

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

[Johan Skytte Prize](#) (2023) awarded by the [Johan Skytte Foundation](#) “to the scholar who in the view of the Foundation has made the most valuable contribution to political science.”

[Susan Strange Award](#) (2023) awarded by the International Studies Association “recogniz[ing] a person whose singular intellect, assertiveness, and insight most challenge conventional wisdom and intellectual and organizational complacency in the international studies community”.

[Distinguished Scholar Award](#) (2021). University-wide award for excellence in scholarship, George Washington University.

[Best Post-PhD Paper Award](#) (2021) awarded by the International Studies Association Theory Section “to honor excellent work in theorizing international politics across the plurality of theoretical approaches” give to “The Politics of Aspiration” (co-author).

[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.

Posthumous editor

Show Time: The Logic and Power of Violent Display by Lee Ann Fujii. Edited by Martha Finnemore. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021.

Best Book (2023), International Security Studies Section of International Studies Association.

Refereed journal articles

“Lessons from Global Administration for Global Governance.” *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 87, 4(2021) 831-5.

- “Aspiration in World Politics” with Michelle Jurkovich. *International Studies Quarterly*. *International Studies Quarterly* 64, 4(2020): 759-69.
- “Beyond Naming and Shaming: Accusations and International Law in Cybersecurity” with Duncan B. Hollis. *European Journal of International Law* 31, 3(2020): 969-1003.
- “Ethical Dilemmas in Cyberspace.” *Ethics & International Affairs* 32, 4(2018): 457-462.
- “Constructing Norms for Global Cybersecurity” with Duncan B. Hollis. *American Journal of International Law* vol. 110 (2016): 425-479.
- “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.
- “Paradoxes in Humanitarian Intervention. In Richard M. Price, ed., *Moral Limit and Possibility*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations, Cambridge Press, 2008, 197-224.
- “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, Tulia 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

"[Cybersecurity and the Concept of Norms](#)." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (November 30, 2017).

"[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

"The Politics of Aspiration" with Michelle Jurkovich. Book manuscript, under contract with Cornell University Press.

"Polysemy and the Politics of International Rules."

"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.

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 – 2017, 2023–
Associate Editor 2017 - 2022

Executive Committee 2002 – 2004, 2007 – 2012, 2014 – 2017, 2023–

Chair of the Board, 2010 – 2012

International Theory, 2020 -

Journal of Global Security Studies, 2014 – 2020

Global Governance, 2003 – 2008; 2012 – 2017

Journal of International Law and International Relations, Senior Advisory Board 2005 – 2018

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

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

Advisor, [Cyberspace Solarium Commission](#), 2019-2020.

Special Advisor, [Global Commission on the Security and Stability of Cyberspace](#). 2017 -
2019

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 -