Technologies, Tanzania.*

MA/MSc and BA Supervision

I have supervised more than **70 MA/MSc** student dissertations (in the Department of Political Science, Leiden University, and the Department of Political Science, UCL), and more than **50 BA** student dissertations (both in the Politics, Philosophy, and Economics degree and in the program on European and International Social and Political Studies at UCL).

Courses Designed and Taught

- Conflict Resolution and Post-War Development (postgraduate), UCL.
- Political Violence and Intrastate Conflicts (undergraduate), UCL.
- International Relations Theories (undergraduate), UCL.
- Introduction to Research Design (postgraduate), Leiden University.

- Conflict Resolution and Reconstruction (postgraduate), Leiden University.
- Qualitative Research Methods (postgraduate), Leiden University.
- Collective Violence and the State (undergraduate), University of Washington, Seattle.

University Leadership and Service

- Deputy Department Tutor, European and International Social and Political Studies, UCL, 2024–present.
- REF Lead, Department of Political Science, UCL, 2018–2024.
- Leader of Conflict and Change research cluster, UCL, 2015–present.
- Dual Degree Coordinator, European and International Social and Political Studies, UCL, 2021–2023.
- Chair of Exam Board, European and International Social and Political Studies, UCL, 2010–2013, 2016–2020.
- Thematic Director for Global Security, Global Governance Institute, UCL, 2016–2019.
- Member of teaching review committee, Department of Political Science, UCL, 2016–2017.
- Departmental Tutor, European and International Social and Political Studies, UCL, 2013–2016, 2020 (term 1).
- Member of undergraduate program and PPE strategy group, Department of Political Science, UCL, 2011–2013.
- Member of the PhD upgrade committee, Department of Political Science, UCL, 2010–2011.
- Member of the European and International Social and Political Studies’ steering committee, UCL, 2009–present.
- Member of the MA admissions committee, Leiden University, 2008–2009.
- Member of the MA in IR and Diplomacy education committee, Leiden University, 2008–2009.

Service to the Discipline

- Chair, Conflict Research Society, 2024–present (member of council since 2014).
- Associate Editor, *Journal of Peace Research*, 2012–present (editorial committee since 2010).
- Member of Editorial Board, *International Security*, 2021–present.
- Member of Executive Team, UCL Press, 2021–2023.
- Member (2021) and Chair (2022), Karl Deutsch Award Committee, International Studies Association.
- Member-at-large, the International Studies Association’s Governing Council, 2018–2019.
- Member of Editorial Board, *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 2014–2019.
- Member of Advisory Board, *Nations and Nationalism*, 2012–2019.
- Mentor, “Pay It Forward” workshop, Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, March 2019.
- Member of Management Committee, European Network for Conflict Research, 2013–2016.
- External Examiner at PhD defense: Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim (2011); University of Oslo (2012; 2014; 2019); School of Oriental and African Studies, London (2013); ETH Zurich (2016); London School of Economics (2016; 2018; 2019); University of St. Andrews (2017); Uppsala University (2017); Oxford University (2020); European University Institute, Florence (2024), Queens University, Belfast (2025).
- External Examiner for the MSc in Conflict Studies, Department of Government, London School of Economics (2016–2020).
- External member of review panel for the European Institute, London school of Economics (2023) and Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, Uppsala University (2024);
- External member of hiring committee, All Souls, Oxford University (2024–2025).
- Reviewer, *American Political Science Review*; *British Journal of Political Science*;

Comparative Political Studies; Conflict, Security and Development; European Journal of International Relations; International Area Studies Review; International Security; International Studies Perspectives; International Studies Quarterly; International Organization; Irish Political Studies; Journal of Conflict Resolution; Journal of Global Security Studies; Journal of Peace Research; Journal of Politics; Nationalism and Ethnic Politics; Nations and Nationalism; Perspectives on Politics; Political Geography; Post-Soviet Affairs; Problems of Post-Communism; Research & Politics; Security Studies; Terrorism and Political Violence; World Politics; Palgrave; Carnegie; British Academy; Economic and Social Research Council; National Science Foundation; Swedish Research Council, Swiss National Science Foundation.