

CURRICULUM VITAE

Judith G. Kelley

EDUCATION

Harvard University, Ph.D. in Public Policy, June 2001.

Dissertation: "Norms and membership conditionality? The Role of European Institutions in Ethnic Politics in Latvia, Estonia, Slovakia and Romania." Advisors: Lisa Martin (chair), Stephen Walt and Robert Putnam.

Harvard University, Master in Public Policy, June 1997.

Stanford University, BA in Communication *with honors and distinction*, June 1995.

POSITIONS

Senior Associate Dean, Sanford School of Public Policy, Duke University, 2014 to present.

Kevin D. Gorter Professor of Public Policy and Political Science, Duke University, 2013 to present.

Kevin D. Gorter Associate Professor of Public Policy and Political Science, Duke University, 2012 - 2013.

Associate Professor of Public Policy and Political Science, Duke University, 2009-2012.

Visiting scholar, Aarhus University, Denmark, 2009-2010.

Assistant Professor of Public Policy and Political Science, Duke University, 2002 - 2009.

Lecturer, Harvard University, 2001.

Consultant, European Union, Brussels, Spring 2002.

Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Graduate Student Associate, 1999-2001.

Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Graduate Student Associate, 1999-2001.

Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Associate, 1997-1998.

Research Associate, Conflict Management Group, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1996.

TEACHING

Undergraduate:

Introduction to public policy analysis – game theory, decision theory, economics, negotiation theory, cost-benefit analysis and symbolic politics (Duke)

International Democratization (Duke)

Junior Seminar: *International Organization* (Harvard)

Undergraduate Honors Thesis Seminar (Duke)

Graduate/Undergraduate seminar:

International Organizations – IR theory and applied case studies (Duke)

Tools of International Pressure (Duke)

Graduate:

Transatlantic Relations (Duke)

Seminar in International Democratization (Duke)

Independent study group on *European integration* (with Robert Keohane, Duke)

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Monitoring Democracy: When International Election observation Works and Why it Often Fails. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2012. Co-winner of the International Studies Association's Chadwick F. Alger Prize for best book on the subject of international organization and multilateralism, 2013. Also "One of Choice's Outstanding Academic Titles for 2013"

Ethnic Politics in Europe: The Power of Norms and Incentives. 2004. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Research Articles

"Politics by Number: Indicators as Social Pressure in International Relations." *American Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming) with Beth Simmons.

"An Opportunity Cost Theory of Treaty Ratification." *International Studies Quarterly* (forthcoming). With Jon Pevehouse.

"The international influences on elections in New Multi-Party states," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 15, June 2012, 203-220.

"Do International Election Monitors Increase or Decrease Opposition Boycotts?" *Comparative Political Studies* 44.11 (November, 2011): 1527-1556. *Online First* on March 11, 2011.

"Election Observers and Their Biases." *Journal of Democracy* 21.July (July, 2010): 158-172.

"The Role of Membership Rules in Regional Organizations." *ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration* .No. 53 (June 2010).

"D-Minus Elections: The Politics and Norms of International Election Observation." *International Organization* 63.4 (Fall, 2009).

"The More the Merrier? The Effects of Having Multiple International Election Monitoring Organizations." 2008. *Perspectives on Politics*, forthcoming.

"Assessing the complex evolution of norms: the rise of international election monitoring." 2008. *International Organization*, 62(2): 221-55.

"The Concept of International Delegation." 2008. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 71(1): 1-39. With Curtis Bradley.

"Who Keeps International Commitments and Why? The International Criminal Court and Bilateral Non-Surrender Agreements." 2007. *American Political Science Review*, 101(3): 573-589.

"New Wine in Old Wineskins: Policy Learning and Adaptation in The new European Neighborhood policy." *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 44(1), 2006, 29-55.

"Strategic non-cooperation as soft balancing: Why Iraq was not just about Iraq." *International Politics* Vol. 42(2), 2005, 153-173.

"International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions." *International Organization*, Vol. 58(3), 2004, 459-459. (Reprinted in Martin, Lisa, Editor. *Global Governance*, Ashgate 2008)

"Does Domestic Politics Limit the Influence of External Actors on Domestic Politics?" *Human Rights Review*, Vol. 4(3), April-June 2003, 34-54.

Chapters in books

"The Potential for Organizational Membership Rules to Enhance Regional Cooperation?" In *Integrating Regions: Asia in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Miles Kahler and Andrew MacIntyre, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2013, p 78-103.

Under review

"Politics by Number: Indicators as Social Pressure in International Relations." With Beth Simmons.

"An opportunity cost theory of US treaty behavior." With Jon Pevehouse.

Other work in progress

"Scorecard Diplomacy: The case of US policy in Trafficking in Persons." Book project.

"Counteraction to International Pressure on Democracy and Human Rights." With Yuqing Hu.

"The role of international organizations in facilitating moral entrepreneurship: The case of tobacco control." Paper.

"Speaking Truth to Power." Collaboration with Amnesty International. With Daniel Nielsen.

Commentaries, Policy Briefs and book reviews

Watching the Watchmen: The Role of Election Observers in Africa. Think Africa Press, 31 May 2013. Available at <http://thinkafricapress.com/politics/watching-watchmen-role-election-observers-africa-kenya-drc-zimbabwe>

Commentator on *Voice of Russia*, October 25, 2012, regarding election observers in the upcoming US election.

Interviewee on Radio New Zealand's Sunday Morning program about election monitoring. Sunday 12 August 2012.

Election Monitoring: Power, Limits, Risks. *A Markets and Democracy Brief*. Council on Foreign Relations, March 2012.

Putin 'victory' rests on narrow definition of fraud, Letter to the Editor, *Financial Times*, March 8, 2012.

Election Monitoring: the Good, the Bad and the Ugly, International Institute for Electoral Democracy, Stockholm, Sweden, December 2011.

Commentator, *BBC TV*, Nov 28, 2011 regarding the Egyptian elections.

The Limits of Election Monitoring: What Independent Observation Can (and Can't) Do. With Susan Hyde. *Foreign Affairs*, June 28, 2011.

Commentator on *Alhurra TV* on Nov 29, 2010 regarding the Egyptian elections.

Book Review: Lee Feinstein and Tod Lindberg, Means to an End: US Interests in the International Criminal Court Brookings, 2009. *Human Rights Review*. Published online first, 25 January 2010.

"Transatlantic Tensions: Opportunities for Learning." *European Union Studies Association Review*, Vol. 17, No. 2, Spring 2004, 9-10.

Book Review of "Procedural Politics: Issues, Influence, and Institutional Choice in the European Union" by Joseph Jupille." *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 120(2), Summer 2005, 332-333.

"The Transatlantic Alliance." Symposium on The Future of European and Transatlantic Security Cooperation. *Young Europeans for Security*, March 2005. www.yes-dk.dk

"Big Stick Diplomacy Ill Serves our Course." Commentary. *The News and Observer*, December 4, 2004.

Multiple Letters to the editor: *Financial Times*, US edition

DATA

Data on International Election Monitoring: Three Global Datasets on Election Quality, Election Events and International Election Observation. [Computer file]. ICPSR31461-v1. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2011-12-01. doi:10.3886/ICPSR31461.v1

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

Josiah Charles Trent Memorial Foundation grant, 2012-2013 (\$3,600). For research on human trafficking.

Smith Richardson Foundation, Strategy and Policy Fellowship, 2012-2015, (\$60,000). For research on human trafficking.

National Science Foundation, 2006-2009 (Award #0550111, \$140,995 plus \$28,000 supplement). For research on international election monitoring.

Duke University Arts and Sciences grant, 2004-2005 (\$4,000). For research on international election monitoring.

Josiah Charles Trent Memorial Foundation grant, 2004-2005 (\$3,000). For research on international election monitoring.

Danish Research Academy, fellowship and travel grants, 1997-2001 (Approx. \$100,000).

Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Research Travel Grant, 1999 and 2000.

John F. Kennedy School, Summer Grant, 1996.

Stanford University Golden Grant, 1994.

RESEARCH AND TEACHING AWARDS

Monitoring Democracy: One of Choice's Outstanding Academic Titles for 2013

Monitoring Democracy: Winner of the 2012 Chadwick Alger Prize for best book in Multilateral Organizations, International Studies Association.

Winner of the 2013 Susan E. Tifft Undergraduate teaching and mentoring award, Duke University.

Selected as a fellow of the Bass Society of excellence in scholarship and teaching, Duke University, 2012 -

First Place Winner of The Ethnicity, Nationalism and Migration section of the International Studies Association (ENMISA) Graduate Paper Competition, 2000.

Stanford University Firestone Medal for Excellence in Research, 1995.

WORKSHOP AND CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION

Principles and Participation in the Global Information Age. Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, California, March 31- April 4, 2012. Co-Program Chair with Layna Mosley.

The Law and Politics of International Delegation. Feb 16 and 17, 2007, Duke Law School. Co-Convener with Curtis Bradley.

Delegating Sovereignty: Constitutional and Political Perspectives, March 3 and 4, 2006, Duke Law School. Co-Convener with Curtis Bradley.

INVITED PRESENTATIONS AND WORKSHOP PARTICIPATION

“From Scrutiny to Shame: Social Pressure in US Anti- Human Trafficking Policy.” Presented at Florida State University Ph.D. Seminar in Human Rights, October 10, 2013, via Skype.

“Soft reputations in international relations: Micro-level evidence of shaming through diplomacy.” Presented at the Triangle International Relations Seminar, Chapel Hill, NC. September 10, 2013.

“From Scrutiny to Shame: Social Pressure in US Anti- Human Trafficking Policy.” Presented at the Georgetown University International Theory and Research Seminar, February 4, 2013.

“From Scrutiny to Shame: Social Pressure in US Anti- Human Trafficking Policy.” Presented at the Hauser Colloquium at NYU School of Law on October 25, 2012.

“The good, the bad and the ugly: biases of international election observers.” Speech to the Danish foreign ministry, October 15, 2012, Copenhagen, Denmark.

“Policy recommendations for election observation,” Speech to the Danish Association of Election Observers, October 15, 2012, Copenhagen, Denmark.

“Speaking Truth to Power.” Experiments Workshop, Utah, September 28-29, 2012.

“Shame vs. Sanctions: The Impact of US Anti-Human Trafficking Policy World-Wide.” Workshop on the tools of international pressure. Yale University. June 1-2, 2012.

Monitoring Democracy: when international election observation works and why it often fails. University of Madison Wisconsin, Comparative Politics Seminar, March 21, 2012.

The Concept of International Delegation. Workshop on International Organizations. Social Science Research Center, Berlin, February 24-25, 2012.

Monitoring Democracy: when international election observation works and why it often fails. Social Science Research Center, Berlin, February 23, 2012.

Global Public Goods and Tobacco Control. Paper presented at the Duke Law School Global Public Goods workshop, October 22, 2011.

The role of international organizations in facilitating moral entrepreneurship: The case of tobacco control. Workshop on Moral Entrepreneurship, University of Minnesota, September 30-October 1, 2011.

Presentation to the newly established Kofi Annan Global Commission on Elections, at the inaugural meeting, Johannesburg, South Africa. March 4-5, 2011.

Election Monitoring in unstable democracies, Duke Law School, Roundtable on Challenges to Democracy in Divided Societies, Durham, NC, January 29, 2011.

The Domestic Politics of the United States Article II Treaty Process. Duke-Harvard Foreign Relations Workshop. The Political Economy of U.S. Foreign Relations Law, Duke Law School, Durham, NC, November 6, 2010.

Election Monitoring: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly, Aarhus University, Denmark, May, 2010.

Monitoring legitimacy: when international election observation works and why it often fails. Stockholm, February 6 2010.

Monitoring legitimacy: when international election observation works and why it often fails. Lund University, Sweden, February 5, 2010

International election monitoring, Aarhus Political Science Department, Denmark, October 5, 2009.

Monitoring Legitimacy: International observers in domestic elections, CUPIS Seminar. Columbia University, 11 December 2009.

D-Minus elections: How conflicting norms and interests influence whether international election observers endorse flawed elections, International Relations Seminar, Princeton University, October 12, 2008.

The rise of international election monitoring, International Relations seminar, University of Georgetown Law School, October 8, 2008.

“D-Minus elections: How conflicting norms and interests influence whether international election observers endorse flawed elections.” International Relations Seminar, Princeton University, May 12, 2008.

“International election monitoring.” PIPES Seminar, University of Chicago, February 28, 2008.

“How do the Preferences and Constraints of International Organizations and NGOs Matter? Election Monitoring and “D-” Elections.” University of Minnesota, February 11, 2008.

“Creating election related databases.” Moscow Carnegie Center, Moscow, Russia, February 7, 2008.

“Who Keeps International Commitments and Why? The International Criminal Court and Bilateral Non-Surrender Agreements.” McGill University, October 12, 2007.

“Who Keeps International Commitments and Why? The International Criminal Court and Bilateral Non-Surrender Agreements.” University of Illinois, Champaign. April 17-18, 2007.

“Democratization and the New European Neighborhood Policy.” Denver University Graduate School of International Studies, March 9, 2007.

“The concept of International Delegation.” Duke Law School conference on *The Law and Politics of International Delegation*. Feb 16, 2007. With Curtis Bradley.

"Norms, Systemic Change and Incentives: Explaining the Rise of Election Monitoring." Northwestern University, Oct 13, 2006.

“The United States and Delegation to International Institutions.” *Delegating Sovereignty: Constitutional and Political Perspectives*, Duke Law School, March 3 and 4, 2006.

“The Concept of Delegation.” Paper presented at the conference on *Delegating Sovereignty: Constitutional and Political Perspectives*, Duke Law School, March 3 and 4, 2006. With Curtis Bradley.

The European institutions and reforms in the Baltic States. Brigham and Young University, December 3, 2005.

Do states care about keeping international commitments: the case of the International Criminal Court. Brigham and Young University, December 2, 2005.

The International Criminal Court and Non-surrender Agreements. College of William and Mary, November 18, 2005.

“The role of material and non-material factors in state behavior: article 98 agreements as a quasi-experiment.” Vanderbilt Law School International Law Roundtable on International Criminal Law and International Human Rights Law, January 27-29, 2005.

International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions. Duke University Seminar on Globalization, Equity and Democratic Governance, March 29, 2004.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

“Performance Indicators as Social Pressure in US Anti-Human Trafficking Policy.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 29-September 1, 2013. With Beth Simmons.

“Soft reputations in international relations: Micro-level evidence of shaming through diplomacy.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 29-September 1, 2013.

“The Opportunity Cost of US Treaty Ratification.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, California, March 31- April 4, 2012. With Jon Pevehouse.

“The Domestic Politics of the United States Article II Treaty Process.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, Washington, September 1-4, 2011.

“The Role of Membership Rules in Regional Organizations.” Paper presented at the 2010 Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C. September 2-5, 2010.

“International Influences on Election Quality and Turnover.” Paper presented at the 2010 Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C. September 2-5, 2010.

“International Organizations and NGOs as Strategic Actors: Understanding the Incentives of International Election Monitors.” Paper presented at the 2008 Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston. August 28-31, 2008.

“The Strategic Consequences of Election Monitoring.” Paper presented at the 2007 Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 30 - September 2. With Dan Kselman.

"Norms, Systemic Change and Instrumentalism: Explaining the Rise of Election Monitoring." Paper presented at the 2007 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA

“The Effects of Election Monitoring." Paper presented at the 2007 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA.

“The Power of Norms and Incentives.” Annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Town & Country Resort and Convention Center, San Diego, California, 2006-03-22

"Norms, Systemic Change and Incentives: Explaining the Rise of Election Monitoring" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Town & Country Resort and Convention Center, San Diego, California, USA, 2006-03-22

“Who is in Charge? Operational Overlaps of International Organizations.” Prepared as a highly informal contribution to the Princeton Conference on Nesting and Overlapping Institutions, February 24, 2006

“Do States Care about Normative Consistency? The ICC and Bilateral Non-Surrender Agreements as a Quasi-Experiment.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Marriott Wardman Park, Omni Shoreham, Washington Hilton, Washington, DC,

“New Wine in Old Wineskins: Policy Adaptation in The new European Neighborhood policy.” Paper presented to the European Union Studies Association Annual Meeting, Austin Texas. March 31-April 2. 2005.

“Legal Commitments and State Behavior: Explaining State Responses To U.S. Requests For Bilateral Agreements Securing Immunity From The International Criminal Court.” Paper presented to the Fifth Pan-European International Relations Conference, Constructing World Orders, Netherlands Congress Centre, The Hague, September 9-11, 2004.

“Strategic Non-Cooperation As Soft Balancing: Why Iraq Was Not Just About Iraq.” Paper presented to the Fifth Pan-European International Relations Conference, Constructing World Orders, Netherlands Congress Centre, The Hague, September 9-11, 2004.

“Soft balancing: Explaining US and European failures to align policies.” Paper presented at the EUSA conference *Transatlantic Relations: What Next?* Washington DC, March 15 and 16, 2004.

“Persuasion, incentives and ethnic politics,” paper presented at the 19th International Political Science Association World Congress, Durban, South Africa, June 29 – July 4, 2003.

“Strategic Incentive Use.” Policy Memo, Europeanization, Collective Identities and Public Discourses (IDNET): ARENA/IDNET International Policy Conference arranged for the European Commission, 11 October 2002, University of Oslo.

“Membership, Management And Enforcement: European Institutions And Eastern Europe’s Ethnic Politics. “ Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 29 – September 1, 2002.

“Persuasion, Incentives and Ethnic Politics in Eastern Europe.” Paper prepared for the ARENA/RSC IDNET Conference, International Institutions and Socialization in the New Europe, Second Project Workshop, 18-19 May 2001, and Third Project Workshop, 22 - 23 February 2002, European University Institute, Florence.

"The Role of European Institutions Use of Norms and Membership Incentives in Ethnic Politics." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31-September 3, 2000, Washington D.C.

"Can Incentives Move Mountains? The Role of European Institutions in Ethnic Minority Politics." Paper presented at the CISS/ISA Millennium Series, Second International Conference, August 29-30, 2000, Washington D.C.

"When Can International Institutions Change State Behavior? The case of European integration and ethnic politics in Latvia and Estonia." Paper presented at the Annual International Studies Association Conference, March 14-18, 2000, Los Angeles. * *First Place Winner* of The Ethnicity, Nationalism and Migration section of the International Studies Association (ENMISA) Graduate Paper Competition, 2000.

DEPARTMENT SERVICE

Chair, Search Committee for the James R. Shepley Distinguished Professorship on Media and Democracy.

Chair, Review committee for Sarah Bermeo.

Member, Review committee for Tana Johnson.

Member, Search Committee for International Human rights, 2012-2013.

Member of the Tenure Review Committee, Kristin Goss, Fall 2011

Member of the Executive Committee, 2010 -

Member of the Sanford PhD Steering Committee, 2010 - 2013

Member of the departments Ad Hoc Executive Committee, 2008-2009

Director of undergraduate honors program, Public Policy, Duke University, 2007 – 2009, 2011-present

Member of the Sanford Institute of Public Policy search committee for an international relations open rank position, Fall 2006.

Sanford Graduate Admissions Committee, Sanford Institute of Public Policy, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008

PHD STUDENTS SUPERVISED

Lenka Bustikova

Mark Buntaine

Sinziana Popa

Kiril Kolev

Chris Whytock

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Member of the Provost's Search Committee for a new Dean for the Sanford School, 2011-2013

Member of the Duke University International Affairs Committee, 2002 – 2003

Member of the Duke University Center for International Studies Advisory Committee, 2007-2011

Academic Associate to the Atlantic Council of the United States, 2003 – present

Co-chair of the Duke University Globalization and Equity Seminar, 2003 – 2011.

Member of the FLAS scholarship review committee, 2008.

Member of the Duke Center for European Studies Advisory Board, 2008-2011

NATIONAL SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

Member, Advisory Board, Electoral Integrity Project, 2012 -

Co-program chair for the 2012 International Studies Association Annual Meeting, the largest and most respected interdisciplinary scholarly organization for international studies, with over 5,000

members worldwide, including 35% outside North America. The annual convention is the main annual conference for international studies, and the 2012 meeting hosted 1000 panels.

Member, ex-officio, Executive Council of the International Studies Association, 2011-2012

Elected Member and Chair of the Editorial board of the journal *International Organization*, 2009-present

Appointed Member, special issue committee of the journal *International Organization*, 2010-2012.

Editorial board member, *Comparative Political Studies*, 2013 -

Reviewer for, among others, *International Organization*, *American Political Science Review*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Democratization*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Journal of Politics*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Cambridge Review of International Relations*, *Review of International Organizations*, *World Politics*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Cambridge University Press, Palgrave, Syracuse University Press, and the National Science Foundation, and the Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order.

Member of the annual NSF review panel for Ph.D. grant proposals in political science, 2007-2010

Delegate to the 2003-2005 study group on “The Future of Europe: Perspectives for European Integration,” sponsored by the Dräger Foundation, the ZEIT Foundation, and the American Council on Germany, and meeting biannually in Berlin, Warsaw, Brussels and Washington.

Member of the Academic Exchange mission to Israel, Summer 2012.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS

American Political Science Association
International Studies Association

OTHER

Legal US resident, Citizen of Denmark