

Marina E. Henke Ph.D.

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ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Hertie School, Berlin, Germany

Professor of International Relations, 2019 – present

Director, Center for International Security (CIS), February 2020

Northwestern University, Evanston, IL

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 2014–present

College Fellow, Department of Political Science, 2013-2014

Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

Lecturer and Postdoctoral Research Associate, Woodrow Wilson School, 2012-2013

EDUCATION

Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

Ph.D., Politics and Public Policy, November 2012

Title: “The International Security Cooperation Market: Coalition-Building in Pursuit of Peace”

Committee: Robert Keohane (chair), Thomas Christensen, Andrew Moravcsik, Christina Davis

M.A., Politics and Public Policy, June 2009

London School of Economics, London, UK

M.S., International Political Economy, June 2007

Sciences Po, Paris, France

M.S., Development Studies, June 2007

B.A., Economics and Political Science, June 2005, *Summa Cum Laude* (with highest honor)

RESEARCH

Books

- *Constructing Allied Cooperation: Diplomacy, Payments, and Power in Multilateral Military Coalitions* (Cornell University Press, 2019)

How do states overcome problems of collective action in the face of human atrocities, terrorism and the threat of weapons of mass destruction? How does international burden-sharing in this context

look like: between the rich and the poor; the big and the small? Via qualitative and quantitative analysis of 80 multilateral military coalitions, this book demonstrates that military coalitions do not emerge naturally. Rather, pivotal states deliberately build them. They develop operational plans and bargain suitable third parties into the coalition, purposefully using their bilateral and multilateral diplomatic connections—what I term *diplomatic embeddedness*—as a resource. These ties constitute an invaluable state capability to engage others in collective action: they are tools to construct cooperation. The theory and evidence presented in this book force us to revisit the conventional wisdom on how cooperation in multilateral military operations comes about and the importance of diplomacy and diplomatic ties therein. The findings also generate new insights with respect to who is most likely to join a given multilateral intervention and what factors influence the strength and capacity of individual coalitions.

- *Intervention Entrepreneurs* (work in progress)

This book project looks at the political decision-making process that leads countries to launch military interventions. The book argues that intervention entrepreneurs play a key role in this process. These actors influence (1) the creation of a narrative for intervention; (2) the spreading and “selling” of such narrative; (3) the act of establishing *faits accomplis*—quasi-irreversible acts that can create a slippery slope toward intervention; and (4) the act of building a domestic/international political coalition in favor of intervention. Via these deliberate actions, intervention entrepreneurs are able to move the needle toward intervention at critical political junctures when intervention plans are put in doubt. The book draws from historical and contemporary cases to illustrate this theory including the Korean War, the Gulf War, French intervention in Mali, AU-UN intervention in Darfur, and NATO intervention in Libya.

Peer-reviewed Articles

- A1. Marina E. Henke, “Networked Cooperation: How the European Union Mobilizes Peacekeeping Forces to Project Power Abroad.” *Security Studies* 28, no.5 (2019): 901-934.
- A2. Marina E. Henke, “Buying Allies. Payment Practices in Multilateral Military Coalitions.” *International Security* 43, no. 4 (2019):128-162.
- A3. Marina E. Henke, “Tony Blair’s Gamble: The Middle East Peace Process and British Participation in the Iraq Campaign in 2003,” *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 20, no. 4 (2018):773–789.
 - ❖ *Runner Up for the BJPIR Best Article Award 2018*
- A4. Marina E. Henke, “The Rotten Carrot: Reexamining U.S.-Turkish Bargaining Failure over Iraq in 2003,” *Security Studies* 27, no.1 (2018): 120-47.
- A5. Marina E. Henke, “The Politics of Diplomacy: How the United States Builds Multilateral Military Coalitions.” *International Studies Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (2017): 410-24.
 - ❖ *Winner of the ISA Diplomatic Studies Section Best Article Award 2018*
- A6. Marina E. Henke, “Why did France intervene in Mali? Examining the Role of Intervention Entrepreneurs,” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 23, no. 3 (2017): 307-23.
- A7. Marina E. Henke, “UN Fatalities 1948-2015: A New Dataset,” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 36, no. 4 (2019): 425–442.
- A8. Marina E. Henke, “How deadly is UN peacekeeping? Analyzing UN fatality trends,” *Providing for Peacekeeping, Thematic Study No. 14*, International Peace Institute, December 2016.

- A9. Marina E. Henke, "Great Powers and UN Force Generation: A case study of UNAMID," *International Peacekeeping* 23, no. 3 (2016):468-92.

Papers under Revision, Review, or in Preparation

Marina E. Henke (with Paul van Hooff), "Europe Redux: European Grand Strategic Options in an Age of American Ambivalence." Revise and resubmit with *Security Studies*.

Marina E. Henke, "A Tale of Three French Interventions: Intervention Entrepreneurs and Institutional Intervention Choices," Revise and resubmit with *Journal of Strategic Studies*.

Marina E. Henke, "Why do UN Peacekeepers die?" Under review.

Marina E. Henke (with Joe Baka), "Blackhawk Down Revisited: Do UN Fatalities Affect UNSC Peacekeeping Decision-Making?" Under review.

Marina E. Henke, "Intervention Entrepreneurs: Revisiting Agency in Intervention Decision-Making." In preparation.

Marina E. Henke, "EU Normative Power revisited." In preparation.

Marina E. Henke, "Tripping over Trip-Wire Defense: Nuclear Deterrence in the 21st Century," In preparation.

Marina E. Henke, "The Three Meanings of Diplomacy," In preparation.

Other Publications

"Now that Trump has abandoned the Kurds, will other countries ever trust the U.S.?" *Monkey Cage*, October 17, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/10/17/by-abandoning-kurds-trump-may-be-threatening-future-us-alliances/>

"Divided Priorities Why and When Allies Differ Over Military Intervention," Article Review, *H-Diplo*, April 2, 2019. <https://issforum.org/articlereviews/article-review-112-on-divided-priorities-why-and-when-allies-differ-over-military-intervention>

"Robust Mandates and Malicious Acts: Examining the deadly link," *IPI Global Observatory*, February 21, 2018. <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2018/02/mandates-malicious-acts-examining-deadly-link/>

"The Ideology of Failed States," Book Review, *H-Diplo*, September 21, 2017. <https://www.h-net.org/reviews/showpdf.php?id=49945>

"Coalition Abandonment Reconsidered," *ISQ Blog*, March 2, 2017. <http://www.isanet.org/Publications/ISQ/Posts/ID/5450/Abandoning-who-when-and-what-exactly>

"Trump's Transactional Diplomacy: A Primer," *Violence at a Glance*, February 8, 2017. <http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2017/02/08/trumps-transactional-diplomacy-a-primer/>

"Has UN peacekeeping become more deadly?" Center on International Cooperation, *Peace Operations Review*, December 14, 2016. <http://peaceoperationsreview.org/thematic-essays/has-un-peacekeeping-become-more-deadly/>

"WANTED: UN Peacekeepers for Mali," *Violence at a Glance*, June 29, 2016. <https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2016/06/20/wanted-un-peacekeepers-for-mali/>

AWARDS, HONORS, FELLOWSHIPS and GRANTS

- *Awards and Fellowships*

Best Article Award, ISA Diplomatic Studies Section (DPLST), 2018
Best Article Award Runner Up, British Journal of Politics and International Relations (BJPIR), 2018
R. Barry Farrell Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, Northwestern University, 2017
Graduate Institute Geneva, Swiss Chair Fellowship, 2018-2019 (declined)
European University Institute, Max Weber Fellowship, 2017-2018
Bridging the Gap Fellow, Washington D.C., June 2016
University of Iowa, Journeys in World Politics Fellow, April 2016
Northwestern University, French Interdisciplinary Group, Exchange Fellowship at Sciences Po Paris, Dec 2015-March 2016
Northwestern University Searle Center for Teaching and Learning, Faculty Fellowship, 2015-2016
Zeit Foundation, Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance, *Young Leader*, 2014
Northwestern University, Weinberg College of Arts and Sciences, College Fellowship, 2013-2014
United States Institute of Peace (USIP), Jennings Randolph Peace Scholar Fellowship 2011-2012
Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies (PIIRS), Graduate Fellowship, 2011-2012
Princeton Center for International Security Studies (CISS), Graduate Fellowship, 2011-2012
Princeton University Doctoral Fellowship, 2007-11
London School of Economics (LSE) Graduate Merit Award, 2006-07
Paris National Foundation of Political Sciences (FNSP) Fellowship, 2002-06

- *Research and Travel Grants*

Research Grant (with Tobias Bunde and Julian Wucherpfenning), Stanton Foundation (USD 750,000), 2019
Publication Subvention Grant, Kaplan Institute (USD 3,000), 2018
Faculty Research Grant, Northwestern University (USD 5,000), 2017
IASGP German Election Observation Travel Grant (USD 1,200), 2013 and 2017
Ginsberg Grant, Northwestern University (USD 2,400), 2017
Farrell Fellowship Grants, Northwestern University (USD 15,200), 2015-2018
Dispute Resolution Research Center Grant (with Chloe Thurston), Kellogg School of Management (USD 17,000), 2015 and 2016
Course Enhancement Grant, Northwestern University (USD 1,800), 2014-2018
Keyman Modern Turkish Studies Research Grant, Buffett Institute (USD 3,650), 2014
Junior faculty hiring package, Northwestern University, (USD 260,000), 2013
Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant, National Science Foundation (No. 1122403) (USD 11,463), 2011-2012
Research Grant, Bradley Foundation (USD 5,000), 2009-10

Woodrow Wilson School Conference Travel Grant (USD 2,000), 2007-2011

Princeton Dean's Fund for Scholarly Travel Grant (USD 600), 2011

International Studies Association Travel Grant (USD 250), 2011

French Air Force Academy Travel Grant (USD 1,000), 2010

EU Center for Excellence at University of Washington Travel Grant (USD 400), 2010

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS AND WORKSHOPS (select.)

FBA-UNIGE Research Workshop: State of the Art? The Future of Peacekeeping Data (Genoa, Italy), June 2019: "Blackhawk Down Revisited: Do UN fatalities influence UNSC decision-making?"

International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference (Toronto), April 2019: "Payment Practices in Multilateral Military Coalition-Building"

University of Chicago, European Security Forum (Chicago, IL), January 2019: "Why Europe needs a Grand Strategy"

Cambridge University, Workshop on French military interventions (Cambridge, UK), December 2018: "A Tale of Three French Interventions"

University of Texas, Workshop on Diplomacy (Austin, TX), October 2018: "The Politics of Diplomacy"

Northwestern – Sciences Po Paris, Workshop on the Sahel (Paris, France), September 2018: "Why did NATO intervene in Libya? Connecting Micro and Macrolevel Drivers"

American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Conference (Boston, MA), Sept 2018: "Raising A Peacekeeping Force: Diplomacy, Payments and Power"

European Initiative on Security Studies (EISS) Annual Conference (Paris, France), June 2018: "Europe Redux"

University of Tennessee, Workshop on Peacebuilding (Knoxville, TN), May 2018: "Raising a Peacekeeping Force"

International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference (San Francisco, CA), April 2018: "Allies for Sale?"

University of Trento, Workshop on Stability Operations (Trento, Italy), February 2018: "Why do UN peacekeepers die?"

Workshop on Theoretical Perspectives on German Politics (Berlin, Germany), January 2018: "Recruiting EU Forces"

American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Conference (San Francisco, CA), Sept 2017: "Intervention Entrepreneurs" and "Why do UN peacekeepers die?"

ERGOMAS conference (Athens, Greece), June 2017: "Why did France intervene in Mali? Examining the Role of *Intervention Entrepreneurs*"

Northwestern – Sciences Po Paris Workshop on the Sahel (Evanston, IL), May 2017: "Multilateral Intervention Strategies in the Sahel"

University of Southern California, Center for International Studies Annual Symposium: The Political Economy of Power Projection (Los Angeles, CA), November 2016: "The Market for Coalition Contributions"

Carleton University (Ottawa, Canada), Workshop: Problems Abroad? Revisiting the Intervention Trap in an Era of Global Uncertainty,” October 2016: “Why did France intervene in Mali? Examining the Role of *Intervention Entrepreneurs*”

ISA/APSA - International Security Studies Section (ISSS-ISAC) Annual Conference (South Bend, IN), October 2016: “IOs in Battle” and “The Rotten Carrot.”

BISA conference (Bath, UK), Sept 2016: “The Rotten Carrot: U.S.-Turkish bargaining failure over Iraq in 2003 and the impact of social embeddedness as a bargaining tool.”

American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Conference (Philadelphia, PA), Sept 2016: “The Market for Coalition Contributions: How intervening governments seek and compensate multilateral partners”

Northwestern-Sciences Po Paris Workshop on the Sahel (Paris, France), May 2016: “Why did France intervene in Chad and Mali? Examining the Role of *Intervention Entrepreneurs*”

International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference (Atlanta, GA), March 2016: “Intervention Entrepreneurs”

ISA/APSA - International Security Studies Section (ISSS-ISAC) Annual Conference (Springfield, MA), October 2015: “Why do UN peacekeepers die?” and “Intervention Entrepreneurs”

International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference (New Orleans, LA), March 2015: “A Theory of Selective Incentives”

International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference (Toronto, Canada), March 2014: “Towards a Theory of European Security Cooperation”

ISA/APSA - International Security Studies Section (ISSS-ISAC) Annual Conference (Washington, DC), October 2013: “Primus Inter Pares: Most Interested Nations and the Set-Up of UN Peacekeeping Operations”

International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference (San Francisco, CA), March 2013: “The International Security Cooperation Market”

United States Institute of Peace (Washington, DC), Fellow Orientation, Oct 2012: “Cooperation in Multilateral Interventions”

American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Conference (Seattle, WA), Sept 2011: “International Security Cooperation and the Politics of Interdependence”

International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference (Montreal, Canada), March 2011: “International Security Cooperation and the Politics of Interdependence”

ISA/APSA - International Security Studies Section (ISSS-ISAC) Annual Conference (Providence, RI), October 2010: “Power, Complex Interdependence, and International Security: Rethinking How International Security Cooperation Comes About.” *Paper nominated for Best Graduate Student Paper 2010*

ISA-Comparative Interdisciplinary Studies Section (CISS) Annual Conference (Venice, Italy), July 2010: “Exploring the International Security Market”

International Seminar on the European Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP), French Air Force Academy (Salon de Provence, France), June 2010 (chair of panel on UN-EU relations)

Council for European Studies (CES) Conference (Montreal, Canada), April 2010: “A Theory of European Security Cooperation” and “EU Normative Power revisited”

International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Conference (New Orleans, LA), February 2010: “Toward a Theory of European Security Cooperation”

INVITED TALKS (select.)

- University of Montreal (Montreal, Canada), January 2020: “Constructing Allied Cooperation” (scheduled)
- McGill University (Montreal, Canada), January 2020: “Constructing Allied Cooperation” (scheduled)
- Georgetown University (Washington, DC), GUITARS, December 2019: “Intervention Entrepreneurs” (scheduled)
- George Washington University (Washington, DC), Elliott School, December 2019: “Intervention Entrepreneurs” (scheduled)
- University of Denver (Denver, CO), Sié Center, May 2019: “Constructing Allied Cooperation”
- European University Institute (Florence, Italy), May 2019: “European Grand Strategy and the Transatlantic Relationship”
- Iowa State University (Ames, IA), April 2019: “Constructing Allied Cooperation”
- Central European University (Budapest, Hungary), March 2019: “Constructing Allied Cooperation”
- Hertie School of Government (Berlin, Germany), March 2019: “Europe Redux”
- Oxford University (Oxford, UK), March 2019: “Constructing Allied Cooperation”
- TUM School of Governance (Munich, Germany), January 2019: “Constructing Allied Cooperation”
- Leiden University (Leiden, Netherlands), Dec 2018: “Constructing Allied Cooperation”
- Princeton University (Princeton, NJ), Oct 2018: “Europe Redux”
- University College London (London, UK), March 2018: “How to raise a peacekeeping force”
- IE School of International Relations (Madrid, Spain), February 2018: “How to raise a peacekeeping force”
- European University Institute, Schuman Center (Florence, Italy), Oct 2017: “Constructing Cooperation”
- Cambridge University (Cambridge, UK), Oct 2017: “Intervention Entrepreneurs”
- Hamilton Foundation (Evanston, IL), May 2017: “The Future of United States’ Involvement in NATO”
- European University Institute (Florence, Italy), March 2017: “How countries build multilateral military coalitions”
- Northwestern University (Evanston, IL), Keyman Program, November 2016: “The Rotten Carrot: U.S.-Turkish bargaining failure over Iraq in 2003 and the pitfalls of social embeddedness as a bargaining tool”
- Northwestern University (Evanston, IL), Undergraduate Student Council, November 2016: “Demystifying Military Interventions”
- University of Ottawa (Ottawa, Canada), October 2016: “How the United States builds Multilateral Coalitions: The Primacy of Diplomacy”
- University of Heidelberg (Heidelberg, Germany), January 2016: “The Market for Coalition Contributions: How intervening governments seek and compensate multilateral partners”

Notre Dame University (South Bend, IN), December 2015: “The Market for Coalition Contributions: How intervening governments seek and compensate multilateral partners”

DePaul University (Chicago, IL), October 2015: “The EU, Germany and the Refugee Crisis”

TOBB University (Ankara, Turkey), June 2014: “It’s a Market World”

Northwestern University (Evanston, IL), Buffet Institute, February 2014: “It’s a Market World”

University of Chicago (Chicago, IL), April 2014: “It’s a Market World”

PUBLIC COMMENTARY (select.)

Chicago Council on Global Affairs, *The Next Generation Transatlantic Relationship*, Chicago, November 26, 2018. https://youtu.be/5a40OdZ_hxE

Podcast for the Academic Council on the UN System (ACUNS), *UN Peacekeeping: Challenging Assumptions, Improving Understanding*, January 23, 2016. <http://acuns.org/current-issues-64-un-peacekeeping-challenging-assumptions-improving-understanding/>

Guest on Thinkerview, *What do we know about military interventions?* Paris, February 4, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PwHlxMfCnKg>

Guest on Radio Show, *Analysis of the Refugee Crisis in Europe: Causes and Solutions*, 1590 WCGO Chicago, September 11, 2015. <http://hark.io/podcast/analysis-of-the-refugee-crisis-in-europe-the-causes-and-solutions/>

Guest on Serbian News Broadcast RTS TV, December 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bk6_9bWPKkc

TEACHING

Global Governance, Master of International Affairs (MIA) Core Course at the Hertie School (Fall 2019) (w. Prof Jachtenfuchs)

National Security, Undergraduate Lecture Course at Northwestern University (Fall 2014, Fall 2015, Fall 2016, Fall 2018)

The EU in International Affairs, Undergraduate Seminar at Northwestern University (Spring 2015, Spring 2016, Spring 2017, Spring 2019)

International Security, Graduate Seminar at Northwestern University (Spring 2015, Spring 2017, Spring 2019)

Military Interventions, Undergraduate Seminar at Northwestern University (Fall 2014, Spring 2016, Fall 2016, Fall 2018)

The Politics of European Integration, Undergraduate Lecture Class at Northwestern University (Spring 2014)

International Security Cooperation, Graduate Seminar at Northwestern University (Spring 2014)

The Politics of Public Policy, Master of Public Affairs (MPA) Core Course at Princeton University (Fall 2012)

Graduate Students at Northwestern University:

As dissertation committee member: Michael Povilus, Nathan Dial; Franky Jahara Maisek (FINISHED: Air Force Academy); Buddhika Bandara Jayamaha (FINISHED: Air Force Academy); Abdeta Beyene (FINISHED: Centre for Dialogue, Research, and Cooperation, Addis Ababa)

Undergraduate Students at Northwestern University:

As an Honors Thesis Advisor: Tucker Johnson; Luke Cianciotto (Winner of Northwestern's School of Education and Social Policy (SESP) Best Senior Thesis Award 2015)

As Mentor through undergraduate research apprentice program (Farrell Fellowship): James Crisafulli, Netta Keesom, Joe Baka, Ester Li, Hansen Ong, Julian Gerez, Simone Rivera, Xiaohua Su, Jacob Hoeflich

As Mentor through Northwestern-Sciences Po research assistant fellowship: Nanami Ito, Jules Villa

DEPARTMENTAL SERVICE AND SERVICE TO THE DISCIPLINE

Founding Co-director, EURO-SWAMOS, 2019-present

Editorial board member, International Studies Quarterly (ISQ), 2018-present

Board member, European Initiative for Security Studies (EISS), 2018-present

Member, ISA Diplomatic Studies Section Best Book and Best Article Award committee, 2018-19

Advisory committee member, Political Science Department, Northwestern University, 2018-19

Member, Program on African Studies (PAS), Northwestern University, 2013-19

Member, French Interdisciplinary Program (FIG), Northwestern University, 2013-19

Co-chair, War and Society Working Group, Buffet Institute, Northwestern University, 2015-19

Chair, War and Society Working Group, Buffet Institute, Northwestern University, 2013-15

Undergraduate advisor, Political Science Department, Northwestern University, 2015-17

Grant committee member, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Northwestern University, 2014-16

Referee/Reviewer for *International Security*, *Security Studies*, *World Politics*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Politics*, *Review of International Organizations*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Oxford University Press and the National Science Foundation.

OTHER RELEVANT PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES

Journal of Public and International Affairs, Princeton, NJ, Editor-in-chief (2008-2009)

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., Fellow with the Ways and Means Committee (June-December 2008)

LSE International Trade Policy Unit, London, UK, Research Fellow (2006-2007)

Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin, Germany, Intern (Summer 2006)

European Parliament, Brussels, Belgium, Intern / Assistant to MEP Koch-Mehrin (June-Oct 2005)

European Commission, Santiago, Chile, Stagiaire (2004-2005)

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Princeton European Club, Princeton, USA, *Founder and President* (2009-2012)

Princeton European Program, Princeton, USA, *Graduate Student Fellow* (2007-2013)

European Society at the LSE, London, UK, *Vice President* (2006-2007)

Young European Movement, Paris, France, *Vice President* (2005-06), *Board member* (2003-04)

Voluntarios Por el Mundo, El Chaco, Argentina, *Volunteer* in public health project (Summer 2003)

Orfelinato de Mazatlán, Mazatlán, Mexico, *Volunteer* in Mexican orphanage (July-December 2001)

ADDITIONAL TRAINING AND SKILLS

Intensive Chinese Language Training, Beijing Language and Culture University (Jan-June 2005)

Intensive French Language Training, University of Poitiers (Jan-May 2002)

Intensive Spanish Language Training, University Tec de Monterrey (Aug-Dec 2001)

Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR), Maxwell School, Syracuse University, May-June 2009

Summer Workshop on Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS), operated by Columbia University at Cornell University, July 2017

Languages: German (fluent), French (fluent), Spanish (fluent), Portuguese (high proficiency), Italian (intermediate proficiency), Mandarin Chinese (intermediate proficiency)

Software: STATA, R, LaTeX