

**PETER SKERRY**

January 5, 2024

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**EDUCATION**

Ph.D., M.A. Department of Government, Harvard University; thesis: "The Ambivalent Minority: Emergent Styles of Mexican-American Politics" (awarded the Toppan Prize); advisors: James Q. Wilson and Nathan Glazer (1991)

Ed.M. Graduate School of Education, Harvard University; education and social policy (1974)

B.A. Tufts University; history, *cum laude* (1973)

**AWARDS / FELLOWSHIPS / GRANTS**

Sasakawa Peace Foundation USA Fellowship (2022-2023): sponsored research trip to examine emergent immigration and refugee policy shifts with particular focus on Japan's changing self-defense posture toward Russia and China

Research grant; Achelis-Bodman Foundation (2019-2020): underwriting a year's leave-of-absence from Boston College to continue research and writing on Muslims in American society and politics

Project grant; Stuart Family Foundation: underwriting costs of the Dialogue on Islam in America, a running series of dinner seminars bringing together prominent Muslim American leaders and activists from around the United State to discuss topics of mutual interest with Washington-area academics, policy analysts, journalists, and think tank scholars at the American Enterprise Institute (2010-2014) and the Hudson Institute (2016-2017)

Research grant; Stuart Family Foundation (2011-2012): course relief

Research grant; Earhart Foundation (2010-2011): research support

Project grants; Earhart Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation, Stuart Family Foundation, Manhattan Institute, Annie E. Casey Foundation, James Madison Foundation, United Neighborhood Organization, Winston Center for Leadership and Ethics-Boston College, Institute for the Liberal Arts-Boston College: grants in support of the Immigration Policy Roundtable, co-sponsored by the Brookings Institution and

the Kenan Institute for Ethics at Duke University (2008-2009)  
Boston College, Faculty Research Leave (2008-2009)

Russell Sage Foundation, Visiting Scholar (2006-2007)

Boston College, Research Expense Grant (2006; 2007)

American Academy in Berlin, Berlin Prize Fellow (spring 2003) [declined]

European Union Center of California, faculty research grant (2002-2003)

Benjamin Z. Gould Center for Humanistic Studies, Claremont McKenna College; Faculty Summer Research Fellowship (2002)

German Marshall Fund of the United States, travel grant for research on the German Green Party (2001)

Fieldstead Foundation, research grant for a study of U.S. immigration policy, administered by the Brookings Institution (1999)

Smith Richardson Foundation, research grant for a study of U.S. immigration policy, administered by the Brookings Institution (1996-98)

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, fellowship (1994-95)

Los Angeles Times Book Prize; for *Mexican Americans: The Ambivalent Minority* (1993)

William H. Donner Foundation, research grant for a study of the politics of the U.S. Census, administered by the Brookings Institution (1991-1994)

Toppan Prize, Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences ("offered for the best essay or dissertation upon a subject of political science...awarded only for essays or dissertations of exceptional merit and consequently will not necessarily be awarded every year") (1991)

Smith Richardson Foundation research grant (1988-90)

Bradley Foundation Research Fellowship (1988-89)

Hartley Fellowship in Governmental Studies, Brookings Institution (awarded to one of four research fellows each year) (1984-85)

Earhart Foundation Fellowship (1983-84)

Russell Sage Foundation Presidential Grant (1982-84)

Harvard University Graduate Fellowship (1979-82)

## **EMPLOYMENT / PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS**

Professor; Department of Political Science, Boston College (2003-present)

Fellow; Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture, University of Virginia (2019-present)

Contributing Editor, *American Purpose* (2020-present)

Contributing Editor, *The American Interest* (2018-2020)

Senior Fellow; Kenan Institute for Ethics, Duke University (2008-2019)

Co-convenor (with John Walters, Executive Vice President, Hudson Institute) of the Dialogue on Islam in America, a series of half-day seminars bringing together selected Muslim-American activists and leaders with prominent non-Muslim academics and public intellectuals (2016-2017)

Nonresident Senior Fellow; Governmental Studies Program, Brookings Institution (1997-2016)

Chair; International Advisory Group, The Legatum Institute; London, UK (2011-2014)

Co-convenor (with Dr. Gary Schmitt, Resident Scholar; American Enterprise Institute) of the Dialogue on Islam in America, a series of half-day seminars bringing together selected Muslim-American activists and leaders with prominent non-Muslim academics and public intellectuals (September 2010-2014)

Participant and presenter; “Religious Pluralisms in the Public Square,” monthly interdisciplinary, interuniversity seminar convened by the School of Theology at Boston University (2012-2013)

Participant; Islam/West Engagement Project at the Institute for American Values (2007-2013)

Co-Director, Immigration Policy Roundtable (2008-2009); a project sponsored jointly by the Kenan Institute for Ethics at Duke and The Brookings Institution that brings together more than twenty scholars, public intellectuals, pollsters, and journalists to deliberate about U.S. immigration policy at six monthly meetings and then produce a policy paper intended to reframe the immigration debate. As co-director, with my colleague Noah Pickus, Director of the Kenan Institute for Ethics at Duke, I assembled the group, planned the sessions, and raised over \$200,000 to underwrite our efforts.

Professor; Department of Government, Claremont McKenna College (2000-2003)

Senior Research Associate; Rose Institute of State and Local Government, Claremont McKenna College (2000-2003)

Associate Professor; Department of Government, Claremont McKenna College (1997-2000)

Visiting Associate Professor; University of California at Berkeley, Washington Center (1996)

Senior Fellow; Governmental Studies Program, Brookings Institution (1995-1997)

Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (1994-95)

Staff Associate: Governmental Studies Program, Brookings Institution (1991-95)

Assistant Professor-in-Residence; Department of Political Science and Director of Washington Programs, Center for American Politics and Public Policy; University of California, Los Angeles (1990-1994)

Research Fellow, American Enterprise Institute (1987-90)

Legislative Director, Office of Senator Daniel P. Moynihan (1986)

Hartley Research Fellow in Governmental Studies, Brookings Institution (1984-85)

Resident Consultant, Institutions Program, Russell Sage Foundation (1978-79)

Research Associate, Mediating Structures Project, American Enterprise Institute (1977-79)

Research Associate, Education Policy Research Institute of the Educational Testing Service (1975-77)

Research Assistant, Heller School, Brandeis University (1973)

Research Assistant, Cambridge Policy Studies Institute (1969-70)

#### **CONSULTING** (partial listing)

Boy Scouts of America (Irving, TX): advising with regard to BSA outreach to Hispanic families and youth (2011-2012)

The Legatum Institute (London, UK): consultant on *The 2011 Legatum Prosperity Index: An Inquiry into Global Wealth and Wellbeing* (2011)

America Abroad Media (Washington, DC): member, Advisory Council for special radio series, "Integration and Identity in the West" (2011)

Islam/West Project, Institute for American Values: research and writing on the Muslim encounter with contemporary Western culture (2008-2010)

Manhattan Institute: member of expert panel advising project on development of an immigrant assimilation index (2006-2007)

Centra Technology: conference on developing issues in Africa; Washington, DC; June 19-20, 2006

United Neighborhood Organization: research on the Hispanic drop-out problem for metropolitan Chicago's largest Hispanic community-based organization (2004-2005)

Pew Charitable Trusts: investigation of Pew's programmatic opportunities with regard to immigrant integration initiatives by faith-based organizations (September 2001-January 2003)

Santa Ana (California) Police Department: research and report on innovative undercover operation targeting immigrant gangs (1999-2003)

Voting Rights suit, *Ruiz v. City of Santa Maria*; expert witness (1993-1995; 1999-2000)

Delphi International Education and Training: seminar presentation on U.S. government and politics to U.S. Information Agency-sponsored group of foreign journalists (1993)

Citadel Entertainment: development of film on race relations in 21st-century United States (1989)

Institute for Independent Education, Washington, DC: member advisory panel to U.S. Department of Education-sponsored study of black independent schools (1986-87)

Legal Services Corporation: member evaluation team doing site visit of Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law (1986)

Institute for Pluralism and Group Identity of the American Jewish Committee: study of white ethnic family values as related to attitudes toward abortion (1975-76)

Massachusetts Public Finance Project: study of the historical development of metropolitan government and the public services infrastructure in the Boston area (1974)

## **PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES / SERVICE**

### **BOARD MEMBERSHIPS**

Research and Programs Committee, Board of Directors (non-voting member), The Pioneer Institute; Boston, MA (2015 – present)

Academic Advisory Board, The Pioneer Institute; Boston, MA (2007-present)

Senior Editor, *Society* (2003 - present)

Editorial Board, *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics* (2007-2021)

Editorial Board, *American Politics Research* (2004 - 2016)

United Neighborhood Organization (Chicago-based Latino community organization and charter school operation); 2008-2011, 2013-2014

Advisory Board, Faith and Reason Institute; Washington, DC (2000-2010)

Board of Editorial Advisers, *The Wilson Quarterly* (2003-2013)

Los Niños (San Diego-based non-profit community development organization operating in Northern Mexico along the U.S. border) (2003-2008)

Advisory Council on European/Transatlantic Issues, Heinrich Böll Foundation (affiliated with Bündnis 90/Die Grünen; The Green Party), Federal Republic of Germany (2003-2007)

American Program Advisory Board, Humanity in Action (New York-based NGO promoting human rights work among international student leaders) (2005-2006)

International Advisory Board, GRAAT (journal of Groupes de Recherches Anglo-Américaines de l'Université François Rabelais de Tours) (2002-2007)

#### PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS

American Political Science Association

New England Political Science Association

#### REVIEWER / REFEREE SERVICE

Japan Foundation; University of Chicago Press; Cambridge University Press; *International Migration Review*; University Press of Kentucky; *Canadian Journal of Political Science*; *Public Administration Review*; Princeton University Press; Yale University Press; The Randolph Foundation; Smith Richardson Foundation; Institute for Educational Affairs; Brookings Institution Press; *American Journal of Political Science*; *Journal of Policy History*; *Social Science History*; *Ethnicities*; *State and Local Government Review*; *American Politics Research*; Cornell University Press; Rowman and Littlefield; *Publius*; *Political Science Quarterly*

#### OTHER SERVICE

Braver Angels, Trustworthy Elections National Task Force; founding member of a non-partisan citizen effort to produce a set of criteria defining electoral procedures on which Americans of disparate and divergent political perspectives might agree in this period leading up to the 2024 presidential elections (2022-present)

Braver Angels Scholars Council; participant and advisor to leaders of this nationwide effort to bring together Americans of divergent views to discuss and potentially resolve their differences (2021-present)

Library Faculty Advisory Board, Boston College (2012-present)

Advisory Board, Islamic Civilization and Societies Program, Boston College (2009-present)

Sesquicentennial Symposium on Migration, Planning Committee; Boston College (2012-2013)

Judge, Better Government Competition; Pioneer Institute (2011)

Host committee; National Immigrant Integration Conference, Boston; September 29-October 1, 2010

Invited participant, "The University and Catholic Intellectual Traditions," faculty seminar at Boston College (2007-2009)

External evaluator, faculty promotion and tenure review, Koc University; Istanbul, Turkey (2007)

Dissertation committee, Department of Political Science, University of Virginia (2004-2006)

External evaluator, faculty promotion review; John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (2004)

Peer review panelist, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars fellowship competition (December 2003)

External evaluator, faculty tenure review; Department of Political Science, Rutgers University (January 2003)

Immigrant Integration Advisory Committee, Little Hoover Commission, State of California (2001-present)

Nominating Committee, Public Policy Section, American Political Science Association (2000)

External evaluator, faculty promotion review; Department of Government, Harvard University (1998)

Advisory Committee, study of Hispanics in Indiana, sponsored by the Heartland Center, Hammond, IN (1995-present)

Los Angeles Times Book Prize Committee (1993-95)

Ralph J. Bunche Award Committee, American Political Science Association (1991-92)

Consultant, U. S. Catholic Conference, review panel advising about policies affecting recent immigrants (May 5, 1987)

## PUBLICATIONS

### BOOKS / BOOK CHAPTERS

“Assimilation and Our Discontents,” in Shikha Dalmia, ed., *A Twenty-First Century Immigration Policy for the West* (forthcoming)

“Comprehensive Immigration Confusion,” in Carol Swain, ed., *Debating Immigration*, Second Edition (Cambridge University Press, 2018)

“Good Neighbors and Good Citizens: Beyond the Legal-Illegal Immigration Debate,” (with Noah Pickus) in Carol Swain, ed., *Debating Immigration*, Second Edition (Cambridge University Press, 2018)

“A Young Man at the Periphery of the Profession” in Joseph Dorman and Leslie Lenkowsky, eds., *When Ideas Mattered: A Nathan Glazer Reader* (Transaction, 2016)

“Hispanic Politics (1976-2009),” *Encyclopedia of U.S. Political History* (CQ Press, 2010)

*Breaking the Immigration Stalemate: From Deep Disagreements to Constructive Proposals* (principal author), Report of the Brookings-Duke Immigration Policy Roundtable (Washington: Brookings Institution, October 2009)

“The Real Immigration Crisis,” in Robert Faulkner and Susan Shell, eds., *America at Risk: Threats to Liberal Self-Government in an Age of Uncertainty* (University of Michigan Press, 2009)

“Good Neighbors and Good Citizens: Beyond the Legal-Illegal Immigration Debate,” (with Noah Pickus) in Carol Swain, ed., *Debating Immigration* (Cambridge University Press, 2007)

“Immigration and Social Disorder,” in Norton Garfinkle and Daniel Yankelovich, ed., *Uniting America: Restoring the Vital Center to American Democracy* (Yale University Press, 2006)

“Political Institutions and Minority Mobility in the United States,” in Glenn C. Loury, Tariq Modood, and Steven M. Teles, eds., *Ethnicity, Social Mobility, and Public Policy in the United States and the United Kingdom* (Cambridge University Press, 2005)

“‘This Was Our Riot, Too’: The Political Assimilation of Today’s Immigrants,” in Tamar Jacoby, ed., *Reinventing the Melting Pot: The New Immigrants and What It Means to Be American* (Basic Books, 2004)

“Multiracialism and the Administrative State,” in Joel Pearlman and Mary Waters, eds., *Counting Races, Recognizing Multiracials* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2002)

“The New Politics of the Census,” in Marc Landy, Martin Levin, and Martin Shapiro, eds., *Durability and Change: Politics and Policymaking in the 1990s* (Georgetown University Press, 2001)

“Elites Immigrées Américaines et Politiques Raciales,” in Isabelle Vagnoux, ed., *Les Etats-Unis et les*



*Elites Latino-Américaines* (Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2000)

*Counting on the Census? Race, Group Identity, and the Evasion of Politics* (Brookings Institution Press, May 2000)

"The Racialization of Immigration Policy," in Morton Keller and R. Shep Melnick, eds., *Taking Stock: American Government in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1999)

"Do We Really Want Immigrants to Assimilate?", in *What, Then, Is The American, This New Man?* (Center for Immigration Studies, August 1998)

"Immigrants, Bureaucrats, and Life Choices," in *The Debate in the United States over Immigration*, Peter Duignan, ed. (Hoover Institution Press, 1997)

"E Pluribus Hispanic?", in F. Chris Garcia, ed., *Pursuing Power: Latinos and the Political System* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1997)

"The New Politics of Immigration," in *Reinventing the American People: Unity and Diversity Today*, Robert Royal, ed. (Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995)

*Mexican Americans: The Ambivalent Minority*, paperback (Harvard University Press, 1995); hardcover published by Free Press/Macmillan (1993)

"Eight Is Enough: Peter Skerry Responds to His Critics," in *Mexican Americans: Are They An Ambivalent Minority?*, Lisa Magana, ed. (Tomas Rivera Center, Claremont Graduate University, 1994)

"The Ambivalent Minority: Mexican Americans and the Voting Rights Act," in *Civil Rights in the United States*, Hugh Davis Graham, ed. (Penn State Press, 1994)

"The Ambiguity of Mexican-American Politics" in *Clamor at the Gates*, Nathan Glazer, ed. (Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1985)

## ARTICLES

"Are Muslims at Home in America?" *National Review* (October 2, 2023).

"Exploiting Migrants: A Game Anyone Can Play," *American Purpose* (October 3, 2022).

"What We Can Learn From Our Relatively Open Borders," *Cato Unbound: A Journal of Debate* (July 27, 2021).

"Why 'Black Lives Matter' Matters," *National Affairs* (Spring 2021).

"Puritans' Progress: Lawrence Mead and the Question of American Culture," *The Hedgehog Review* (Spring 2021).

“Report to the Smith Richardson Foundation on Immigration Research and Writing” (December 4, 2021).

“Border Fight: Regaining Control,” essay review of *Losing Control: How a Left-Right Coalition Blocked Immigration Reform and Provoked the Backlash That Elected Trump* by Jerry Kammer; *The American Interest* (July 15, 2020).

“Rashida Tlaib’s Bad Manners,” *Berkley Forum* (January 23, 2020).

“Becoming White,” essay review of *Whiteshift: Populism, Immigration, and the Future of White Majorities* by Eric Kaufmann; *The Claremont Review of Books* (Fall 2019).

“Lost in the Fog: Immigrants and Refugees, Bureaucrats and Activists,” *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics* (Volume 17, Issue 3; October 2019).

“The Dead End of ‘More Democracy,’ ” *The American Interest* (September 4, 2019) [Part II of two].

“Will the Real Populists Please Stand Up – Or Perhaps Sit Down and Chill,” *The American Interest* (September 3, 2019) [Part I of two].

“A Conversation With Antje Hermenau,” *The American Interest* (March 9, 2019), transcribed and edited interview conducted with TAI editor-in-chief, Jeffrey Gedmin, of a former leader of the German Green Party and member of the Bundestag who was expelled from the party for engaging with leaders of the AfD Party and their sympathizers.

“Nathan Glazer – Merit Before Meritocracy,” *The American Interest* (April 3, 2019).

“Dancing Around the Caravan: The Media, The Left, and The Catholic Church,” *The American Interest* (January 8, 2019).

“Comprehensive Immigration Confusion,” in Carol M. Swain, editor, *Debating Immigration*, Second Edition (August 2018).

“Good Neighbors and Good Citizens,” in Carol M. Swain, editor, *Debating Immigration*, Second Edition (August 2018).

“Explaining the Indefensible: Trump and the Border Crisis,” *The American Interest* (July 30, 2018).

“Opposing Immigration Wasn’t Always Racist,” *Boston Globe* (April 16, 2017)

“American Brotherhood: The Muslim Brothers Are Present in the United States, But Not a Threat,” *Foreign Affairs* (April 8, 2017; on-line)

“Mexican Americans: New Guys on the Block” (with Juan R. Rangel), *The Weekly Standard* (February 13, 2017)

“The Migration: A Lesson from the US,” *Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations* (8 November 2016; on-line)

“Christmas with the Brotherhood,” *Society* (September/October 2016)

“Comprehensive Immigration Confusion,” *National Affairs* (Fall 2016)

“Nathan Glazer: An Appreciation,” *National Affairs* (Spring 2016)

“Clash of Generations: The Cultural Contradictions of Islam in America,” *The Weekly Standard* (December 28, 2015/January 4, 2016)

“Does the Arab World Need a Sexual Revolution?” (review essay of *Headscarves and Hymens: Why the Middle East Needs a Sexual Revolution* by Mona Eltahawy) in *The American Interest* (October 3, 2015; on-line)

“Imagine No Religion” (review essay of *Heretic: Why Islam Needs a Reformation Now* by Ayaan Hirsi Ali) in *Claremont Review of Books* (Summer 2015)

“A Flawed But Important Take on Immigration” (review essay of *Immigration Outside the Law* by Hiroshi Motomura) in *The American Interest* (March 12, 2015; on-line)

“What Do Illegal Immigrants Want? Time To Bring the Immigration Debate Out of ‘The Shadows’,” *The Weekly Standard* (December 15, 2014)

“Assimilation Is a Necessary and Brutal Bargain,” *Liberty Law Forum* (October 20, 2014)

“Immigration Malpractice: Young Latin Americans Pay the Price for America’s Policy Blunders,” *The Weekly Standard* (August 18/25, 2014)

“No Kidding: Republicans, Democrats, and Illegal Immigrants,” *The Weekly Standard* (August 12, 2013)

“Problems of the Second Generation: To Be Young, Muslim, and American,” *The Weekly Standard* (June 24, 2013)

“It Takes Two: Immigration and the Rule of Law,” *The Weekly Standard* (May 6, 2013)

“Welcome to America: The Business of Immigration Is More Than Business,” *The Weekly Standard* (April 15, 2013)

“Forging Consensus on Immigration,” *Policy Brief* (Progressive Policy Institute), March 2013

“Bumps Along the Path to Citizenship,” *The Weekly Standard* (February 25, 2013)

“Splitting the Difference on Illegal Immigration,” *National Affairs* (Winter 2013)

“American Culture and the Muslim World,” *Society* (January/February 2012)

[reprinted in *Muslims in America*, edited volume published by Al Mesbar Studies and

Research Center; Dubai, UAE, 2011]

“The Muslim-American Muddle,” *National Affairs* (Fall 2011)

“Learning Curve: American Culture and the Muslim World,” *World Affairs* (July/August 2011)

“Moving On Up” (review of *From Immigrants to Americans* by Jacob Vigdor); *Claremont Review of Books* (Fall 2010)

“American Culture and the Muslim World,” *Ijtihad* (on-line journal, published by the Institute for American Values); June 2010.

“Know Thy Neighbor” (review of *Muslims in America: A Short History* by Edward E. Curtis IV); *Wilson Quarterly* (Winter 2010)

“Why ‘Comprehensive Immigration Reform’ Is Not Comprehensive,” *The Forum* (July 2009; Vol. 7, Issue 3)

“Facing Facts About Immigration,” *The American Interest* (Spring 2009)

“Who Gets In? – And What Happens Once They’re Here” (review of *The New Case Against Immigration* by Mark Krikorian); *The Weekly Standard* (September 15, 2008)

“Day Laborers and Dock Workers: Casual Labor Markets and Immigration Policy,” *Society* (January/February 2008)

“Islam in America,” *The American Interest* (May/June 2007)

“How Not to Build a Fence,” *Foreign Policy* (September/October 2006)

“Mother of Invention,” *Wilson Quarterly* (Summer 2006)

“Citizen Pain: Fixing the Immigration Debate” (with Devin Fernandes), *The New Republic* (May 8, 2006)

“What Are We To Make of Samuel Huntington?” *Society* (November-December 2005)

“America’s Other Muslims,” *Wilson Quarterly* (Autumn 2005)

“Racial Politics in the Administrative State,” *Society* (January/February 2005)

“Choice, Conflict, and the Zero-Sum Game of Identity Politics,” *Yale Law and Policy Review* (Winter 2005; Vol. 23, No.1)

“Borderline Useless,” *The New Republic Online* (January 13, 2004)

“Citizenship Begins At Home: A New Approach to the Civic Integration of Immigrants,” *The Responsive Community* (Winter 2003-2004)

“Political Islam in the United States and Europe,” in Dick Clark, ed., *Political Islam: Challenges for U.S. Policy* (Aspen Institute Congressional Program, 2003)

“Comments on Articles 134 and 145,” *Population Research and Policy Review* (April 2002)

“Beyond Sushiology: Does Diversity Work?” *Brookings Review* (Winter 2002)

“Counting on the Census?” *Society* (November/December 2001)

“What’s Wrong With Group Politics?” *NEXUS* (Spring 2001)

“Mexican Immigration Is Different,” *The American Enterprise* (December 2000)

“Counting on the Census: The Minority Undercount and the Debate Over Sampling,” *Philanthropy* (October 2000)

“Counting on the Census?” *Brookings Policy Brief* (No. 56, March 2000)

"Do We Really Want Immigrants to Assimilate?" *Society* (March/April 2000)

"Sampling Error: The Small Stakes in the Big Census Fight," *New Republic* (May 31, 1999)

"The Affirmative Action Paradox," *Society* (September/October 1998); reprinted in Tony Judt and Marco Martiniello, eds., *The Politics of Affirmative Action and the Development of Multicultural Citizenship: Euro-US Perspectives*, (New York University, May 1999)

"Sampling Is Not the Answer to Census Flaws," *IntellectualCapital.com* (February 5, 1998)

"The Assimilation Dilemma," *Freedom Review* (Fall 1997)

"The Strange Politics of Affirmative Action," *Wilson Quarterly* (Winter 1997); reprinted in John A. Kromkowski, ed., *ANNUAL EDITIONS: Race and Ethnic Relations 98/99* (Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, 1998); and in Ginny Stowitts, ed., *American Government Reader* (Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1998)

"Many American Dilemmas: The Statistical Politics of Counting by Race and Ethnicity," *Brookings Review* (Summer 1996)

"Many Borders to Cross: Is Immigration the Exclusive Responsibility of the Federal Government?" *Publius* (Summer 1995)

"The Black Alienation: African Americans vs. Immigrants," *New Republic* (January 30, 1995); reprinted in *The Minneapolis Star-Tribune* (January 16, 1995)

"A Minority and Its Leadership," *Freedom Review* (November-December 1994)

"Commentary" on "Immigration and Political Community in the United States" by Daniel Tichenor, *Responsive Community* (Fall 1994)

"Mexican-American Politics," Heath Guest Lectures in American Government, supplement to James Q. Wilson, *American Government* (D.C. Heath and Co., 1994)

"The Ambivalent Minority: Mexican Americans and the Voting Rights Act," *Journal of Policy History*, 6, No. 1 (1994)

"Beware of Moderates Bearing Gifts," *National Review* (February 21, 1994)

"The New Politics of Assimilation," *City Journal* (Fall 1993)

"Not Much Cooking: Why the Voting Rights Act Is Not Empowering Mexican Americans," *Brookings Review* (Summer 1993)

"E Pluribus Hispanic?" *Wilson Quarterly* (Summer 1992); reprinted in F. Chris Garcia, ed., *Pursuing Power: Latinos and the Political System* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1997); and the *American Studies Newsletter*, published by the USIA; and excerpted in the *Miami Herald* (October 4, 1992)

"The Census Wars," *The Public Interest* (Winter 1992); reprinted in E. Goldstein, ed., *Population*, 5, Article No. 41, Boca Raton, FL: Social Issues Resources Series, Inc., 1993

"Comment," Barry R. Chiswick, ed., *Immigration, Language, and Ethnicity: Canada and the United States* (American Enterprise Institute Press, 1992)

"Latin Mass: The Plight of Hispanic Immigrants," *New Republic* (June 10, 1991)

"Individualist America and Today's Immigrants," *The Public Interest* (Winter 1991); reprinted in Robert Emmet Long, ed., *Immigration to the United States* (H. W. Wilson Co., 1992)

"Hispanic Dropouts: A Social Problem, A Political Cause?" *American Enterprise* (July/August 1990); reprinted in the *San Diego Union* (July 22, 1990)

"What Grantmakers Should Know about Hispanics," *Philanthropy* (September-October 1989)

"Borders and Quotas: Immigration and the Affirmative-Action State," *The Public Interest* (Summer 1989)

"On Edge: Blacks and Mexicans in Los Angeles," *American Spectator* (May 1988)

"Vendetta in the Valley," *New Republic* (September 17/24, 1984)

"Neighborhood COPS: The Resurrection of Saul Alinsky," *New Republic* (February 6, 1984)

"The Charmed Life of Head Start," *The Public Interest*, (Fall 1983)

"Race Relations at Harvard," *Commentary* (January 1981)

"The Black Family Revisited," *Human Life Review* (Winter 1981)

"Christian Schools vs. The IRS," *The Public Interest* (Fall 1980); reprinted as "Christian Schools, Racial Quotas, and the IRS," Ethics and Public Policy Center (1980)

"The Class Conflict over Abortion," *The Public Interest* (Summer 1978)

#### OP-ED ARTICLES

"Give Undocumented Permanent Non-Citizen Resident Status," *Orange County Register* (October 10, 2013)

"A Path to Citizenship – or a Maze?" *Boston Globe* (February 25, 2013)

"A Third Way on Immigration," *Los Angeles Times* (December 16, 2012)

"Memorial Day With Muslims," *Worcester Telegram and Gazette* (June 6, 2012)

"Gingrich vs. the Immigration Status Quo," *Wall Street Journal* (November 30, 2011)

"Peter King Hearing: Why Won't Media – Or Muslims – Address Islamism in America?" with Gary Schmitt, *Christian Science Monitor* (March 10, 2011)

"Silence from Muslim-Americans," with Gary Schmitt, *Boston Globe* (January 29, 2011)

"The Real Debate Is Among Muslims," *Boston Globe* (August 19, 2010)

"The Immigration Vote: Ineffective Policies Do Little But Energize Advocacy Groups," *Boston Globe* (August 3, 2010)

"A Testing Attempt for Islam's Center," *Boston Globe* (May 18, 2010)

"The Crude Moralism of Immigration Expansionists," *Firstthings.com* (May 17, 2010)

"The New Muslim-Liberal Coalition," *Time.com* (November 11, 2006)

"Immigration Realities," *Boston Globe* (October 15, 2006)

"The American Exception: Why Muslims in the U.S. Aren't as Attracted to Jihad as Those in Europe," *Time* (August 21, 2006)

"Give Illegal Immigrants Licenses – and Obligations," *Los Angeles Times* (August 20, 2006)

"Process Must Foster Better Bonds" (with Noah Pickus), *South Florida Sun-Sentinel* (May 19, 2006)

"Line in the Sand: A Return to Fundamentals on Immigration" (with James Q. Wilson), *Wall Street Journal* (May 18, 2006)

"Gelobtes Land für Muslime," *Der Tagesspiegel* (January 5, 2005)

“Interpreting the Muslim Vote,” *The Boston Globe* (November 26, 2004)

“Ist Das Noch Demokratisch? Wahlen in Den Vereinigten Staaten,” *Die Zeit* (October 28, 2004)

“America’s Muslims Never Had to Unite-Until Now,” *The Washington Post* (January 5, 2003)

“Das Gespenst Einwanderung spukt auch in den USA,” *Der Tagesspiegel* (September 5, 2002)

“Why Amnesty Is the Wrong Way to Go,” *Washington Post* (August 12, 2001)

“Dressing It Up As Science Can’t Disguise the Politics,” *Washington Post* (March 4, 2001)

“A Bad Test for Bush’s Outreach,” *Los Angeles Times* (January 7, 2001); reprinted in *Houston Chronicle* (January 14, 2001)

“We’re Overstating The Importance of the Undercount,” *Washington Post* (May 14, 2000)

“Why Census Is Right to Ask For Racial and Ethnic Data,” *Los Angeles Times* (April 16, 2000)

"Tolerating Intolerance in American Politics," *Los Angeles Times* (July 19, 1998); reprinted in Peter Woll and Stephen J. Rockwell, eds., *American Political Ideals and Realities* (Longman Publishing, 2000)

“The Cost of a Tighter Border: People-Smuggling Networks," with Stephen J. Rockwell, *Los Angeles Times* (May 3, 1998)

"The Limits of Black, Brown Solidarity," *Los Angeles Times* (February 1, 1998)

"Missing the Boat: Immigration Law Demonizes Foreigners But Solves Little," *Washington Post* (October 20, 1996)

"Why Separate Legal, Illegal Immigrants?" *Los Angeles Times* (August 4, 1996)

"Has Immigration Collided With the Welfare State?" *Los Angeles Times* (May 1, 1994)

"Mexican Americans: Caught Between Progress and Politics," *Washington Post*, Sunday Outlook (October 24, 1993)

"Why Some of L.A.'s Latino Leaders Take a Walk on Immigration," *Los Angeles Times* (August 22, 1993)

"Attack Policy, Not Illegals," *New York Newsday* (August 17, 1993); reprinted in *La Prensa San Diego* (October 29, 1993)

"Sense on the Census," *New York Times* (July 18, 1991)

"In D.C. Riots' Wake: Media Muddle, Doomsday Rhetoric," *VISTA: Focus on Hispanic Americans* [nationally distributed Sunday newspaper supplement] (July 7, 1991)



"Hispanic Job Discrimination Exaggerated," *Wall Street Journal* (April 27, 1990); reprinted in *Sacramento Bee* (May 10, 1990)

"Keeping Immigrants in the Political Sweatshops," *Wall Street Journal* (November 6, 1989)

"Will Illegals Be Down for the Count?" *Los Angeles Times* (July 21, 1989)

"Speaking Spanish on the Campaign Trail May Lose Votes," *Wall Street Journal* (September 13, 1988)

## BOOK REVIEWS

ACADEMIC: *Italian American Review*; *Urban Studies*; *American Political Science Review*; *Journal of American Ethnic History*; *Journal of Politics*; *American Journal of Sociology*; *Bulletin of Latin American Research*; *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*

NON-ACADEMIC: *The Berlin Journal*; *The Responsive Community*; *National Journal*; *Washington Post Book World*; *Wilson Quarterly*; *Wall Street Journal*; *New York Times Book Review*; *The Public Interest*; *Commentary*; *The Weekly Standard*; *Washington Times*; *American Spectator*; *Foundation News*; *This World*; *New Republic*; *Regulation*; *The Progressive*; *Working Papers*

## PRESENTATIONS, SEMINARS, CONFERENCES, INTERVIEWS (partial listing)

Presenter and host, "I Lift Up My Lamp – Is the Golden Door Still Open?"; sponsored by the West End Public Library and *The American Purpose*; Washington, DC; September 19, 2023.

Presenter, "Contemporary Challenges of US Immigration Policy," Kenkyu Group Lunch, Sasakawa USA Peace Foundation; Washington, DC; June 20, 2023.

Lecture, "U.S. Immigration Policy," Church of Saint Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury; America's National Churchill Museum, Westminster College; Fulton, Missouri; November 17, 2022.

Public lecture, "How to Resolve America's Immigration Crisis," Missouri River Regional Library; Jefferson City, Missouri; November 17, 2022.

Invited guest and speaker, Lincoln University; meetings and discussions with students, faculty, and administrators at this historically black university in Jefferson City, Missouri; November 18, 2022.

Invited participant, "The Cultural Impact of Immigration," panel discussion with Prof. Lawrence Mead, author of *Burdens of Freedom: Cultural Difference and American Power*; sponsored by the Center for Immigration Studies; Washington, DC; October 6, 2022.

Invited speaker, "The Americanization of Islam: Mosques, Schools, and Politics," lunch seminar at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture, University of Virginia; February 3, 2022.

Invited participant, “*Immigration and Freedom: An Online Roundtable*,” with Chandran Kukathas, author of *Immigration and Freedom*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting; November 5, 2021.

Invited speaker, “Immigration: Pro and Con,” Alexander Hamilton Forum, Middlebury College; October 14, 2021.

Invited panel participant, “BLM: The Making of a New Marxist Revolution,” Annual Meeting of the Philanthropy Roundtable; The Broadmoor, Colorado Springs; October 13, 2021.

Interviewer (with Suzanne Garment), “We’re Not Going to Fix the Problem of Elitism by Doing Away with Standards,” Stephen Joel Trachtenberg, former president of George Washington University; *American Purpose*; September 3, 2021.

Invited speaker, “Why ‘Black Lives Matter’ Matters,” a virtual, off-the-record lecture and discussion of the history and contemporary politics of African Americans with the Washington Kenkyu Group, including Japanese representatives of the media, think tanks, private sector, and government; sponsored by the Sasakawa Peace Foundation USA; August 10, 2021.

Invited speaker, “Why ‘Black Lives Matter’ Matters,” a conversation with Prof. Paul Peterson on The Education Exchange; a podcast sponsored by *Education Next: A Journal of Opinion and Research*, published by the Program on Education Policy and Governance; Harvard Kennedy School; April 19, 2021.

Invited lecturer, “Welcoming the Stranger? Migration in the Time of Covid-19”; Annual Woelfl Public Policy Lecture, John Carroll University; October 26, 2020.

Invited participant, “Immigration and Race,” a conversation with Ernesto Cortes Jr and Prof. Glenn Loury on The Glenn Show; a podcast aired on February 11, 2020.

Invited panelist, “Immigration—Finding Solutions,” *State of the World in 2020: Global Relations and U.S. Foreign Policy*; sponsored by Florida International University, the McCain Institute at Arizona State University, and *The American Interest*; Miami, FL; January 9-10, 2020.

Invited speaker, *Do the Democrats Have a Religion Problem?*, a panel discussion sponsored by the Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life; Boston College; October 28, 2019.

Invited speaker, “Why ‘We Can’t All Get Along,’” talk at *Raging Against the Machine: Politics in an Angry Age* (a Civitas Forum on Principles and Policies for Public Life); Saint Vincent College; Latrobe, PA; October 15-16, 2019.

Invited lecturer, “The Border Crisis and the Limits of Compassion,” Foreign Affairs Retirees of New England (FARNE); Wellesley College; September 13, 2019.

Invited participant, *The Rise of Populism: A Crisis of Democracy or Noisy Renewal?*; Ditchley Foundation conference; Chipping Norton, UK; May 16-18, 2019.

Invited presenter, *After the Backlash: Reconsidering the Ethics, Politics, and Law of Borders and Migration*; Princeton University; May 9-11, 2019.

Invited speaker, “The State of the Universities,” lecture and discussion sponsored by *The American Interest*; Washington, DC; May 5, 2019.

Invited speaker, *Where Do We Draw the Line? A Discussion on Immigration, Policy, and the Pursuit of Happiness*, endowed annual lectureship sponsored by the Abdella Center for Ethics, St. John’s High School; Shrewsbury, MA; April 25, 2019.

Invited speaker and panelist, “Does Immigration Help or Hurt the National Labor Market?”; *The Global Migration Conference*; sponsored by the Boston College School of Social Work, Law School, and School of Continuing Education; April 11-12, 2019.

Invited lecturer, *Identity, Politics, and Identity Politics: Indianapolis Leadership Conference*; sponsored by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute; Omni Severin Hotel; Indianapolis, IN; April 6-7, 2019.

Invited presenter, *But Not Your Own Facts: Daniel Patrick Moynihan and the Role of Evidence in Policy Formation*, conference sponsored by the Daniel Patrick Moynihan Center for Scholarship and Statesmanship, Assumption College; Worcester, MA; April 5, 2019

Video course lecturer, “Comprehensive Immigration Reform,” produced by Prof. Gabrielle Oliveira, Assistant Professor Lynch School of Education, Boston College; for an online course, *Globalization, Mobility, and Education*; taped March 22, 2019

Interviewer (with Jeffrey Gedmin), “A Conversation with Antje Hermenau: An Ex-Green Politician Discusses the Failure of German Elites and Why Shunning Populists Backfires,” *The American Interest*; March 12, 2019.

Invited participant, “Remembering Nathan Glazer,” a conversation with Prof. Glenn Loury on The Glenn Show; a podcast aired on February 28, 2019.

Invited guest, “Remembering Nathan Glazer,” a conversation with Prof. Paul Peterson on The Education Exchange; a podcast sponsored by *Education Next: A Journal of Opinion and Research*, published by the Program on Education Policy and Governance; Harvard Kennedy School; January 28, 2019

Invited speaker and panelist, “Immigration: Who’s In and Who’s Out?,” *The State of the World in 2019*; conference sponsored by Florida International University, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and *The American Interest*; Miami, FL; January 10-11, 2019

Featured speaker, “Why Are Muslim Americans Democrats?,” event co-sponsored by Young Americans for Freedom and the Intercollegiate Studies Institute; University of Massachusetts-Boston; December 11, 2018

Invited speaker and discussant, “The Movement of Individuals Across Borders and National Security,” panel sponsored by the American Bar Association, 28<sup>th</sup> Annual Review of the Field of National Security

Law; Washington, DC; November 1 – 2, 2018

Invited lecturer, “Immigration and Citizenship in America,” one-day in-service training program for high school social studies teachers; Oklahoma City, OK; sponsored by the Bill of Rights Institute (Arlington, VA); October 30, 2018

Invited lecturer, “Immigration and Citizenship in America,” one-day in-service training program for high school social studies teachers; Pittsburgh, PA; sponsored by the Bill of Rights Institute; (Arlington, VA); October 4, 2018

Invited panelist and discussant, “Faith and Border Ethics: Immigration and Human Dignity in Trump’s Era,” session sponsored by the Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life, Boston College; September 26, 2018

Invited speaker and participant, “The Political and Cultural Dynamics of Immigration in America,” *Understanding America in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Culture and Politics*; conference sponsored by the Salzburg Global Seminar; Salzburg, Austria; September 21-25, 2018

Featured speaker, “Opposing Migration Wasn’t Always Racist,” at *The Imprint of Trumpism: Exploring Conservative America*; conference sponsored jointly by the German Marshall Fund and the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, Johns Hopkins University; Berlin, June 11, 2018

Featured lecturer; “It’s Not About Your Grandmother! Some Dispassionate Reflections on Immigration Policy,” sponsored the American Enterprise Institute and the Eisenhower Forum; Bowdoin College; April 5, 2018

Invited panel chair and respondent, “Shariah and the Public Sphere in the United States,” conference sponsored by the American Council for the Study of Islamic Societies; Boston College; March 23-24, 2018.

Invited lecturer, “What’s It Like Inside a Mosque and What Does It Tell Us about Muslims in America?”; event sponsored by the Jewish Community at the Linden Ponds Senior Living Community; Hingham, MA; March 20, 2018

Invited speaker, “A Conversation on Immigration,” a panel discussion sponsored by the American Public Philosophy Institute; University of Dallas; November 10, 2017

Invited speaker and panelist, “Islamic Schools in America,” event sponsored by the Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture; University of Virginia (October 17, 2017)

Speaker and roundtable participant, “The Politics of Immigration Reform,” The Dreier Roundtable; Claremont McKenna College (November 7, 2014)

Roundtable participant, Symposium on Gambling Addiction, sponsored by the Institute for American Values; Boca Raton, Florida (July 24-25, 2014)

Speaker and discussion leader, “Minority Politics in Contemporary America,” sponsored by the

Metropolitan Leadership Institute; Chicago (November 20, 2013)

Presentation, “Welcoming The Stranger? Religion and the Politics of Immigration,” at The Faith Angle Forum: Conference on Religion, Politics, and Public Life, sponsored by the Ethics and Public Policy Center; Miami, FL (November 3-5, 2013)

Invited lecturer, “The Muslim American Muddle,” College of the Holy Cross (February 20, 2013)

Invited speaker, “Immigration Policy: Law and Social Change,” course at Harvard Law School (February 15, 2013)

Expert testimony, hearing on Federal Civil Rights Engagement with Arab and Muslim American Communities; U.S. Civil Rights Commission; Washington, DC (November 9, 2012)

Invited speaker, “Immigration Policy: Law and Social Change,” course at Harvard Law School (March 2, 2012)

Speaker and discussion leader, “Styles of Ethnic and Racial Politics in Contemporary America,” sponsored by the Metropolitan Leadership Institute; Chicago (October 25, 2012)

Invited lecturer, “Are All Immigrants Created Equal?,” sponsored by the International Club of Boston College and Amnesty International; Boston College (November 17, 2011)

Speaker and discussion leader, “Self-Interest, Alinsky Organizing, and Hispanic Politics in Contemporary America,” sponsored by the Metropolitan Leadership Institute; Chicago (November 16, 2011)

Invited speaker and participant, “9/11 – Ten Years On,” video-linked conference with the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, sponsored by the Jesuit Institute of Boston College (September 21, 2011)

Invited lecturer, American Studies Summer Institute, sponsored by the John F. Kennedy Library and Museum and the University of Massachusetts-Boston, Boston (July 20, 2011)

Invited participant, The Legatum Prosperity Symposium; Brocket Hall, Hertfordshire, UK (June 17-19, 2011)

Invited participant, “Comparing Immigrant Assimilation In North America and Europe,” panel discussion sponsored by the Manhattan Institute, New York City (May 24, 2011)

Invited participant, Workshop on Social Conservatism, sponsored by the Salvatori Center for the Study of Individual Freedom, Claremont McKenna College (May 20-21, 2011)

Invited speaker, “Will Allah Bless America? Muslims in the United States in the Twentieth-First Century,” lecture sponsored by the Pioneer Institute, Boston (May 12, 2011)

Invited participant, conference on the draft manuscript of *The Unheavenly Chorus: Political Voice and the Promise of American Democracy*, Department of Government, Harvard (May 6, 2011)

Invited speaker, “Immigration Policy: Law and Social Change,” course at Harvard Law School (March 30, 2011)

Invited speaker, “Immigration Reform: Problems, Tensions, and Solutions,” sponsored by Americans for Informed Democracy, Boston College (December 6, 2010)

Speaker and discussion leader, “Hispanic Politics in Contemporary America,” sponsored by the Metropolitan Leadership Institute; Chicago (November 18, 2010)

Invited participant, “Integrating Workplace Reform in Comprehensive Immigration Reform Legislation,” day-long workshop sponsored by the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government, Kennedy School of Government; Harvard (November 17, 2010)

Keynote speaker, “How Muslims Are Becoming Americans,” annual meeting of the California Sociological Association; Riverside, California (November 12, 2010)

Speaker, “Will Muslims Be Loyal Americans?,” lecture sponsored by the Henry Salvatori Center, Claremont McKenna College (November 10, 2010)

Speaker, “How Muslims Are Becoming Americans,” presentation to journalists and staff at the headquarters of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; Prague, Czech Republic (October 12, 2010)

Speaker, “American Culture and the Muslim World,” Heinrich Boell Stiftung; Brussels, Belgium (October 7, 2010)

Speaker and roundtable participant, panel on Comprehensive Immigration Reform; 2010 National Immigrant Integration Conference; Boston (October 1, 2010)

Invited speaker, “U.S. Immigration Policy: What’s Next?” symposium convened by the Manhattan Institute (June 29, 2010)

Invited participant and presenter, Project on American Citizenship Working Group; American Enterprise Institute; Washington, DC (April 22-23, 2010)

Invited lecturer, 2010 Cline Symposium, Cline Center for Democracy; University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (March 30-31, 2010)

Invited presenter, Malta Forum Conference, The Carter Center, Atlanta, Georgia; sponsored by the Institute for American Values (March 18-19, 2010)

Invited participant, “Halifax International Security Forum,” convened by the German Marshall Fund and the Canadian Ministry of Defence; Halifax, Nova Scotia (November 20-22, 2009)

Presenter, “Breaking the Immigration Stalemate,” Roundtable sponsored by Council on Foreign Relations; Washington, DC (October 23, 2009)

Presenter, “Breaking the Immigration Stalemate,” Immigration/Incorporation Policy Steering Committee; Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (October 20, 2009)

Invited participant, “A Model System Versus a Mediocre System? A Comparison of Muslim Immigration and Integration in the U.S. and Germany,” conference organized under the auspices of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, Johns Hopkins University; Washington, DC (October 8, 2009)

Presenter, “Breaking the Immigration Stalemate,” roll-out event of the final report of the Brookings-Duke Immigration Policy Roundtable; Brookings Institution (October 6, 2009)

Invited expert, “Homeland Security Workshop,” Naval Postgraduate School; Monterey, California (August 3-5, 2009)

Presentation, about the Immigration Policy Roundtable to the board of directors of the Stuart Family Foundation; Washington, DC (May 4, 2009)

Invited guest and speaker, Ministry of Religion and Endowments, Sultanate of Oman; public addresses at the Institute of Sharia Studies and the Grand Mosque; Muscat, Oman (March 22-28, 2009)

Invited conference speaker, “A Nation of Immigrants: American Democracy and Civics Education,” Jack Miller Forum for Civics Education, Florida Atlantic University; Boca Raton, Florida (January 28-31, 2009)

Invited participant, “Factors of Integration for Second and Third Generation Muslims: Perspectives from Germany and the United States,” workshop sponsored by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and the Transatlantic Academy of the German Marshall Fund (December 12, 2008)

Invited Participant, “Brown University Regional Summit on Academic Centers,” sponsored by the Jack Miller Center for Teaching America’s Founding Principles and History; Providence (November 21, 2008)

Invited speaker, “Metropolitan Leadership Institute Seminar,” sponsored by the United Neighborhood; Chicago (November 20, 2008)

Participant and respondent, “Transatlantic Law Forum: Citizenship in Europe and the United States,” American Enterprise Institute (October 16-17, 2008)

Roundtable participant, “The Immigration Debate and the New Media,” forum organized by the Governance Studies Program at the Brookings Institution (September 25, 2008)

Featured lecturer, “Will Allah Bless America? What the Constitution Means to Muslims,” 2008 Constitution Day celebration; Tufts University (September 17, 2008)

Featured speaker, “The Great Debate – Immigration and the Future of the United States,” plenary session at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association; Boston (August 29, 2008)

Invited speaker, summer training institute for teachers with the United Neighborhood Organization

Charter School Network (August 11, 2008)

Institute faculty, 2008 University of Virginia Summer Institute, co-sponsored by the Program on Constitutionalism and Democracy and the Jack Miller Center for Teaching America's Founding Principles and History; Charlottesville, Virginia (July 10-12, 2008)

Speaker, "On the Borders of Order: Contemporary U.S. Immigration Principles and Policies," Annual Public Ethics Spring Symposium, The Kenan Institute for Ethics, Duke University (April 14, 2008)

Featured speaker, "Muslim Americans: What Kind of Minority?," seminar sponsored the Islamic Studies Program and Transformational Project; University of Delaware (March 26, 2008)

Invited participant, "Brussels Forum 2008," annual conference sponsored by the German Marshall Fund of the United States; Brussels (March 14-16, 2008)

Featured speaker on Muslims in the United States, lunch seminar sponsored by the Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life; Boston College (January 30, 2008)

Featured presenter on Muslims in the United States, seminar sponsored by the Institute on Culture, Religion, and World Affairs; Boston University (January 23, 2008)

Featured speaker, "Illegal Immigration: A Crisis, Not a Crime," lecture series sponsored by the League of Women Voters (January 29, 2008)

Invited speaker on U.S. immigration politics, seminar sponsored jointly by The American Interest and the German Marshall Fund; Washington, DC; December 7, 2007

Presenter, lunch seminar on the deadlock in immigration policy; Governance Studies Program, the Brookings Institution; Washington, DC; October 31, 2007

Participant, Malta Forum, continuing seminar of the Islam/West Project, sponsored by the Institute for American Values; Malaga, Spain (May 26-29, 2007)

Convenor/chairman, "Religious Diversity and Social Cohesion: Islamic Education in the USA and Germany," international conference sponsored by the Herbert Quandt Foundation and the Brookings Institution; Washington, DC (March 19-20, 2007)

Speaker, "Islam in America Post 9/11," lecture sponsored the Kenan Institute for Ethics, Duke University (November 30, 2006)

Speaker, Irish Institute, Boston College; seminar on immigration policy for community leaders from Ireland and Northern Ireland (December 11, 2006)

Speaker, "Muslims in American," lecture sponsored by the Department of Comparative Religion, Tufts University (November 14, 2006)

Participant, "Roundtable on Civil Society in Syria and the Region," convened by the Aspen Institute Berlin (Istanbul; October 31-November 3, 2006)



Participant, “Roundtable on Syria,” convened by the Aspen Institute Berlin (London; July 27-28, 2006)

Speaker, luncheon seminar on immigration policy for Hill staffers, convened by the Hudson Institute (Washington; May 22, 2006)

Speaker, “E Pluribus Umma: The Future of Muslims in America,” lunch seminar convened by the Program on Constitutional Government, Department of Government, Harvard University (April 7, 2006)

Participant, “Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Syria,” roundtable convened by the Aspen Institute Berlin (Paris; March 9-10, 2006)

Speaker, roundtable discussion of immigration policy, convened by the Democratic Leadership Council-Progressive Policy Institute (Washington: February 17, 2006)

Presenter, “Comparing Separations: State and Religion in France and the United States,” conference sponsored jointly by the Center for European Studies at Harvard University and Sciences-Po Paris (Cambridge: December 9-10, 2005)

Speaker, luncheon seminar on Muslims in the U.S., sponsored by the Nixon Center (Washington; December 5, 2005)

Discussant, “First Islam in the West Conference,” Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University (Cambridge; December 2, 2005)

Presenter, “Migration, Religion and Secularism – A Comparative Approach (Europe and North America),” conference sponsored by the Ecole Normale Supérieure and the Université de Paris 1-Sorbonne (Paris; June 17-18, 2005)

Speaker, “Iran and Democracy in the Greater Middle East,” conference sponsored by the Aspen Institute Berlin and hosted by HRH Prince Hassan (Amman, Jordan; May 23-24, 2005)

Panelist, “Bush’s Second Term Agenda: Immigration,” New England Political Science Association meeting (April 29, 2005)

Participant, “Immigrant Political Incorporation,” conference sponsored by the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University (April 22-23, 2005)

Panelist, 2005 Marshall Forum on Transatlantic Affairs, sponsored by the German Marshall Fund (Schloss Elmau, Germany; April 7-10, 2005)

Presenter, “Contemporary Politics of Immigration in the United States,” conference sponsored by the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions, Princeton University (January 28-29, 2005)

Discussant, “The Transformation of the American Polity,” conference sponsored by the Center for American Political Studies, Harvard University (December 3-4, 2004)

Presenter, “Muslims in Secular Democracies,” conference sponsored by the Heinrich Böll Stiftung and the German Federal Commission for Migration, Refugees, and Integration (Berlin; November 4-5, 2004)

Discussant, with Samuel Huntington about his book, *Who Are We? Challenges to America’s National Identity*; The Nixon Center (October 14, 2004)

Participant, “Islam and Modernity,” discussion with Prof. Tariq Ramadan sponsored by the Aspen Institute Berlin (Berlin; September 30, 2004)

Participant, “Diversity in America,” one-day round-table on Peter Schuck’s *Diversity in America*, sponsored by the Albany Law School (Albany, NY; May 13, 2004)

Speaker, Metropolitan Leadership Institute dinner, sponsored by the United Neighborhood Organization (Chicago; May 7, 2004; September 24, 2003; April 25, 2002)

Speaker, “Beyond Radical Islam?” conference sponsored by the Lefrak Forum, Michigan State University and the Ethics and Public Policy Center (April 15-18, 2004)

Speaker, “Will Allah Love America? The Challenge of Muslim Immigrants in the United States,” seminar sponsored by the Centre d’Etudes et de Recherches Internationales, Institut d’Etudes Politiques (Paris; April 8, 2004)

Speaker, “Les Enjeux Politiques de l’Immigration en Europe et aux Etats-Unis,” seminar organized by the Centre Français sur les Etats-Unis, l’Institut Français des Relations Internationales (Paris; April 8, 2004)

Panelist, “Greater Boston: Demographic Microcosm of the Nation?” sponsored by Population Association of America (Boston; April 1, 2004)

Presenter, Globalization and Culture Seminar; Harvard Academy, Harvard University (March 23, 2004)

Speaker, “Muslim Immigration, Muslim Organizations in the U.S., and Implications for American Foreign Policy and the War on Terrorism,” seminar organized by The Nixon Center (February 25, 2004)

Presenter, “Immigrant Incorporation,” one-day workshop sponsored by the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Studies, Harvard University (December 12, 2003)

Speaker, “Migration, Citizenship, Ethnos: Incorporation Regimes in Germany, Western Europe and North America,” international conference co-sponsored by the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto (Toronto: October 2-5, 2003)

Speaker, “Diversity Reconsidered: Race, Affirmative Action, and Current Debates in the U.S.”; lunch seminar sponsored by the American Studies Network; University of Hannover (Germany); (July 7, 2003)

Speaker, “Political Islam: Challenges for U.S. Policy,” Second Annual Conference for Members of Congress; sponsored by the Aspen Institute (Helsinki, Finland; June 27-July 3, 2003)

Participant, “Immigration and National Security,” seminar convened by The Nixon Center and The German Marshall Fund (Brussels; May 26, 2003)

Speaker, “Trans-Atlantic Dialogue on Immigration Management in the U.S. and the E.U.,” sponsored by the Migration Policy Group (Brussels; May 21-23, 2003)

Participant, “Justice and Policing,” inter-disciplinary seminar, Department of Sociology, Harvard University (May 14, 2003)

Luncheon seminar speaker, “Muslims in America – Who Are They?,” sponsored by the Aspen Institute-Berlin (Berlin; June 10, 2002)

Presenter, “Ethnicity as a Phenomenon of Global Simultaneity? A Transatlantic Comparison,” conference sponsored by the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies, University of Sarajevo (Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina; June 7-8, 2002)

Speaker, First Annual Bundestag Forum on the United States, sponsored by the German Marshall Fund of the United States (Berlin; June 6, 2002)

Expert witness, Briefing on Race Data Collection Bans, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (Washington; May 2002)

Speaker, on U.S. immigration policy, tour of German cities, sponsored by the U.S. State Department (May 5-15, 2002)

Speaker, “What Can Public Policy Do to Help Faith-Based Institutions Integrate Immigrants?”; Center for Religion and Civic Culture, University of Southern California (April 19, 2002)

Speaker, “Do We Really Want Immigrants to Assimilate?”; Center for the Study of Ethnic Conflict and Conflict Resolution, Jackson School of International Affairs; University of Washington (April 18, 2002)

Chair and discussant, Conference on the Reagan Presidency; University of California, Santa Barbara (March 28-30, 2002)

Speaker, “Does a Bad Fence Make for Good Neighbors? Border Control and the Dilemmas of U.S. Immigration Policy”; Colorado College (March 4, 2002)

Speaker, “Never Precise, Always Politics,” paper presented at “The Measure and Mismeasure of Populations: The Statistical Use of Ethnic and Racial Categories in Multicultural Societies”; international conference sponsored by le Centre d’Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI), l’Institut d’Etudes Politiques and by l’Institut National d’Etudes Démographiques (INED) (December 17-18, 2001)

Speaker, on immigration policy, staff retreat for the Long Term Care Union (Service Employees International Union, Local 434B); Big Bear, CA (December 9, 2001)

Participant and rapporteur, “Diversity Within Unity,” conference organized by the Communitarian Network; Brussels (November 1-2, 2001)

Speaker, “Counting on the Census?”; Centre d’Etudes de l’Ethnicité et des Migrations (CEDEM), Faculté

de Droit-Science Politique, Université de Liège (October 31, 2001)

Presenter, faculty seminar on the U.S. census undercount and adjustment, Departments of Statistics and Demography, UC Berkeley (September 24, 2001)

Expert witness, Public Hearing on Immigrant Integration, convened by the Little Hoover Commission, State of California; Sacramento (May 24, 2001)

Speaker, "Covering Immigration: The Changing Faces of Our Communities," seminar at the Annenberg School for Communications; University of Southern California (May 15, 2001)

Speaker, "Who's Afraid of the Undercount? Race, Politics and the Census," Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University (March 26, 2001)

Presenter, "Participation Properly Understood: From Democratic Elitism to Elitist Democracy – And Back," at "The Great Society: Then and Now"; conference at the Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia (November 17-18, 2000)

Presenter, "Multiraciality and the American Regime"; conference on "Multiraciality: How Will the New Census Data Be Used?" at the Jerome Levy Institute; Bard College (September 22-23, 2000)

Presenter, "Mexican Immigration – A Special Case of What?"; conference on "Thy People Shall Be My People: Immigration and Citizenship in America" at McCormick Tribune Foundation and Center for Immigration Studies; Cantigny Estate, Wheaton, IL (July 27-28, 2000)

Presenter, "Mexican-American Elites and the Dilemmas of Representing Immigrant Interests"; conference on "Les Etats-Unis et les Elites Latino-Americaines" at Centre d'Analyse et de Recherche Nord-Americaines and Latines, Institut de Recherche du Monde Anglophone; Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence (September 24-25, 1999)

Presenter, "Immigrants and Trip-Wires: Dilemmas of Immigration Policy"; panel on "Institutional Approaches to Policy Analysis" at American Political Science Association annual meeting; Atlanta, GA (September 2-5, 1999)

Speaker, "Are We Counting on the 2000 Census More Than We Should?"; Twelfth Annual Demographic Workshop, University of Southern California Population Research Laboratory; USC (May 17, 1999)

Presenter, "Minority Interests and the Census"; research seminar at Institute on Race and Social Division; Boston University (April 14, 1999)

Participant, "The Politics of Affirmative Action and the Development of a Multicultural Citizenship: Euro-US Perspectives"; Remarque Institute Roundtable, New York University (November 6, 1998)

Presenter and discussant, panels on "Immigration, Welfare, and Crime" and "Immigrant Assimilation"; Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management Annual Research Conference; New York, NY (October 29-31, 1998)

Speaker, "Up for the Count: The Case Against Adjusting the Census"; luncheon seminar sponsored by Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, UCLA (June 3, 1998)

Speaker, "Up For the Count: The Case Against Adjusting the Census"; colloquium at Department of Politics and Society, UC Irvine (May 8, 1998)

Speaker, "Up For the Count: The Case Against Adjusting the Census"; luncheon seminar at Institute of Governmental Studies, UC Berkeley (March 18, 1998)

Discussant, panel on "Open Forum on Racial Conflict in Diverse Communities" sponsored by *New Republic* and American Film Institute, Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts; Washington, DC (March 10, 1997)

Featured speaker, "Immigration Policy in the 1990s"; National Democratic Women's Club; Washington, DC (September 25, 1996)

Speaker, "U.S. Immigration Policy and the Affirmative Action State"; Seminar on American Law and Politics, Institute of U.S. Studies, University of London (March 20, 1996)

Speaker, "The Affirmative Action Paradox: Group Rights and Individual Benefits"; Departments of History and Political Science, Vanderbilt University; Nashville, TN (September 18, 1995)

Presenter, "The Affirmative Action Paradox: Group Rights and Individual Benefits," University of California Faculty Forum on Affirmative Action; University of California, Los Angeles (May 24, 1995)

Witness, "Oversight Hearing on Legal Immigration Reform Proposals," House Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims, U.S. Congress; Washington, DC (May 17, 1995)

Presenter, "Lani Guinier Was Partly Right"; workshop on "Directions in Latino Politics" at Center for American Political Studies and Committee on Ethnic Studies, Harvard University; Cambridge, MA (May 12, 1995)

Witness, "Oversight Hearing on the Impact of Illegal Immigration on Public Benefit Programs and the American Labor Force," House Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims, U.S. Congress; Washington, DC (April 5, 1995)

Speaker, "The Affirmative Action Paradox: Group Rights and Individual Benefits"; Fulbright Colloquium on "The Quest for Equality: Race and Racism in America and Britain" at Institute of U.S. Studies, University of London (March 27-28, 1995)

Participant, conference on "World Migration and U.S. Policy" sponsored by American Assembly; Arden House, Harriman, NY (November 10-13, 1994)

Witness, televised press briefing on civil rights implications of anti-immigrant sentiment, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Washington, DC (June 3, 1994)

Speaker, "Mexican-American Politics and Assimilation"; Progressive Policy Institute; Washington, DC

(April 20, 1994)

Speaker, "Twentieth Century Hispanic Immigration"; seminar for federal judges on U.S. Immigration policy, Federal Judicial Center; Washington, DC (November 2-5, 1993)

Speaker, conference on "The Romanies in East-Central and South-Central Europe" sponsored by the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and the Carnegie Corporation-International Research and Exchanges Board; Bratislava, Czechoslovakia (April 30-May 2, 1992)

Speaker, seminar series for senior officials, Immigration and Naturalization Service, at U.S. Department of Justice; Washington, DC (October 12, 1990)

Participant, seminar on "Hispanic Immigration and Poverty: Research and Policy Questions for the Next Decade" at National Council of La Raza; Washington, DC (November 27, 1989)

Participant, "Workshop on Ethnicity, Immigration, and American Social Life"; Committee on Population, National Academy of Sciences; Woods Hole, MA (September 14-15, 1989)

## **COURSES TAUGHT**

Introduction to American Politics; Urban Politics; Race and Ethnicity in the Administrative State; Immigration: Processes, Politics, and Policies; Washington Political Institutions and Processes; Muslims in U.S. Society and Politics; Muslims and American Institutions; American Government Graduate Field Seminar; American Politics From the Ground Up; Dilemmas of Diversity in the United States

## **MEDIA APPEARANCES**

Local and national appearances, including: "Greater Boston" (WGBH-PBS); "The Beltway Boys" (Fox News); "Washington Journal" (C-SPAN); "Think Tank" (PBS); "All Things Considered" (NPR); "The McLaughlin Group" (NBC); "America's Talking" (CNBC); "The Diane Rehm Show" (NPR); "Booknotes" (C-SPAN); RealClearPolicy.com

## **MISCELLANEOUS**

Date of birth: November 18, 1948

Marital status: married, no children

Foreign languages: fluent French; some Spanish; elementary German