

## MARTHA FINNEMORE

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### CURRENT POSITION

University Professor of Political Science and International Affairs  
George Washington University

### EDUCATION

Ph.D. Stanford University, political science (1992)  
M.A. Stanford University, political science (1988)  
M.A. University of Sydney, government, with distinction (1984)  
A.B. Harvard University, government, *magna cum laude* (1982)

### HONORS and AWARDS

[J. Ann Tickner Award](#) (2017) from the International Studies Association for “high-quality, pioneering scholarship that pushes the boundaries of the discipline with a deep commitment to service, especially teaching and mentoring.”

Engaged Scholar Award (2017) from the [Sié Center’s Dialogues on Peace and Security](#), University of Denver for scholarship that engages with policy-making and policy challenges.

Fellow, [American Academy of Arts and Sciences](#) (elected 2011).

Best Recent Book on the UN System (2007) awarded by the [Academic Council on the UN System \(ACUNS\)](#) for *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (co-author).

[Best Book Award](#), International Studies Association (2006) for *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (co-author).

[Oscar and Shoshana Trachtenberg Prize for Scholarship](#) (2006). University-wide award for outstanding research, George Washington University.

[Woodrow Wilson Award](#), American Political Science Association (2004) for “the best book published in the United States during the prior year on government, politics or international affairs” given to *The Purpose of Intervention*.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### Books

*Back to Basics: State Power in a Contemporary World*. Co-edited with Judith Goldstein. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

*Who Governs the Globe?* Co-edited with Deborah Avant and Susan Sell. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

*Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*, with Michael Barnett. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004. Published in India by Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi. Greek translation by Sideris Publishing House. Chinese translation by Shanghai People's Publishing House.

*The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003. Published in India by Manas Publications, New Delhi. Chinese translation by Shanghai People's Publishing House.

*National Interests in International Society*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996. Chinese translation by Zhejiang People's Publishing House; new translation by Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2012.

### Refereed journal articles

"Constructing Norms for Global Cybersecurity" with Duncan Hollis. *American Journal of International Law* vol. 110, 425-479 (2016).

"Getting a Seat at the Table: The Origins of Universal Participation in Modern Multilateral Conferences" with Michelle Jurkovich. *Global Governance* 20, 3(2014): 361-73.

"Dynamics of Global Governance: building on what we know." *International Studies Quarterly* 58,1 (2014).

"Ontology and Methodology in the American School of IPE" with Henry Farrell. *Review of International Political Economy*, 61,1 (2009): 58-71. Reprinted in Nicola Phillips and Catherine E. Weaver, eds., *International Political Economy: Debating the past, present, and future*. Routledge, 2010.

"Legitimacy, Hypocrisy, and the Social Structure of Unipolarity." *World Politics* 61,1 (2009): 58-85. Reprinted in G. John Ikenberry, Michael Mastanduno, and William C. Wohlforth, eds., *International Relations Theory and the Consequences of Unipolarity*. Cambridge University Press, 2011, 67-98.

"Fights about Rules: the role of efficacy and power in changing multilateralism." *Review of International Studies* 31(2005):187-206. Reprinted in *Force and Legitimacy in World Politics* ed. David Armstrong, Theo Farrell, and Bice Maiguashca. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

“Exporting the English School.” *Review of International Studies*, 27, 3(2001): 509-13.

“Alternatives to ‘Legalization’: Richer Views of Law and Politics” with Stephen J. Toope. *International Organization* 55 (2001): 743-758.

“Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics” with Kathryn Sikkink. *Annual Review of Political Science* 4(2001): 391-416.

“Are Legal Norms Distinctive?” *Journal of International Law and Politics*, 32(2000): 699-705.

“The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations” with Michael Barnett. *International Organization*, 53 (1999): 699-732.

"International Norm Dynamics and Political Change" with Kathryn Sikkink. *International Organization*, 52 (1998): 887-917.

"Norms, Culture, and World Politics: Insights from Sociology's Institutionalism," *International Organization*, 50 (1996): 325-47.

"International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: UNESCO and Science Policy," *International Organization*, 47 (1993): 565-598.

#### Chapters in edited volumes

"Global Institutions without a Global State" with Henry Farrell in *Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism* ed. Orfeo Fioretos, Tullia G Falletti, Adam Sheingate. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016, 572-89. Reprinted in *International Politics and Institutions in Time*, Orfeo Fioretos (ed.). Oxford University Press, 2017.

"Puzzles about Power" and "Power Politics in the Contemporary World" with Judith Goldstein in *Back to Basics: State Power in a Contemporary World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013, 3-27.

"Who Governs the Globe?" in Avant et al. *Who Governs the Globe?* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 1-31.

“Paradoxes in Humanitarian Intervention,” in Richard Price, ed., *Moral Limit and Possibility in World Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 197-224.

“Political Approaches [to the United Nations,]” with Michael Barnett, in Thomas Weiss and Sam Daws, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the United Nations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, 41-57.

“The Politics of Global Partnership,” in Jennifer M. Brinkerhoff, Stephen C. Smith, and Hildy Teegen, eds., *NGOs and the Millennium Development Goals: Citizen Action to Reduce*

*Poverty*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007, 103-112.

“New Directions, New Collaborations for International Law and International Relations” in Thomas Biersteker et al., eds., *International Law and International Relations: Bridging Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge, 2006, 266-277.

“The Power of Liberal International Organizations,” with Michael Barnett in Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall, eds., *Power and Global Governance*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 161-184.

"Rules of War and Wars of Rules: the International Red Cross and the Restraint of State Violence" in John Boli and George M. Thomas, eds., *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999, 149-65.

"Military Intervention and the Organization of International Politics" in Joseph Leggold and Thomas G. Weiss, eds., *Collective Conflict Management and Changing World Politics*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998, 181-204.

“Redefining Development at the World Bank” in Frederick Cooper and Randall Packard, eds., *International Development and the Social Sciences*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, 203-227.

"Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention" in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms, Identity, and World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, 153-185.

#### Non-Academic Articles and Working papers

“[Trump’s No Hypocrite, and that’s bad news for international order](#)” with Henry Farrell. *Foreign Affairs* (May 30, 2017).

"[The End of Hypocrisy: American Foreign Policy in the Age of Leaks](#)" with Henry Farrell. *Foreign Affairs* 92, 6 (Nov/Dec 2013): 22-26. [Subsequent exchange](#) with Michael Cohen appeared in Feb/Mar 2014 issue.

“[Cultivating International Cyber Norms](#)” in Kristin Lord and Travis Sharp, eds. *America’s Cyber Future: Security and Prosperity in the Information Age*, Center for a New American Security, May 2011. <http://www.cnas.org/node/6405>  
<https://citizenlab.org/cybernorms2011/cultivating.pdf>

“[Organizational Reform and the Expansion of the South’s Voice at the Fund](#)” with Peter Evans. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, G-24 Discussion Papers Series no.15, December 2001.

## **WORK IN PROGRESS**

“Aspiration in World Politics” with Michelle Jurkovich. Working paper.

“Institutionalizing Compliance for International Cyber Operations” (working title). Invited submission for *European Journal of International Law*.

“Normative Conflicts Shaping Cyberspace” forthcoming in *Ethics and International Affairs*.

"Dynamics of International Order." Chapter for inclusion in, *Conference Diplomacy and International Order: From the Congress of Vienna to the G7/G8*, edited by Christopher Daase, Sebastian Schindler, Wolfgang Seibel.

"Constructing Statistics for Global Governance." Book manuscript.

## **GRANTS and FELLOWSHIPS**

U.S Department of Defense, Minerva program, “Metanorm: a multidisciplinary approach to the analysis and evaluation of norms and models of governance for cyberspace” with Roger Hurwitz/Howard Shrobe (2013-16).

Elliott School Faculty Research Grant, George Washington University for work on counting civilian casualties (2011).

George Washington University Policy Research Scholar for project on nongovernmental organizations (2004-05).

MacArthur Foundation Research and Writing Grant for “The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations” (2000-01).

Smith Richardson Foundation Grant for “The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations” (1998-2001).

US Institute for Peace research grant for “The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations” (1998-2001).

Dilthey Foundation Award for interdisciplinary research (1998).

US Institute for Peace research grant for "Humanitarian Intervention: The View from the Pentagon" (1997).

Social Science Research Council/MacArthur Foundation Fellowship in International Peace and Security (1994-96).

George Washington University Facilitating Fund award for summer research support (1993).

MacArthur Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship, Center for International Security and Arms Control (1991-92).

Stanford University Fellowship (1986-90).

Rotary Foundation Graduate Fellowship (1983-84).

## **PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT AND AFFILIATIONS**

Professor of Political Science and International Affairs George Washington University, 2004 – 2011.

Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs George Washington University, 1998 – 2004.

Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, George Washington University, 1991 – 1998.

Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution, 1994-96.

Visiting Research Fellow, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University, 1991-92.

Research Analyst, Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, Washington, DC, 1984-86.

## **PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

### Editorial Board Memberships

*International Organization*, 1999 – 2004, 2006 – 2012, 2014 –

Associate Editor 2017 -

Executive Committee 2002 – 2004, 2007 – 2012, 2014 –

Chair of the Board, 2010 – 2012

*Global Governance*, 2003 – 2008; 2012 –

*Journal of Global Security Studies*, 2014 -

*Journal of International Law and International Relations*, Senior Advisory Board 2005 –

*International Studies Quarterly* 1999 – 2004; 2009 – 2013

*Cambridge Studies in International Relations* 2008 – 2015

*Review of International Studies*, International Advisory Board, 2007 – 2012

*Perspectives on Politics*, Associate Editor, 2005 – 2010

### Professional Service

Special Advisor, [Global Commission on the Security and Stability of Cyberspace](#), 2017 -

Non-Resident Scholar, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, [Cyber Policy Initiative](#), 2016 -

Vice-President, American Political Science Association, 2015-16.

Board of Overseers, Watson Institute, Brown University, 2014 – 2016.

Council on Foreign Relations Working Group on Cyberspace and US Foreign Policy, 2015 – 2016.

J. Ann Tickner Prize Selection Committee, International Studies Association, 2015.

International Studies Association Nominating Committee, 2011 – 2013; chair 2013.  
Council on Foreign Relations Independent Task Force on U.S. Policy in the Digital Age,  
2012-13  
Chair, Wilson Prize committee, APSA, 2008 – 09  
APSA Presidential Task Force on American Standing in the World, APSA, 2008 – 09  
Best Book Prize Committee, International Studies Association, 2007  
Vice-President, Executive Board of ACUNS (Academic Council of the United Nations  
System), 2004 – 2007  
Vice-President, Politics and History section, American Political Science Association, 2002 –  
2004  
Chair, International Collaboration Division, APSA annual meetings, 2002  
Chair, Carl Beck Award committee, International Studies Association, 1999 – 2001  
Term Membership Committee, Council on Foreign Relations, 1996 – 98  
Term Member, Council on Foreign Relations, 1994 – 99  
Executive Board Member, United Nations Association, National Capitol Area, 1994 – 97

#### Memberships

American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2011 -  
Council on Foreign Relations, 2000 –  
American Political Science Association, 1992 –  
International Studies Association, 1992 -