

Rani D. Mullen

Government Department * College of William & Mary
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EDUCATION

PhD in Public Affairs (2007)

Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School of Public & International Affairs
Dissertation title: *Does Local Governance Matter? Case Studies from India*

MA in Public Affairs (2002) and MA International Relations (1993)

Princeton University and The Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced Intl Studies (SAIS),
Washington DC & Bologna

BA in History and International Relations, Magna Cum Laude (1989)

University of New Hampshire, USA and year abroad at University of Cologne, Germany

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Associate Professor

The College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, VA, August 2005- current

- *Research Area:* Local governance and democracy in South Asia; Indian foreign aid & policy
- *Courses taught:* Politics of Developing Countries, State-Building in Afghanistan, Politics of South Asia, Comparative Politics.

Director, Indian Development Cooperation Research (IDRC) & Sr. Visiting Fellow

Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, August 2010 – current

- Recipient of grants for 4 consecutive years from The Asia Foundation for projects on Indian foreign aid & Indian economic diplomacy

Senior Fellow at Afghanistan Studies Centre, Jamia Millia Islamia (University)

Fulbright-Nehru Senior Fellow, New Delhi, August 2013 – May 2014

- Helped build up India's first and only Afghanistan Studies Centre through teaching, guest lectures & research

Official U.S. Election Observer

U.S. Election Observer Delegation to Afghanistan, Democracy International, August 2009

- Member of official election observer delegation

Visiting Scholar & Liechtenstein Institute Fellow

*The Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS),
Washington D.C., Academic Year 2008-2009*

- Research on local governance in South Asia & led a seminar on "State-Building in Afghanistan"

Asia Project Manager

Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, Princeton University, September 2002-July 2005

- Manager of the Asia Program & Carnegie Grant on *State-Building in Afghanistan & the Region.*

Preceptor/Teaching Assistant, Politics Department

Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, Spring Semester 1999

- Taught 4 precepts for a “Race and American Politics” course

Summer Consultant

Asian Development Bank (ADB), Manila, Philippines, July –September 1998

- Prepared case studies on ADB practices supporting social development.

Long-Term Consultant

The World Bank, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., 1994 - 1997

- Analyzed all Bank operations and analyses in Asia for impact on poverty and other social issues
- Contributed to annual Poverty Progress Reports, Annual Reports, & International Development Agency (IDA) Reports

International Consultant

Center for International Education, Santiago, Chile, January – April, 1997

- Researched and established an exchange program between public school teachers in Chile and U.S. public schools for a U.S.-based NGO and held workshops with potential teachers and education officials.

Consultant

U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), New Delhi, India, Fall 1993

- Analyzed the Indian economic reform and privatization process

Program Associate

Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, Washington D.C., USA, 1991 – 1993

- Organized seminars on international social and economic issues and transatlantic relations, edited conference reports for publishing, and prepared briefs on international development issues for Foundation headquarters in Germany.

Legislative and Research Assistant

Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, Member of the German Parliament, Bonn, Germany, 1989 – 1991

- Provided all research and analysis for senior parliament member and foreign policy leader, who specialized in development issues.

PUBLICATIONS

Book (peer-reviewed)

- *Decentralization, Local Governance, and Social Wellbeing in India: Do Local Governments Matter?* Routledge Press, October 2011; South Asia print 2014; 240 pages.

Current book projects:

1. *The Rise of Indian Soft Power: Indian Development Assistance in the 21st Century*. Manuscript uses only comprehensive data set on Indian aid I have assembled through a grant from The Asia Foundation to analyze India’s rising use of development assistance as a “soft-power tool” for enhancing bilateral and regional relations.
2. Rani D. Mullen, ed. *Indian Economic Diplomacy*. With a grant from The Asia Foundation this project will be the first publication bringing together key academics and Indian foreign policy specialists’ analyses of India’s increased use of economic diplomacy engagement in 18 chapters.

Current special issue & articles projects:

- Rani D. Mullen, ed. **Indian Democracy at 70**. Roundtable presentation at APSA 2016, paper presentations at an authors' workshop planned in New Delhi, March 2017. Papers will likely be published as a special issue of *Asian Survey* in August 2017.
- Rani D. Mullen & Surupa Gupta, ed. **Indian Foreign Policy Under Modi**. 7 Papers were presented at APSA 2016, have been edited, and are in the process of being submitted to the journal *International Studies Perspectives* for a forum publication in 2017.

Publications – peer reviewed

- “India and the Potential of Trade East” in: Sumit Ganguly, ed. *Heading East: The Dynamics of Trade, Environment and Security*, Oxford University Press, 2016, 127-147.
- “India’s Resurgent Foreign Policy in Africa” in: Sumit Ganguly, ed. *India’s Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect*, Oxford University Press, 2016, 399-422.
- “India-Afghanistan Relations” in: Sumit Ganguly, ed. *India’s Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect*, Oxford University Press, 2016, 105-129.
- “Indian Soft Power” in: Srinath Raghavan, David M. Malone, and C. Raja Mohan, eds. *Handbook on Indian Foreign Policy*, Oxford University Press, 2015, 188-201.
- Patrick Mullen and Rani D. Mullen. “Building BRICS Against Tuberculosis.” *Global Policy*. Special Issue on Eradicating TB in India (2015), 67 – 75.
- “Panchayat Raj Institutions.” In: Atul Kohli and Purna Singh, eds. *Handbook of Indian Politics*, Routledge Press, January 2013, 14 pages.
- “India Flexes Its Foreign Aid Muscle.” *Current History*. April 2012, 154-156.
- “Afghanistan: Centralization versus Decentralization – The Question of Sequencing and Timing.” In: Wolfgang Danspeckgruber with Robert P. Finn, eds. *Building State and Security in Afghanistan*. Princeton, NJ: Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, 2007, pp.75 - 84 and reprinted by Lynne Rienner Press, 2010.
- “Afghanistan in 2009: Trying to pull back from the brink.” *Asian Survey*. Vol. 50, Issue 1 (January/February 2010), 127 - 138.
- “Afghanistan in 2008: State Building at the Precipice.” *Asian Survey*. Vol. 49, Issue 1 (January/February 2009), 28-38.
- “Afghanistan: Democracy-Building at the Precipice in Afghanistan.” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 4, No.1 (July 2008), 55-83.
- Atul Kohli and Rani D. Mullen. “Democracy, Growth and Poverty in India.” *States, Markets, and Just Growth*. United Nations University, 2003, 193 – 226.

Publications – Other

- Various analyses of Indian aid all authored or co-authored by me on our website: <http://idcr.cprindia.org/>

- Briefs on aid relationships between India and Africa, Maldives, Indo-Pacific Island Cooperation, India-Central Asian Relations, PM Modi's Visit to Bangladesh, India-Africa Brief; 50 Years of Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (34 pages).
- Mullen Rani D. and Cody Poplin. "The New Great Game: A Battle for Access and influence in the Indo-Pacific." *Foreign Affairs*. September 29, 2015. <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2015-09-29/new-great-game>>
- "From Beijing to Kabul." *Indian Express*. May 22, 2013. <<http://m.indianexpress.com/news/from-beijing-to-kabul/1119035/>>
- "Holding back on soft power." *Indian Express*. March 4, 2013. <<http://www.indianexpress.com/news/holding-back-on-soft-power/1082532/0>>
- "Golden Promise: India's pledge to the IMF fund for eurozone makes economic sense." *Indian Express*. June 25, 2012. <<http://m.indianexpress.com/news/%22golden-promise%22/966278>>
- Mullen, Rani D. and Sumit Ganguly. "The Rise of India's Soft Power: It's not just Bollywood and yoga anymore." *Foreign Policy*. May 8, 2012. <www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/05/08/the_rise_of_indian_soft_power>
- "The Political Economy of Uttar Pradesh." An analytical paper prepared for the World Bank, India office, April 2012.
- "Afghanistan's Neighbors: Trying to Understand Iranian, Chinese, Pakistani and Indian Interests in Afghanistan." In: Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, ed., *Petersberg Papers on Afghanistan and the Region*, Princeton, NJ: Liechtenstein Colloquium Report IX, Princeton University, 2009. URL: http://www.princeton.edu/lisd/publications/afgh2009_lcm4.pdf
- William Maley, Marvin Weinbaum, Rani D. Mullen. "The Nightmare Scenario in Afghanistan". *Foreign Policy*, September 18, 2009. URL: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/09/18/the_nightmare_scenario_in_afghanistan
- 2 Articles on Indian PM Singh's visit to the US, November 2009, posted on the Atlantic Council's website:
 - "A Defining Partnership" Renewed. [http://www.acus.org/new_atlanticist/"defining-partnership"-renewed](http://www.acus.org/new_atlanticist/)
 - "Striving for a True U.S.-India Strategic Partnership." http://www.acus.org/new_atlanticist/passage-america/strategic-partnership
- Michael F Harsch and Rani D Mullen. "Afghanistan's Legitimacy Crisis." *ISN Security Watch*, September 24, 2009. URL: <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Current-Affairs/Security-Watch/Detail/?ots591=4888CAA0-B3DB-1461-98B9-E20E7B9C13D4&lng=en&id=106239>
- The new U.S. Approach towards Afghanistan and the Region. Friedrich Ebert Foundation Publication. April 20, 2009. URL: http://www.fes.de/international/asien/images/Redebeitrag_RaniMullen.pdf
- "Maoism in Nepal: Insurgency Causes and Strategies for Development Agencies". Paper and annotated bibliography prepared for the Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum, Social Science Research Council in New York City and the United Nations Staff College, January 2001.
- Contributor, *Annual Progress Report on Poverty* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1994, 1995 and 1996).

Conference Papers, Presentations, Invited Talks

- Paper presentation "India's foreign policy in the field of economic development," Author's Workshop: *India Rising: A Multi-Layered Analysis of Ideas, Interests, and Institutions*, Hamburg, Germany, September 16-17, 2016.
- Organizer of a Roundtable on "The Nature of Indian Democracy" and presenter of a co-authored paper at this roundtable on "India's Immanent Democracy"; organizer, chair & presenter of paper on "Indian Development Assistance and the Centralization of Indian Foreign Policy" at

panel on "Indian Foreign Policy," American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, September 2, 2016

- Presentation "Readjusting the Trajectory: Development Cooperation Effectiveness in Afghanistan," Workshop on *The Prospects for Afghanistan – State Capacity & Aid Effectiveness*, Blavatnik School of Government & Global Economic Governance Programme, Oxford, U.K., July 5, 2016
- Presentation at workshop on Indian Economic Diplomacy, New Delhi, June 13 2016
- Paper presentation "Indian Economic Diplomacy under Modi: A Shift in Substance?" *International Studies Association Annual Meeting*, Atlanta, Georgia, March 17, 2016.
- Paper presentation "Indian Development Partnerships with Conflict Affected States," *Workshop on Emerging Powers in Post-Conflict and Transitional Settings: The New Politics of Reconstruction*, George Mason University, Arlington, Virginia, March 14, 2016.
- Invited Talk "Indian Foreign Assistance," USAID, New Delhi, India, June 4, 2015.
- Invited Talk "The New Great Game in the Indian Ocean," *The American Center*, New Delhi, India
- Invited Presentation "Has India Changed Course?," *Great Decisions Program*, League of Women Voters of the Williamsburg Area, Virginia, April 14, 2015.
- Presentation of "India Trade East" at a conference on *Building Pan-Asian Connectivity*, Kolkata, India, March 10-11, 2015.
- Organizer of meeting and release of a report on "50 Years of Indian Technical & Economic Cooperation (ITEC)," New Delhi, January 16, 2015.
- Presentation and chaired session on "Convergences and divergences in development policies towards conflict- affected states" at a conference on *Linking peace, stability and development: engaging new global actors in the debate* organized by Wilton Park and Safer World, Istanbul, December 3 – 5, 2014.
- Organizer and chapter presentation at author's conference on *Mobilizing the State: Indian Economic Diplomacy in the 21st century*, New Delhi, October 11-12, 2014.
- Keynote presentation on "Deconstructing South-South Cooperation: Indian Development Cooperation in the 21st Century," at a conference on *South-South Development Cooperation (SSDC)*, Heidelberg, Germany, September 27, 2014.
- Invited Presentation on "South-South Cooperation" at a panel on *The Future of Development Research*, German Development Institute, Bonn, September 4 -5, 2014.
- Organized, presented & chaired several seminars on Afghanistan, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, 2013-14.
- Organizer and presentation at potential author's workshop on *Mobilizing the State: Indian Economic Diplomacy in the 21st century*, New Delhi, June 5 - 6, 2014.
- Invited Presentation on "Elections in Afghanistan: Implications for India and the Region," The American Center, Jawaharlal Nehru University, & the Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi, April 3-4, 2014.
- Presentation on "Afghanistan: 2014 and beyond," University of Madras, March 2014.
- Presentation on "India's geo-political interests and foreign aid: Constraints to policy alignment," *Australasian Aid and International Development Policy Workshop*, hosted by Australian National University & The Asia Foundation, Canberra, Australia, February 13 – 14, 2014.
- Presentation on "Indian Development Cooperation," *Conference on New Partnerships with the Emerging Markets*, hosted by the Konrad Adenauer Fdn, Lake Como, Italy, Nov. 8-11, 2013.
- "India's Resurgent Foreign Policy towards Africa" and "Indo-Afghan Relations." 2 papers presented at the author's 2013 *Indian Foreign Policy Conference*, Center on American and Global Security, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana, October 14 – 15, 2013.
- *The Future of Afghanistan - the Perspectives of the next Generation*, Conference by the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, Triesenberg, Liechtenstein, August 16-18, 2013.

- Invited Presentation: “Indian Development Cooperation,” Agence France Development, Paris, July 26, 2013.
- Invited Presentation: “Indian Development Cooperation,” USAID, Washington D.C., July 10, 2013.
- “India’s Development Assistance & the Rise of Asia: Changing Paradigms and Trajectories” Presentation at a Workshop on *The Future of International Development in Asia & the Pacific*, sponsored by AusAid and The Asia Foundation, Melbourne, Australia, May 10, 2013.
- Presentation at a Workshop on *Innovation in Governance of Development Finance: Causes, Consequences & the Role of Law Conference*, New York University School of Law & Universitaet Gießen, New York, NY, April 8-10, 2013.
- “The U.S., East and Central Asia: India’s Geostrategic Reorientation.” Presentation at Third Biennial Critchfield Conference on *The Indian Ocean Basin: Navigating the 21st Century Marine Silk Road*, at The College of William & Mary, April 5-6, 2013.
- With Sumit Ganguly. “Are the BRICS changing the foreign assistance landscape?” Paper presented at a panel on *Diffusion and Emulation: The Politics of Foreign Aid from Emerging Powers* at the International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Convention, San Francisco, April 3-5, 2013.
- “Indian Foreign Aid as a Soft Power Instrument.” Paper presented at Osmania University Centre for International Programmes’ International Conference on “India in World Affairs: The Next Decade,” Hyderabad, January 2013.
- “Understanding India’s regional and global power ambitions: Indian foreign aid as a soft power tool.” Paper presented at the 1st Annual Indian Association of International Studies Conference, New Delhi, December 2012.
- Invited talk “Foreign Aid as an Indian Soft Power Tool.” *The Brookings Institution* as part of their India Project, Policy Series, November 2012.
- Invited participation in roundtable discussion at: Second India-China Dialogue on “Evolving Security Environment in the Af-Pak Region, *Jamia Millia Islamia University*, New Delhi, August 2012
- Invited Presentation on “The Evolving Nature of Indian Foreign Aid.” *Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative*, New Delhi, April 2012.
- Invited Presentation on “Indian Foreign Aid,” at the launch of *Global Health Strategies* publication: *Shifting Paradigm: How the BRICS are Reshaping Global Health and Development*, New Delhi, March 26, 2012.
- Invited Presentation on “Decentralization, Local Governance, and Social Wellbeing in India: Do Local Governments Matter?” (Book presentation). India Advisory Committee on Governance & Accountability, The World Bank, New Delhi, May 27th, 2011.
- Invited Presentation on “Decentralization, Local Governance, and Social Wellbeing in India: Do Local Governments Matter?” (Book presentation). Faculty Seminar Series, *Centre for Policy Research*, New Delhi, May 16, 2011.
- Invited Presentation on “The Future of Afghanistan and the Key Role of Neighboring States,” TRADOC (intelligence community), Newport News, June 23, 2010.
- Invited Presentation on “Democracy in India,” *Helsinki Workshop on Comparative Democratization in Mature and New Democracies*, Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, Helsinki, March 4 - 6, 2010.
- Invited Contribution: Drafting of Memo on “Elections in Afghanistan,” *LISD Afghanistan Implementation Conference*, Vienna, Austria, February 24 - 28, 2010.
- Invited Presentation of paper on: “Iranian, Chinese, Pakistani and Indian Interests in Afghanistan,” *Liechtenstein Institute Afghan Study Group*, Experts Meeting to Brief the Turkish Ambassador to the U.N. Security Council on Afghanistan, December 2009.
- Invited Presentation: Member of expert panel on “Implications of the Final Election Results in Afghanistan for U.S. Strategic Interests.” *Middle East Institute*. October 8, 2009.

- “Why Political Competition Matters -- Leftist Parties and Social Development in India.” *Annual American Political Science Association Meeting*, Toronto, September 2009.
- Panel I organized: "Policy Options for State-Building in Afghanistan." Panel discussion on a panel with Professor Francis Fukuyama, Professor Walter Andersen, and Embassy of Afghanistan Political Counselor M. Ashraf Haidari, Washington D.C.: Johns Hopkins University, (SAIS), April, 2009.
- Invited Presentation on “The new U.S. Approach towards Afghanistan and the Region” at the Expert Workshop on *International Engagement in Afghanistan – Experiences, Objectives, Perspectives*, Berlin: German Parliament, April 20th, 2009.
- Invited Presentation on “Afghan Relations” at LISD Conference *Iran’s Role and Power in the Region and the International System*, Triesenberg, Liechtenstein, March 5 -8, 2009.
- “Afghanistan: Democratic State-Building at the Precipice.” Paper prepared for the 37th *Annual Conference on South Asia* in Madison, WI, October 2008.
- Invited Presentation on “The Current State of Afghan-Indian Relations” at a conference on *State, Security, and Economy in Afghanistan: Current Challenges, Possible Solutions*, Peterburg/Bonn, Germany, September 2008 and Brussels, Belgium, November 2007.
- “Panchayat Effectiveness in Kerala versus West Bengal: Or Why Political Competition Matters.” *Midwest Political Science Association* in Chicago, April 3, 2008.
- Invited Presentation: “The Shifting Dynamics of Power in Afghanistan.” Lecture given at conference on *Gold, Gods, and Glory: The Global Dynamics of Power*, College of William & Mary, October 2007.
- Organizer of 2 panels on “State-Building in Afghanistan” and presented on “Sequencing and timing in the debate over centralization versus decentralization – lessons for Afghanistan.” *British Association of South Asian Studies (BASAS)*, Cambridge University, March 2007.
- Invited Presentation on “International Actors in Post-Conflict Settings: The Importance of Awareness of the Impact of Their Actions” at a William & Mary Law Review Symposium on *Constitution Drafting in Post-Conflict States*, February 16-17, 2007.
- Invited Presentation: “Center-Periphery Relations in Afghanistan.” Paper presented at the Liechtenstein Institute’s *Conference on State-Building in Afghanistan*, Istanbul, Turkey, July 2005 and Vienna October 2006.
- “Local Governments and Social Well-Being in India.” Paper. *Annual American Political Science Association Meeting*, September 2004.
- “Decentralization, Local Governance and Social Wellbeing in Uttar Pradesh, India.” Paper. *17th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies*, Heidelberg, Germany, September 2002.

FELLOWSHIPS, HONORS & GRANTS

- 2014-2015: National selection committee for Fulbright grants to South Asia.
- 2014-2015: Continued 2 separate grants totaling \$40,000 from *The Asia Foundation* for continued work on Indian foreign aid and Indian Economic Diplomacy.
- 2013-14: Senior Fulbright-Nehru Scholar to India, affiliated with and helped build up India’s first Afghanistan Studies Centre, Jamia Millia Islamia (university)
- 2013-2014: 2 grants from *The Asia Foundation*: A follow-up \$60,000 Grant to continue work on the Indian foreign aid database project and a \$50,000 grant on Indian Economic Diplomacy
- 2012-2013: \$40,000 Grant from *The Asia Foundation* to hire a team of research assistants to study and put together a comprehensive database on Indian foreign aid.
- Academic Years 2010-current: *Visiting Senior Fellow*, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, India

- Academic Year 2008-09: *Visiting Scholar*, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC; Research Fellow, Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, Princeton University (Spring 2009).
- At the *College of William and Mary*: Nominated for the Carnegie Scholars Program, Summer Faculty Fellowship from the College of William and Mary (2007); Exploratory Global Enquiry Group Grant for research on decentralization and good governance (2006-2007) and *Mellon Foundation* summer grant for exploration of research & teaching on decentralization and good governance (summer 2007).
- At *Princeton University*: Woodrow Wilson School Fellowship (1997-2001), Council on Regional Studies Pre-dissertation Fellowship (1999), Center for International Studies Dissertation Fellowship for field research in India (2000 & 2001), Wilson Fellow (2001-2002).

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Fulbright National Selection Committee

- United States-India Educational Foundation and Institute of International Education, for Indian researchers (2011-13) and U.S. final selection committee for Senior U.S. scholars applying for a Fulbright in India (2014-16).

External Reviewer

- Of 6 manuscripts for *Routledge & Oxford University Press* and articles for *Asian Survey & Taiwan Journal of Democracy*

External Evaluator of Dissertation

- Australian National University (2016)

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

At College of William & Mary:

- Freshman Advisor
- Executive Committee, Asian and Middle Eastern Studies (AMES) program
- Convener of college-wide panel discussions on *The Global Rise of Illiberal Democracy*

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

- American Political Science Association (APSA)
- International Studies Association (ISA)
- Afghanistan Study and Research Group, Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination, Princeton University
- Marine Silk Road 21st Century (MSR21) Initiative