

# Marina E. Henke Ph.D.

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## Academic Positions

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Northwestern University, Evanston, IL

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, 2014-present.

Visiting Professor, Sciences Po Paris, Center for European Studies, December 2015-March 2016

Northwestern University College Fellow, 2013-2014.

Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

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

## Education

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Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

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

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.

*Honors:* summa cum laude

## Publications and Manuscripts

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### Book Manuscripts

- *Constructing Cooperation: A Social-Institutional Theory of Multilateral Military Coalition Building*

Multilateral military coalitions seldom emerge naturally due to common interests, norms, values, or alliance commitments. Rather, multilateral military coalitions are purposefully constructed by individual states. I call these states who organize the coalition building process: pivotal states. These states use the existing institutional structures in which they are globally embedded in to bargain fellow states into a specific coalition. This process involves arguing, persuasion, and often also side-payments. Bilateral and multilateral networks, which include civilian as well as military ties, constitute an invaluable *resource* in this process. Via these ties, pivotal states have access to private information on deployment preferences of potential coalition participants. Moreover, these connections facilitate issue-linkages and side-payments and allow states to overcome problems of credible commitments. Finally, pivotal states can use common institutional contacts (i.e., IO officials) as cooperation brokers and convert common institutional venues into coalition negotiation fora. The book illustrates and tests this theory using statistical methods and case studies of the coalition building processes for the Korean War, the Australia-led intervention in East Timor, the EU operation in Chad/CAR and the UN-AU operation in Darfur. The case studies are based on archival research and draw from over 150 elite interviews. The theory and evidence presented in this book force us to revisit the conventional wisdom on how cooperation in multilateral military operations comes about. 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*

This book manuscript examines the underlying political processes which lead to the launch of a military intervention. Most conflicts that are being considered for intervention have existed for years. So what explains the sudden upsurge in interest? What are the mechanisms behind an intervention proposal capturing the attention and often mobilizing the resources of the entire international community? This book argues that *Intervention Entrepreneurs* are key to understanding why military interventions come about. I define *Intervention Entrepreneurs* as individuals or groups who promote the launch of a specific military intervention because they anticipate to benefit disproportionately from the intervention decision and/or aftermath. Without the existence of these intervention entrepreneurs a specific military intervention in its form and timing would not have occurred. The book argues that the actions of these entrepreneurs follow a systematic pattern: (1) they create a narrative for intervention; (2) they spread and sell this narrative and raise public expectations for intervention; (3) they build domestic coalitions favoring intervention and (4) lobby the head of government (and other critical decision-makers) to agree to the intervention proposal. The book draws on five thoroughly researched case studies to illustrate these strategies and their importance in intervention decisions: The Gulf War; the Korean War; French intervention in Mali; AU-UN intervention in Darfur and NATO intervention in Kosovo.

### Peer-reviewed Articles

- A1. Marina E. Henke, "The Rotten Carrot: Reexamining U.S.-Turkish bargaining failure over Iraq in 2003," *Security Studies*, August 24, 2017, DOI: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09636412.2017.1360077>
- A2. Marina E. Henke, "The Politics of Diplomacy: How the United States builds Multilateral Military Coalitions," *International Studies Quarterly*, July 21, 2017, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqx017>
- A3. Marina E. Henke, "Why did France intervene in Mali? Examining the Role of Intervention Entrepreneurs," July 26, 2017, *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/11926422.2017.1352004>
- A4. Marina E. Henke, "UN Fatalities 1948-2015: A New Dataset," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, February 6, 2017, DOI: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0738894216686789>
- A5. Marina E. Henke, "How deadly is UN peacekeeping? Analyzing UN fatality trends," *Providing for Peacekeeping, Thematic Study No. 14*, International Peace Institute, December 2016.
- A6. Marina E. Henke, "Great Powers and UN Force Generation: A case study of UNAMID," *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 23, Issue 3, 2016.

### Working Papers

Marina E. Henke, "Allies for Sale? How Intervening Governments Compensate Multilateral Partners," under review.

Marina E. Henke, "Raising a Peacekeeping Force: A Social-Institutional Theory," under review.

Marina E. Henke, "Tony Blair's Gamble: The Middle East Peace Process and British Participation in the Iraq Campaign in 2003," under review.

Intervention Entrepreneurs

Why do UN peacekeepers die?

Blackhawk Down Revisited: Do UN Fatalities Affect UNSC Peacekeeping Resolutions?

Toward a Theory of European Security Cooperation

EU Normative Power revisited

### Other Publications

"*The Ideology of Failed States* – a book review," *H-Diplo*, (forthcoming)

"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/>

“The Economic Might of the European Union” (original title: “La Puissance économique de l’UE”), *Le Taurillon* March 2006

“The European Citizens’ Convention” (original title: “La Convention des citoyens européens”), *Le Taurillon* December 2005

## **Awards, Honors and Fellowships (select.)**

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### ▪ *Awards and Fellowships*

R. Barry Farrell Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, Northwestern University, 2017

Graduate Institute Geneva, Swiss Chair Fellowship, 2018-2019

European University Institute, Max Weber Fellowship, 2017-2018

SWAMOS Fellowship, Saltzman Institute, Columbia University, July 2017

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 (FNPS) Fellowship, 2002-06

### ▪ *Research and Travel Grants*

Faculty Research Grant, Northwestern University (USD 5,000), 2017.

IASGP German Election Observation Travel Grant (USD 1,000), 2013 and 2017.

Ginsberg Grant, Northwestern University (USD 2,400), 2017.

Farrell Fellowship Grants, Northwestern University (USD 10,200), 2015-2017

Kellogg School of Management, Dispute Resolution Research Center Grant (with Chloe Thurston) (USD 17,000), 2015 and 2016.

Northwestern University Course Enhancement Grant (USD 1,500), 2014, 2015 and 2016

Keyman Modern Turkish Studies Research Grant (USD 3,650), 2014

National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant (No. 1122403) (USD 11,463), 2011-2012

Bradley Foundation Research Grant (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 (ISA) 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.)**

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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"

Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies (Princeton, NJ), Oct 2012: "International Cooperation in EUFOR Chad-CAR"

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)

Western-U.S. EU Graduate Workshop (Seattle, WA), May 2010 (participant)

Princeton Annual EU Workshop (Princeton, NJ), May 2010, 2012, 2013 (discussant)

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.)**

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Carleton University (Ottawa, Canada), Oct 2017: “Why did France intervene in Mali?” (invited)

Cambridge University (Cambridge, UK), Oct 2017: “Intervention Entrepreneurs” (invited)

Hamilton Foundation (Evanston, IL), May 2017: “The Future of United States’ Involvement in NATO”

European University Institute (Florence, Italy), March 2017: “Constructing Cooperation: 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**

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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](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bk6_9bWPKkc)

## Teaching

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

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

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

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

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)

## Other Relevant Professional Experiences

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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-Mebrin* (June-Oct 2005)

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

## Community Involvement

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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

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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)

IQMR Summer School, May 2009

SWAMOS Summer School, July 2017

*Languages:* German (mother tongue), French (high proficiency), Spanish (high proficiency), Portuguese (high proficiency), Mandarin Chinese (intermediate proficiency)

*Software:* STATA, R, LaTeX