KATHLEEN R. MCNAMARA

Mortara Center for International Studies Georgetown University Washington, D.C. 20057 kathleen.mcnamara@georgetown.edu

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Professor, Department of Government and Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University (2016-present)

Associate Professor with Tenure, Department of Government and Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University (2003-2016).

Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs, (1995-2003), Lecturer (1994-95)

Department of Politics and Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University

Co-Director, the Global Political Economy Project (2019-present)

Building a new scholarly infrastructure around the politics of globalization with support from the Open Society Foundation's Economic Justice Program (\$500,000), the Hewlett Foundation's Economy & Society Program (\$325,000), and Georgetown University's Board of Regents Global Engagement Committee (\$210,000).

Visiting Professor, Sciences Po, Paris (2006), Distinguished Scholar in Residence, School of International Service, American University (2016-17), Visiting Scholar, Johns Hopkins University (Fall 2022), Simone Veil Fellow, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute (Spring 2023).

EDUCATION

Ph.D., Political Science, Columbia University (1995)

M.I.A., School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University (1989)

B.A. with Honours in Geography, McGill University (1984)

TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

International Relations, International and Comparative Political Economy; International Organization; European Union Politics; Comparative Politics; Culture and Social Theory.

PUBLICATIONS

Books

The Politics of Everyday Europe: Constructing Authority in the European Union (Oxford University Press, 2015; paperback edition with new preface, 2017).

Reviewed in: Foreign Affairs, Current History, Perspectives on Europe, Journal of Global Security Studies, Journal of Common Market Studies, Journal of Contemporary European Studies, Perspectives on Politics.

Making History: European Integration and Institutional Change at Fifty, co-editor with Sophie Meunier, (Oxford University Press, 2007).

The Currency of Ideas: Monetary Politics in the European Union (Cornell University Press, 1998; paperback edition with new preface, 1999).

Refereed Articles

- "Transforming Europe? The EU's Industrial Policy and Geopolitical Turn," *Journal of European Public Policy* (Online First, 9 July 2023). DOI:10.1080/13501763.2023.2230247.
- "Seeing Europe like a State" (with R Daniel Kelemen), *Journal of European Public Policy* (2022). Part of a special symposium devoted to our article "State-building and the European Union."
- "State-building and the European Union: Markets, War, and Europe's Uneven Political Development" (with R. Daniel Kelemen), *Comparative Political Studies* 55:6 (2022).
- "The Big Reveal: Covid-19 and Globalization's Great Transformations," (with Abraham Newman). *International Organization* (Supplemental Issue, September 2020).
- "Democracy and Collective Identity in the European Union and the United States," (with Paul Musgrave), *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* (January 2020):
- "When the Banal Becomes Political: The EU in the Age of Populism," *Polity* (October 2019).
- "Authority Under Construction: the European Union in Comparative Political Perspective," JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies (December 2018): 1510-1525.
- "Constitutionalization Above the State: How *After Victory* Broke Anarchy," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 20/4 (November 2018): 40-46.
- "Imagining Europe: The Cultural Foundations of EU Governance," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (2015):1-18.
- "The Euro Crisis' Theory Effect: Northern Saints, Southern Sinners, and the Demise of the Eurobond" (with Matthias Matthijs), *Journal of European Integration* 37/2 (2015): 229-245.
- "International Political Economy, Global Financial Orders and the 2008 Financial Crisis," (with Daniel Drezner), *Perspectives on Politics* 11/1 (March 2013): 155-166.
- "Constructing the EU: Insights from Historical Sociology," *Comparative European Politics* 8 (2010).
- "Of Intellectual Monocultures and the Study of International Political Economy," *Review of International Political Economy*, 16: 1 (February 2009).
- "A Rivalry in the Making? The Euro and International Monetary Power" *Review of International Political Economy* 15:3 (August 2008).
- "Economic Governance, Ideas, and EMU: What Currency Does Policy Consensus Have Today?" Special Issue of *Journal of Common Market Studies*, "The Theory and Practice of Economic Governance in EMU Revisited," (November 2006).
- "Between National Sovereignty and International Power: What External Voice for the Euro?" (with Sophie Meunier) *International Affairs* 78, October 2002. Reprinted in *Problemes Economiques*, August 2003.
- "Rational Fictions: Central Bank Independence and the Social Logic of Delegation," *West European Politics* (January 2002). Winner of the Vincent Wright Memorial Prize.
- "Consensus and Constraint: Ideas and Capital Mobility in European Monetary Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37 (September 1999). Winner of The *Journal of Common Market Studies* Best Article Prize.
- "The Clash of Institutions: Germany in European Monetary Affairs," (with Erik Jones) and Editor, *Money Talks? Germany and the New Europe*. Special issue of *German Politics*

Referred Book Chapters

- "European Capitalism without European Democracy? Democratic Dilemmas and Markets in the European Union," in Niklas Bremberg and Ludvig Norman, eds., *Democratic Dimensions of Europe's Political Order* (University of Edinburgh Press, forthcoming 2022).
- "Forgotten Embeddedness: History Lessons for the Euro" in Matthias Matthijs and Mark Blyth, eds., *The Future of the Euro* (Oxford University Press, 2015).
- "Building Culture: The Architecture and Geography of Governance in the European Union," in Stefanie Börner and Monika Eigmüller, eds. *European Integration, Processes of Change and the National Experience.* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- "Imaginary Europe: The euro as symbol and practice," in Giovanni Moro, ed., *The Single Currency and European Citizenship* (Bloomsbury, 2013).
- "Constructing Authority in the European Union" in Deborah Avant, Martha Finnemore and Susan Sell, eds., *Who Governs the Globe?* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- "The Ties that Bind? US-EU Economic Relations and the Transatlantic Alliance" in *Temporary Irritation or Enduring Crisis? The Transatlantic Relationship*, edited by G. John Ikenberry, Thomas Risse and Jeffrey Anderson (Cornell University Press, 2008).
- "Making History: European Integration and Institutional Change at Fifty" (with Sophie Meunier) introductory chapter in Meunier and McNamara, eds., *Making History: European Integration and Institutional Change at Fifty* (Oxford University Press, 2007).
- "Globalization, Institutions, and Convergence: Fiscal Adjustment on the Way to EMU," in Miles Kahler and David Lake, eds., *Globalizing Authority* (Princeton University Press, 2003).
- "Towards a Federal Europe? The Euro and Institutional Change in Historical Perspective" in Tanja A. Borzel and Rachel A. Cichowski, eds., *State of the European Union, Vol.6: Law, Politics, and Society* (Oxford University Press, 2003).
- "The Institutional Dilemmas of Market Integration: Compliance and International Regimes for Trade and Finance," in Michael Doyle and Edward Luck, eds., *International Law and Organization: Closing the Compliance Gap* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).
- "Statebuilding and the Territorialization of Money: Creating the American Greenback" in David M. Andrews, C. Randall Henning, and Louis W. Pauly, eds., *Governing the World's Money* (Cornell University Press, 2002).
- "Where Do Rules Come From? The Creation of the European Central Bank" in Alec Stone Sweet, Neil Fligstein, and Wayne Sandholtz, eds., *The Institutionalization of Europe* (Oxford University Press, 2001).
- "Structural Indeterminacy and Sectoral Interests in European Monetary Integration" in Timothy J. Sinclair and Kenneth P. Thomas, eds., *Structure and Agency in International Capital Mobility* (Palgrave, 2001).
- "Common Markets, Uncommon Currencies: Systems Effects and the European Community" in Jack Snyder and Robert Jervis, eds., *Coping with Complexity in the International System* (Westview Press, 1992).

Other Publications

- "How Culture and Identity Structure Markets: The Pandemic and Beyond", Feature Essay, *The Political Economist*, APSA Political Economy Section Newsletter (Fall 2020).
- "Regional Monetary and Financial Governance" in Thomas Risse and Tanja Börzel, eds., *Oxford Handbook on Regional Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
- "Banking on Legitimacy: The ECB and the Eurozone Crisis," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, "Fall (2012).
- US Standing in the World: Causes, Consequences and the Future. Contributor to the Public Report of the Task Force on US Standing in World Affairs Chaired by APSA President Peter Katzenstein (American Political Science Association, October 2009).
- "Managing the Euro: The European Central Bank" in John Peterson and Michael Shackleton, eds., *The Institutions of the European Union* (Oxford University Press, 2006).
- "Economic and Monetary Union: Innovation and Challenges for the Euro" in William Wallace, Helen Wallace and Mark Pollack, eds., *Policy-Making in the European Union*, 5th edition (Oxford University Press, 2005).
- "Making Money, Making States: Political Development, the Euro, and the American Greenback." University of California at Berkeley, Institute of European Studies Working Paper (2004).
- "European Monetary System" and "Exchange Rate Mechanism" in R.J. Barry Jones, ed. *The Routledge Encyclopedia of International Political Economy* (2001).
- "The Promise of EMU and the Problem of Legitimacy" (with Neil Fligstein), *Center for Society and Economy Policy Newsletter*, University of Michigan Business School, Spring 2000.
- "European Monetary Union and International Economic Cooperation," *International Finance Section Report*, Princeton University, 1998.
- "Ideas, Culture and Political Analysis: the State of the Field," (with Sheri Berman) *European Studies Newsletter* (May-June 1998).
- "Integrating Left and Right," European Community Studies Association Review (Fall 1998).
- "European Monetary System" in Desmond Dinan, ed., *Encyclopedia of the European Union* (Boulder: Lynne Reinner, 1998).
- "Germany's Monetary Role in Europe" (with Erik Jones). *Occasional Paper, European Studies Seminar Series*. The Johns Hopkins University, Bologna Center, April 1996.

Other Academic Activities

- Book reviews published in American Political Science Review, European Community Studies Association Review, Journal of International Affairs, Political Science Quarterly, Journal of Politics
- Manuscript reviews include International Organization, American Political Science Review, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Common Market Studies, Comparative Political Studies, World Politics, Princeton University Press, Cornell University Press, Cambridge University Press, University of Chicago Press, Harvard University Press, Oxford University Press.
- Regular panel presentations and roundtables at the American Political Science Association, the

International Studies Association, the European Union Studies Association, and the Conference of Europeanists.

Recent/selected invited academic seminar presentations include the Global Research in International Political Economy (GRIPE) Seminar, the Workshop on International Politics at the University of Chicago; the Center for European Studies, Harvard University; the London School of Economics; St Antony's College, Oxford University; University of Toronto; Reppy Institute Seminar at Cornell University; Center for European Studies at Syracuse University; Program on International Political Economy and Security at the University of Chicago; Department of Political Science, Yale University; Department of Political Science, University of Oregon at Eugene; Department of Politics, University of Virginia; Dickey Center, Dartmouth College; University of Pennsylvania-Temple European Studies Consortium; Princeton University IR Faculty Colloquium; and Department of Political Science, McGill University.

COURSES TAUGHT (Doctoral, Masters, and Undergraduate Levels)

Theories of International Relations (PhD); Theory and Practice of International Politics (Masters public policy introductory course); International Political Economy (PhD and undergraduate levels); Globalization and the State; Imagining Europe - The EU in Historical Perspective (undergraduate seminar); The Political Economy of the Global Financial Crisis; Global Governance, Regionalism and the EU (undergraduate and masters level).

DOCTORAL STUDENTS ADVISED

Nikhil Kalyanpur (London School of Economics)

Filip Savatic (Migration Governance and Asylum Crises Project, Sciences Po, Paris)

JiYoung Lee (American University)

Sara Wallace Goodman (University of California-Irvine)

Loriana Crasic (University of Zurich)

Madison Schramm (University of Toronto)

Mai'a Davis Cross (Northeastern University)

Elizabeth Bloodgood (Concordia University)

Jennifer Heeg (SSG/USAID)

Jonathan Monten (University of Oklahoma)

Matthias Matthijs (Johns Hopkins University)

Aaron Boeseneker (American University)

Sarah Cleeland Knight (American University)

Kristine Mitchell (Dickinson College)

Thane C. Clare (Commander, US Navy)

Rafael Frankel (BowerGroupAsia)

MAJOR ACADEMIC AWARDS AND HONORS

SWIPE Award for Mentoring Women in International Political Economy, International Studies Association (2020)

Distinguished Scholar of International Political Economy, International Studies Association, (2018)

JCMS Keynote Lecture, "Imagining Europe: The Cultural Foundations of EU Governance," Conference of Europeanists. Paris, France (July 2015)

Vincent Wright Memorial Prize for "Significant contribution to the study of comparative European politics" for "Rational Fictions: Central Bank Independence and the Social Logic of Delegation," *West European Politics* (January 2002)

Best Article Prize for "Consensus and Constraint: Ideas and Capital Mobility in European Monetary Integration," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37 (September 1999)

Visiting Scholar, Russell Sage Foundation, (1999-2000)

Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, The German Marshall Fund (1996-97)

Fulbright-Hays Fellowship to the European Community (1993-94)

European Community Studies Association Doctoral Fellowship (1993-94)

MacArthur Fellowship in International Conflict, Peace and Security (1992-93)

Pre-Dissertation Fellowship, Council for European Studies (1991-92)

Other Awards & Fellowships

Simone Veil Fellow, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute (Spring 2023).

Campion Hall Residency Fellowship, Oxford University (June 2022)

Faculty Research Fellowship, Georgetown University (Spring 2006 & Spring 2023)

Faculty Research Summer Fellowship, Georgetown University (Summer 2014)

Center for International Political Economy Fellowship (Summer 1998)

SSRC-MacArthur Foundation, International Peace and Security Grant (Summer 1997)

Fellow, Center for German & European Studies, Georgetown University (1996-97, declined)

Junior Fellow, American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (1996-97, declined)

Dwight Eisenhower/Clifford Roberts Graduate Fellowship (1991-92)

"Ideas and Culture in Political Analysis," co-investigator with Sheri Berman for workshop meeting funded by SSRC-MacArthur Foundation, the Council for European Studies, and Center of International Studies, Princeton University (1998).

"Structure and Agency in International Capital Mobility," co-investigator for project funded by the Council for European Studies and the International Studies Association (1996).

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE & SERVICE

Interim Vice Dean for Faculty & Graduate Affairs (2018-2019)

- Provided leadership on all issues related to faculty affairs, including managing appointments, mentoring and faculty development in close cooperation with the Chair of the Walsh School of Foreign Service faculty.
- Oversaw critical era of transition in organization of eight Masters programs and 16 centers and certificates, working closely with stakeholders to begin a reimagining of SFS.
- Created and piloted new procedures for junior faculty mentoring that were adopted and institutionalized in new SFS faculty governance structure.

• Worked closely with senior team in SFS, Provost's office, and partners across the university to build a more inclusive, responsive, and effective academic community.

Director, Mortara Center for International Studies, Georgetown University (2010-2016)

- Developed a comprehensive and coherent set of programs to promote scholarly, interdisciplinary research by faculty and students, advancing policy-relevant ideas and generating communities of research and practice on key global issues.
- Integrated Georgetown undergraduates into life of Center with new, intensive undergraduate Mortara Undergraduate Research Fellows (MURFs) program.
- Developed and executed integrated communications strategy to brand and publicize Mortara's activities while engaging the broader public through new technologies like webcasts and social media.
- Implemented budgetary strategies to steer Center through constrained endowment payout period while maximizing Mortara Center programming and activities.
- Secured \$800,000 Carnegie Bridging the Gap Grant (with the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy) to build out Mortara's post-doctoral and public commentary work.

Other University & Department Administrative Experience

Senate Appointment, University Budget Committee (2021-22)

Presidential Appointment, University Committee on Rank & Tenure (2019-2022)

Graduate Placement Director, Department of Government (2017-2018)

Mid-Career Faculty Working Group (2015-2017). Member of small group convened by Provost to develop programs to support career advancement for associate professors.

University Search Committee, Dean, School of Foreign Service (2014-15).

Faculty Liaison, Women's PhD Caucus, Department of Government (2015-)

International Relations Field Chair, Department of Government (2006-2009). Set curriculum, staffed classes and upgraded requirements for IR major.

International Politics Major Chair, School of Foreign Service (2008-2009).

University Search Committee, Dean, School of Foreign Service- Qatar (2010-11).

Omnibus Faculty Search Committee, Government Department (2011-12); Al Thani Chair in Science, Technology and International Affairs Search Committee, School of Foreign Service (2011-12); acted as chair or committee member for multiple faculty searches in Government and School of Foreign Service (2003-2012).

Other service: chaired and served on multiple faculty searches and tenure committees, School of Foreign Service and Government Department; Graduate and Undergraduate Admissions and Fellowship Committees; Faculty annual compensation committee; and Graduate School of Arts & Sciences Faculty Fellowship Committees.

Other Scholarly Service

Member, Advisory Board, Cambridge Elements in European Politics

Member, Editorial Board, Perspectives on Politics (2018-present)

Executive Committee, Council for European Studies (2018-2022)

Section Chair, European Consortium on Political Research/Standing Group on the EU Conference, Paris (June 2018).

- Senior Editor, *International Studies* Quarterly (2013-14)
- Council Member, International Politics & History Section, American Political Science Association (2014-16).
- Chair, Jervis-Schroeder Best Book Award Committee, International History and Politics Section (2012); Committee Member, APSA Best Book Prize, European Politics and Society (2004).
- APSA Program Chair, International History and Politics Section, APSA Annual Meeting (2013); APSA Program Chair, International Political Economy Section, APSA Annual Meeting (2003).
- Member, APSA President Peter Katzenstein's Task Force on US Standing in World Affairs (2008-2010).
- Conference Co-Chair, 2014 Conference of Europeanists, Council for European Studies.
- Committee Member, Council for European Studies Best Book Prize (2008), Best Dissertation Prize (2010).

Associate Editor, World Politics (1995-2002).

Co-organizer, Mini-Conference, Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics (SASE). "Building Bridges between Economic Sociology and International Political Economy," Berkeley, June 2016.

Executive Committee, European Community Studies Association, (1997-99).

PUBLIC POLICY ACTIVITIES

Member, Biden Volunteer Economic Policy Committee, 2020.

Member, National Intelligence Council, Working Group on Strategic Responses to American Decline, and Intelligence Associate/Consultant (2004-present)

Member, Council on Foreign Relations (2003-2016).

Executive Board, Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control (2002-2014).

Working Group Memberships: Working Group on the Transatlantic Economy 2020, The Atlantic Council of the United States (2003-2005); Stakeholders Group/Transatlantic Economic Relations, Department of State (2004-2005).

Legislative Assistant, U.S. Representative S. B. McKinney (R-CT), US House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 1984-87.

Selected Invited Policy Briefings

- U.S. Ambassador to the European Union; U.S. Federal Reserve, Board of Directors and executive staff; National Intelligence Council, Washington, DC; European Central Bank, Executive Board and staff; Delegation of the European Union, Washington.
- Other selected invited policy talks: Council on Foreign Relations, American Enterprise Institute; Council on Foreign Relations; Washington; American Society for International Law Annual Conference; Royal Institute for International Affairs/Chatham House, London; Olof Palme International Centre, Stockholm, Sweden.

SELECTED POLICY COMMENTARY

"The EU is Turning Geopolitical. Is Venus Becoming Mars?" The Monkey Cage/Washington

- Post (October 17, 2022).
- "Russia's invasion of Ukraine is remaking Europe: No one expected the European Union to overturn its cautious approach to foreign policy so quickly" (with R. Daniel Kelemen), *The Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (March 1, 2022).
- "Why has U.S. inflation hit 7 percent? Here are the clashing explanations and the reasons experts want you to believe them," *The Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (January 13, 2022).
- "Reflections from an 'Accidental' Mentor," Duck of Minerva (June 2020).
- "Europe's leaders meet this week to confront the coronavirus: The fate of the European Union could be at stake." *The Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (April 21, 2020)
- "Democracy & Identity in the European Union," Council on Foreign Relations Academic Conference Call (December 4, 2019).
- "What's the Takeaway from the European Elections?" *The Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (May 29, 2019).
- Despite the Brexit Chaos, Europe Did Not Collapse like Dominoes." *The Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (April 12, 2019).
- "How Choice Can Save Europe: the EU Needs Less Technocracy and More Democracy" (with Catherine de Vries) *ForeignAffairs.com* (May 14, 2018).
- "The Euro in Decline?" ForeignAffairs.com (January 12, 2018).
- "Trump Takes Aim at the European Union: Why the EU Won't Unify In Response" ForeignAffairs.com (January 24, 2017) Named one of *Foreign Affairs* best articles of 2017.
- "Depoliticization Frays EU Bonds," The Georgetown Hoya (September 27, 2016).
- "Did UK Voters Think of Themselves as European? Not So Much," *The Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (July 12, 2016).
- "Brexit's False Democracy: What the Vote Really Revealed" *ForeignAffairs.Com* (June 28, 2016).
- "How the Monkey Cage Went Ape" (Interview), *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (January 10, 2016).
- "How to Save the Schengen Zone" ForeignPolicy.com (November 25, 2015).
- "Kathleen McNamara on Greece and the EU" Foreign Affairs Podcasts (August 27, 2015).
- "The Greek Crisis and What it Means for the Eurozone," *National Public Radio: The Exchange* (August 5, 2015).
- "This is What Economists Don't Understand about the Euro Crisis or the U.S. Dollar." *The Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (July 21, 2015).
- "A Less Perfect Union: Europe After the Greek Debt Crisis." *ForeignAffairs.Com* (July 19, 2015).
- "Greece's Economic Crisis Presents Major Challenge To The Euro." Interview with Robert Siegel of *All Things Considered, National Public Radio* (June 30, 2015).
- "What is the European Union, Exactly?" (Interview) *The Atlantic* (June 30, 2015).
- "The euro is an experiment in making a currency without a government. That's why it's in trouble." *The Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (June 28, 2015).
- "West and Russia in Diplomatic Bind Over Ukraine" (Interview) *Voice of America News* (May 8, 2014).

- "Dr. Kate McNamara on the Morning Briefing," *POTUS (Politics of the United States)* SIRIUS Radio (March 21, 2014).
- "The EU After Ukraine." ForeignAffairs.com (March 4, 2014).
- "Cameron's European Gambit." The Monkey Cage/Washington Post (January 23, 2013).
- "Central Bank Becomes an Unlikely Hero in Euro Crisis" (Quoted) *New York Times* (January 20, 2012).
- "It's the Politics, Stupid: The eurozone crisis isn't about debt or deficits it's about a dysfunctional political system." *ForeignPolicy.com* (December 16, 2011).
- "Can the Eurozone Be Saved? Yes, but the European Summit was Too Little, Too Late" *ForeignAffairs.com* (April 7, 2011).
- "The Eurocrisis and the Uncertain Future of European Integration" *Council on Foreign Relations Special Report* (September 2010).
- "What to Read on the European Union," ForeignAffairs.com (March 2010).
- "Slow Train to Brussels" *The National Interest.com* (June 25, 2009)
- "Bank on Democracy: Why Central Banks Need Public Oversight," (with Sheri Berman) *Foreign Affairs* 78 (March/April 1999).

Publications and media appearances available at: https://kathleenrmcnamara.wordpress.com/

Twitter: @ProfKMcNamara