

# Citation Evidence Report

EB-2 NIW Petition — National Interest Waiver

Matter of Dhanasar · Prong 2 (well-positioned)

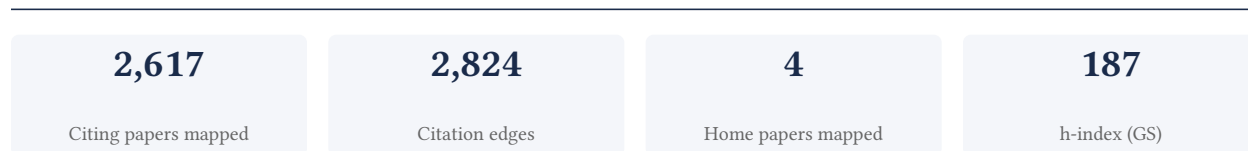
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[Google Scholar profile](#)

**Generated 2026-05-31 by CiteMap.** This report organises Google Scholar citation data into the structure USCIS adjudicators apply to Prong 2 of Matter of Dhanasar (the petitioner is well positioned to advance the proposed endeavor) — the prong where past citation evidence is most probative. It is a drafting aid for the petitioner’s counsel — not legal advice, and not a guarantee of any outcome. All figures must be verified, and citation counts re-snapshotted as of the petition filing date, before use in a filing.

## A. Overview & Filtering Statement



### Filtering statement – methodology & limits

Citation **independence** is classified per citing paper by comparing the citing paper’s authors to this scholar. *Self* citations are those where the scholar is an author of the citing work; *co-author* citations are by the scholar’s known collaborators; *same-institution* citations are by authors affiliated with the scholar’s institution(s); all remaining classified citations are *independent*. Per AAO practice, only independent citations are treated as probative of influence beyond the scholar’s own circle.

**Known limitations – counsel must verify.** (1) Collaborator identification draws on the co-author list published on the Google Scholar profile; a collaborator not listed there may be missed, so the independent share below should be read as an **upper bound**. (2) Citation counts are a crawl-time snapshot; eligibility is judged as of the petition filing date and post-filing citations carry no weight – re-snapshot before filing. (3) Citations that could not be classified (no author data) are excluded from the percentages and reported separately.

## B. Citation Independence

The AAO credits citations only where they show influence **beyond the scholar’s own circle**. Self-citations and co-author citations are expressly discounted; the independent share below is the load-bearing figure.

**96.4% independent** of 506 classified citing papers

Citation type	Count
Independent	488
Self-citation	17
Co-author	0
Same-institution	1

2,111 citing papers could not be classified (no author data) and are excluded from the percentages above.

## C. Significant Contributions & Their Citation Evidence

Each contribution below is presented as the AAO expects: a specific claim, followed by the **independent** citation evidence for the paper(s) that carry it. Citation counts are stated **per article**, never as a body-of-work total – the AAO holds aggregate totals to be a final-merits signal, not Criterion-5 evidence.

Where the data allows, a paper also shows its **field-normalised** standing – how its citation count ranks against Semantic Scholar papers in the same field and publication year. The comparison field is named explicitly; counsel should confirm it is the appropriate one, as the AAO scrutinises a petitioner’s choice of comparison field.

## Contribution 1

### Claim – Contribution 1

*The researcher established a foundational empirical framework linking historical colonial institutions to contemporary economic development, a paradigm subsequently expanded to explain political regime origins and national prosperity disparities.*

The researcher's contribution centers on a seminal 2001 paper in the American Economic Review that empirically investigates the colonial origins of comparative development. This core work serves as the foundation for a sustained line of inquiry into how historical institutional legacies shape modern economic and political outcomes.

This line of work appears to address the gap in understanding the long-term determinants of national prosperity and political structure. By progressing from specific empirical investigations of colonial impacts to broader theoretical frameworks on why nations fail and the economic origins of dictatorship and democracy, the researcher suggests a unified causal mechanism linking historical power structures to contemporary institutional quality.

The significance of this contribution is evidenced by its extensive uptake in the academic community. The core paper and its follow-ups have garnered tens of thousands of citations, indicating widespread influence. Furthermore, the high proportion of independent citations suggests that this framework has been adopted and utilized by researchers across diverse institutions, validating its broad relevance to the fields of economics and political science.

INDEPENDENT CITATIONS FOR THIS CONTRIBUTION: 410 · 29 flagged influential by Semantic Scholar

#### CORE PAPER

### [The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation](#)

2001 · American Economic Review · 23,241 citations (GS)

Field-normalised: 12,120 Semantic Scholar citations place it in the top 1% of History papers from 2001 indexed by Semantic Scholar, by citation count.

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
1	<a href="#">Double/debiased machine learning for treatment and structural parameters</a> (2018)	Harvard University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of California, Irvine Medical Center	United States	Influential
2	<a href="#">What do we learn from the weather? The new climate-economy literature</a> (2014)	Harvard University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Northwestern University	United States	—
3	<a href="#">High-Dimensional Methods and Inference on Structural and Treatment Effects</a>	Duke University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of Chicago	United States	—
4	<a href="#">The World Uncertainty Index</a> (2022)	International Monetary Fund	—	—
5	<a href="#">Finance and Growth: Theory and Evidence</a>	—	—	—
6	<a href="#">Estimating causal effects with observational data: guidelines for agricultural and applied economists</a>	—	—	—
7	<a href="#">Culture and institutions</a>	University of California, Irvine Medical Center	United States	—
8	<a href="#">The economic costs of conflict: A case study of the Basque Country</a>	Harvard University, Universidad del País Vasco	Spain, United States	—

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
9	<a href="#">The product space conditions the development of nations</a>	University of Notre Dame	United States	—
10	<a href="#">Unbundling institutions</a>	Guys & St Thomas' Hospital, Imperial College London, King's College London and King's College Hospital NHS Foundation Trust	United Kingdom	—
11	<a href="#">Temperature shocks and economic growth: Evidence from the last half century</a>	Kellogg School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology	United States	—
12	<a href="#">The role of cognitive skills in economic development</a>	Ifo Institute, University of Munich, and CESifo	—	—
13	<a href="#">Climate change and conflict</a>	Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH)	Switzerland	—
14	<a href="#">Natural resources: curse or blessing?</a>	—	—	—
15	<a href="#">International technology diffusion</a>	—	—	—
16	<a href="#">Eight questions about corruption</a>	—	—	—
17	<a href="#">Institutions and entrepreneurship quality</a>	Indiana University, University of Reading, University of Texas-Rio Grande Valley	United Kingdom, United States	—
18	<a href="#">Pre-colonial ethnic institutions and contemporary African development</a>	Brown University, Dartmouth College	United States	Background
19	<a href="#">Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion? A Review of the World Bank's Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform</a>	Harvard University	United States	—
20	<a href="#">Corporate governance, economic entrenchment, and growth</a>	New York University, University of Alberta	Canada, United States	—
21	<a href="#">Corruption in developing countries</a>	Harvard University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology	United States	—
22	<a href="#">Economic status and health in childhood: The origins of the gradient</a>	Princeton University, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	United States	—
23	<a href="#">What have we learned about the causes of corruption from ten years of cross-national empirical research?</a>	University of California, Irvine Medical Center	United States	Background
24	<a href="#">History lessons: institutions, factor endowments, and paths of development in the new world</a>	—	—	—
25	<a href="#">Do institutions matter for regional development?</a>	London School of Economics	United Kingdom	Influential
26	<a href="#">Why do some civil wars last so much longer than others?</a>	Stanford University	United States	—
27	<a href="#">Growth dynamics: the myth of economic recovery</a>	Bank for International Settlements, International Monetary Fund	Switzerland, United States	—

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
28	<a href="#">The economic effects of climate change</a>	—	—	Background
29	<a href="#">History, institutions, and economic performance: The legacy of colonial land tenure systems in India</a>	Harvard Business School, Massachusetts Institute of Technology	United States	—
30	<a href="#">Instruments, randomization, and learning about development</a>	Princeton University	United States	—

Showing the 30 most-cited of 190 independent citing papers.

Independent citing papers only; self- and co-author citations excluded. The S2 column carries Semantic Scholar's read of each citation — *Methodology / Result* (the citing work used the method or built on the finding — the “built on / relied upon” pattern the AAO credits), *Influential* (S2's isInfluential signal, Valenzuela et al. 2015), or *Background* (a passing mention).

## FOLLOW-UP WORK

### [Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity, and poverty](#)

2013 · Crown Currency, 2013 · 21,668 citations (GS)

Field-normalised: 5,432 Semantic Scholar citations place it in the top 1% of Political Science papers from 2013 indexed by Semantic Scholar, by citation count.

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
1	<a href="#">The i-frame and the s-frame: How focusing on individual-level solutions has led behavioral public policy astray</a>	Carnegie Mellon University, University of Warwick	United Kingdom, United States	—
2	<a href="#">Sustainable development: Meaning, history, principles, pillars, and implications for human action: Literature review</a>	University of Cape Coast	Ghana	Background
3	<a href="#">Open Problems in Cooperative AI</a>	DeepMind, University of Oxford	United Kingdom	—
4	<a href="#">Pre-colonial ethnic institutions and contemporary African development</a>	Brown University, Dartmouth College	United States	Result
5	<a href="#">The past, present, and future of economic growth</a>	Institute for Advanced Study	United States	Background
6	<a href="#">Cultural origin and minority shareholder expropriation: Historical evidence</a>	China Agricultural University, Nankai University, University of Pennsylvania	China, United States	—
7	<a href="#">The effect of the tsetse fly on African development</a>	Stanford University	United States	—
8	<a href="#">Historical legacies and African development</a>	Brown University, London Business School	United Kingdom, United States	Background
9	<a href="#">When ideas trump interests: Preferences, worldviews, and policy innovations</a>	Institute for Advanced Study	United States	—
10	<a href="#">On the joint evolution of culture and political institutions: Elites and civil society</a>	New York University	United States	—
11	<a href="#">The origin of the state: Land productivity or appropriability?</a>	Universidad Intercontinental	Mexico	Background
12	<a href="#">The effect of labor migration on the diffusion of democracy: evidence from a former Soviet Republic</a>	Kiel Institute for the World Economy, Paris School of Economics, University Paris 1	France, Germany	—

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
		Panthéon-Sorbonne, University of Munich		
13	<a href="#">Inequality and the biosphere</a>	Arizona State University, Environment for Development-Center for Tropical Agricultural Research and Education (EfD-CATIE), Finnish Environment Institute (SYKE)	Costa Rica, Finland, Germany	Background
14	<a href="#">Law, regulation, and the business climate: The nature and influence of the World Bank Doing Business project</a>	London School of Economics	United Kingdom	—
15	<a href="#">Experiments about institutions</a>	CESifo, National Bureau of Economic Research, Oxford University	Germany, United Kingdom, United States	Background
16	<a href="#">On the joint evolution of culture and institutions</a>	New York University	United States	—
17	<a href="#">Democratic values and institutions</a>	LSE and CIFAR, Stockholm University	Sweden, United Kingdom	—
18	<a href="#">Does empowering women in politics boost human development? An empirical analysis, 1960–2018</a>	Norwegian University of Science and Technology	Norway	Influential
19	<a href="#">On the ethnic origins of African development: Chiefs and precolonial political centralization</a>	Brown University, London Business School	United Kingdom, United States	—
20	<a href="#">Skills, education, and the rise of earnings inequality among the “other 99 percent”</a>	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	United States	—
21	<a href="#">Big other: Surveillance capitalism and the prospects of an information civilization</a>	Harvard Business School	United States	—
22	<a href="#">The political economy of populism</a>	London Business School, Sciences Po	France, United Kingdom	—
23	<a href="#">The future of employment: How susceptible are jobs to computerisation?</a>	University of Oxford	United Kingdom	Background
24	<a href="#">Future of the human climate niche</a>	Aarhus University, Global Systems Institute, University of Exeter, Nanjing University	China, Denmark, United Kingdom	—
25	<a href="#">Democracy does cause growth</a>	Hong Kong Baptist University, Hunan Normal University	China	—
26	<a href="#">Surveillance capitalism and the challenge of collective action</a>	Harvard Business School	United States	—
27	<a href="#">The Church, intensive kinship, and global psychological variation</a>	George Mason University, Harvard University	United States	—
28	<a href="#">Happy entrepreneurs? Everywhere? A meta-analysis of entrepreneurship and wellbeing</a>	Audencia Business School, King’s College London, University of St. Gallen	France, Switzerland, United Kingdom	Background
29	<a href="#">State-owned enterprises around the world as hybrid organizations</a>	Florida Atlantic University, Sun Yat-sen University, The	China, United States	Background

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
		Chinese University of Hong Kong		
30	<a href="#">The influence of formal and informal institutional voids on entrepreneurship</a>	Portland State University, Texas A&M University, University of North Carolina at Charlotte	United States	Background

Showing the 30 most-cited of 219 independent citing papers.

Independent citing papers only; self- and co-author citations excluded. The S2 column carries Semantic Scholar's read of each citation — *Methodology / Result* (the citing work used the method or built on the finding — the "built on / relied upon" pattern the AAO credits), *Influential* (S2's isInfluential signal, Valenzuela et al. 2015), or *Background* (a passing mention).

#### FOLLOW-UP WORK

##### [Economic origins of dictatorship and democracy](#)

2005 · Cambridge university press, 2005 · 9,187 citations (GS)

Field-normalised: 497 Semantic Scholar citations place it in the top 1% of Economics papers from 2005 indexed by Semantic Scholar, by citation count.

No.	Citing paper	Citing institution(s)	Country	S2
1	<a href="#">The political economy of industrial policy</a>	—	—	—

Independent citing papers only; self- and co-author citations excluded. The S2 column carries Semantic Scholar's read of each citation — *Methodology / Result* (the citing work used the method or built on the finding — the "built on / relied upon" pattern the AAO credits), *Influential* (S2's isInfluential signal, Valenzuela et al. 2015), or *Background* (a passing mention).

## D. Citing-Institution Prestige & Geography

### Top citing institutions

Institution	Country	World ranking	Citing papers
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	United States	SCImago #41 · THE 2 · QS 1	29
Harvard University	United States	SCImago #4 · THE =5 · QS 5	28
University of California, Irvine Medical Center	United States	—	23
University of Chicago	United States	SCImago #124 · THE 15 · QS 13	18
Brown University	United States	SCImago #553 · THE 65 · QS 69	16
New York University	United States	SCImago #116 · THE =31 · QS 55	11
Stanford University	United States	SCImago #18 · THE =5 · QS 3	11
London School of Economics	United Kingdom	—	9
Northwestern University	United States	THE 30 · QS =42	9
Princeton University	United States	SCImago #386 · THE =3 · QS =25	9
Dartmouth College	United States	SCImago #1144 · THE 180 · QS =247	9
International Monetary Fund	United States	SCImago #4444	8

Institution	Country	World ranking	Citing papers
University of Gothenburg	Sweden	SCImago #573 · THE 201–250 · QS 202	7
World Bank	United States	—	6
Southwestern University of Finance and Economics	People's Republic of China	SCImago #5672	6

## Geographic distribution of citing authors

Country	Citing papers
United States	252
United Kingdom	75
China	31
Germany	22
Italy	21
France	21
Spain	19
Sweden	18
Canada	18
Turkey	12
Netherlands	12
Australia	11

Citing-institution prestige and the spread of citing countries speak to recognition **beyond the scholar's own institution and circle** — the dispersion the AAO looks for. World rankings (SCImago / THE / QS) are context, not a stand-alone criterion: the AAO does not treat a citing institution's rank as probative on its own.

## F. AAO Precedent Considerations

### Pre-filing self-check (AAO denial patterns)

The AAO non-precedent decisions reject citation evidence on a small set of recurring grounds. Confirm the petition addresses each before filing:

- Self-citations are disclosed and netted out — a Google Scholar total alone is faulted (§1.1).
- Evidence is per individual article, not a body-of-work aggregate total (§1.2).
- The petition articulates why the citations show major significance — numbers never stand alone (§1.5).
- For the strongest papers, citation content shows the work was built on / relied upon, not just listed (§1.6, §2.2).
- Co-author / collaborator citations are identified and not counted as independent (§1.7).
- Recognition is shown beyond the scholar's own institution and circle (§1.8).
- Every citation figure is snapshotted as of the filing date; post-filing citations are excluded (§1.9).
- Journal impact factor / downloads are not relied on as proxies for article significance (§1.10, §1.12).
- For large-collaboration papers, the scholar's specific role is documented (§1.13).
- Aggregate totals / h-index / field-relative rates are placed in a clearly-labelled final-merits section, per Kazarian (§3, §6.1.7).

### Disclaimer

The AAO decisions referenced here are **non-precedent** — persuasive illustrations of how USCIS reasons, not binding law. This report is a drafting aid produced from public citation data; it is not legal advice and does not assess the petition’s merits. All analysis must be reviewed by qualified immigration counsel.

## G. Citation Evidence Index

Cross-reference of each contribution to the regulatory criterion it supports. Counsel should map these to the petition’s exhibit numbers.

<b>Contribution</b>	<b>Core paper</b>	<b>Indep. cites</b>	<b>Supports</b>
Contribution 1	The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation	410	Dhanasar — Prong 2 (well-positioned)