

2/11/2014

PROF. DR. THOMAS RISSE

## CURRICULUM VITAE

Office Address: Center for Transnational Relations, Foreign and Security Policy  
Department of Political and Social Science  
Freie Universität Berlin  
Ihnestr. 22  
14195 Berlin  
Germany  
Tel.: +49-(0)30-838 55527  
Fax: +49-(0)30-838 54160  
Email: [thomas.risse@fu-berlin.de](mailto:thomas.risse@fu-berlin.de)  
Website: <http://www.fu-berlin.de/atasp>

Private Address: Fritschestr. 78  
10585 Berlin  
Germany  
Tel.: +49 (0) 30 34540152



## PERSONAL DATA

Citizenship: Federal Republic of Germany  
Dec 17, 1955  
born in Mettmann, Nordrhein-Westfalen (FRG)  
Married

## EMPLOYMENT

2011 Offer of Presidency, Leibniz German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Hamburg (declined)

2004 Offer of Full Professorship, London School of Economics and Political Science (declined)

2001 - Chair in International Politics (C 4/W 3), Otto Suhr Institute for Political Science, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

1997-2001 Joint Chair in International Relations (A4), Department of Political and Social Sciences/Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence, Italy

1993-1996 Professor of International Politics (C3), Department of Administrative Sciences (Fakultät für Verwaltungswissenschaft), University of Konstanz, Germany

1992-1993 Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Wyoming, Laramie, WY, USA

1988-1990 Assistant Professor of Government, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, USA

1981-1988 Research Associate, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), Germany

## EDUCATION

May 1987	PhD, “summa cum laude”; Political Science, Johan-Wolfgang Goethe Universität, Frankfurt, Germany; Dissertation Advisor: Prof. Dr. Ernst-Otto Czempel
1980-1981	Studies of Political Science and Economics, Institute d'Etudes Politiques, Paris
July 1980	M.A., Political Science, Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelm Universität, Bonn, Germany
1976-1980	Studies of Political Science, Social Science, and Catholic Theology, Bonn University

## VISITING PROFESSORSHIPS

2009-	Adjunct Professor, Global and Area Studies Program, University of Wyoming, Laramie, WY, USA
March 2008	Visiting Professor, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel
2006-2007	Visiting Professor, Government Department, Harvard University, Cambridge MA
2006-2007	Visiting Fellow, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies and Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University
2005	Adjunct Professor, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
1995/96	Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, Stanford CA, USA
1991-1992	Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Yale University, New Haven, CT, USA

## RESEARCH GRANTS, PRIZES, AND FELLOWSHIPS

2013-	Project Partner, MAXCAP Consortium, funded by 7 <sup>th</sup> Framework Program for Socio-Economic Research, EU Commission
2012-2014	Project Partner (with Prof. Dr. Tanja Börzel), TRANSWORLD Consortium, funded by 7 <sup>th</sup> Framework Program for Socio-Economic Research, EU Commission
2009-2012	Project Partner, “Sustainable Development. Reflexive Inputs to World Organization,” Consortium with LSE and Science Po., Paris, funded by 7 <sup>th</sup> Framework Program for Socio-Economic Research, EU Commission
2008-2016	Director (with Prof. Dr. Tanja Börzel), Research College ( <i>Kolleg-Forscherguppe</i> ), “The Transformative Power of Europe: The Diffusion of Ideas in the European Union”, funded by the German Research Foundation ( <i>Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG</i> ) <a href="http://www.transformeurope.eu">www.transformeurope.eu</a> (ca. € 1 million/year for eight year period)
2007-2009	Project Partner (with Prof. Dr. Cathleen Kantner), Integrated Project “Reconstruction of European Democracy” (RECON), funded by 6 <sup>th</sup> Framework Program on Socio-Economic Research, European Commission
2006-2017	Coordinator, Collaborative Research Center 700 (CRC; <i>Sonderforschungsbereich</i> ) “Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood: New

- Modes of Governance?", funded by German Research Foundation (DFG) [www.sfb-governance.de](http://www.sfb-governance.de) (ca. € 2.5 million/year for up to twelve years)
- 2006-2017 Principal Investigator, Project A1 "Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood: Theoretical Contributions", Collaborative Research Center (SFB) 700, funded by DFG
- 2006-2009 Principal Investigator (with Dr. Marianne Beisheim), Project D1 "Transnational Public Private Partnerships for Environment, Health, and Social Rights," Collaborative Research Center (SFB) 700, funded by DFG
- 2005-2008 Principal Investigator (with Dr. Cathleen Kantner) "A European Public Sphere and European Foreign and Security Policy", funded by DFG
- 2004-2008 Project Partner, Integrated Project "New Modes of European Governance," (NEWGOV), funded by 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme on Socio-Economic Research, European Commission
- 2003 Max Planck Research Prize for International Cooperation
- 2003-2005 (with G. John Ikenberry and Jeffrey Anderson, Georgetown University) transatlantic study group, funded by the „German-American Science Foundation,“ of the *Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft* of the German industry
- 2001-2003 Project Partner, Web-Based POLITIKON-Project, part "Theories of International Cooperation," funded by *Bundesministerium für Forschung und Technologie*
- 2001-2003 Principal Investigator (with Prof. Bernd Giesen, Konstanz), "When Europe Hits Home: Europeanization and National Public Discourses," funded by DFG
- 2000-2002 Project Coordinator, "Europeanization, Collective Identities, and Public Discourses (IDNET)," Thematic Network involving five European Universities, funded by the 5<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme on Socio-Economic Research, European Commission
- 2000-2002 Principal Investigator (with Prof. Harald Müller, Frankfurt), "Arguing and Bargaining in Multilateral Negotiations," funded by Volkswagen Foundation
- 1999-2001 Co-Director (with Stefano Bartolini and Bo Strath), European Forum/Centre of Advanced Studies at the European University Institute (Florence, Italy), "Between Europe and the Nation-State. The Reshaping of Interests, Identities and Political Representation", funded by the European Commission
- 1997-1999 Principal Investigator, "Ideas, Institutions, and Political Culture: The Europeanization of National Identities," funded by DFG
- 1995-1999 Principal Investigator, "Ideas, International Institutions, and Domestic Political Change: The Case of Human Rights," funded by DFG
- 1995-1997 Principal Investigator (with Stephen C. Ropp), "Human Rights Norms and Domestic Political Change," workshops in collaboration with the International Studies Program, University of Wyoming, USA, funded by the German-American Academic Council
- 1995-1996 Coordinator, "Europeanization in National, Regional, and Sectoral Comparison - Dynamic Processes between Politics, Administration, and Economy," Special Research Unit at the University of Konstanz, Germany, funded by the State of Baden-Württemberg
- 1991-1992 MacArthur Foundation Postdoctoral Fellow in History and Political Science, International Security Program, Yale University

1990-1991	"Advanced Research in Foreign Policy" Fellowship, Social Science Research Council, New York
1990-1991	Visiting Fellow, International Security Program, Yale University
Fall 1990	Visiting Fellow, The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C.
Spring 1988	Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for International and Strategic Affairs, University of California, Los Angeles
Fall 1986	Visiting Fellow, Peace Studies Program, Cornell University
1976-1980	Undergraduate Stipend, "Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes"

### UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION

2011-	Exams Committee, Otto Suhr Institute for Political Science, Freie Universität Berlin (chair 2011-2013)
2011-2012	Chair, Curriculum Reform Committee, Otto Suhr Institute for Political Science, Freie Universität Berlin
2008-	Founding Director (2008-2010) and Executive Board, Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies (BTS) <a href="http://www.transnationalstudies.eu">www.transnationalstudies.eu</a> , joint PhD program of Freie Universität Berlin, WZB Social Science Research Center Berlin, and Hertie School of Governance
2007-	Member, Excellence Council, Freie Universität Berlin
2003-2005	Dean, Political and Social Science Division, Freie Universität Berlin
2003-	Joint Commission for Master of International Relations Program, Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, and Universität Potsdam, <a href="http://www.masterib.de">www.masterib.de</a> (chair: 2003-2008)
2002	Board of Directors, Otto Suhr Institute of Political Science, Freie Universität Berlin
2001-	Director, Center for Transnational Relations, Foreign and Security Policy, Freie Universität Berlin
2000-2001	Academic Director, BP Program on Transatlantic Relations, European University Institute, Florence, Italy

### TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2008-	Berlin Graduate School for Transnational Studies (joint PhD program of Freie Universität Berlin, Social Science Center Berlin, and Hertie School of Governance): "Survey Course on Inter- and Transnational Relations," "Research Methods"
Fall 2006	Harvard University (with Tanja A. Börzel): "European Union Politics"
2001-	Freie Universität Berlin: Undergraduate and Graduate Courses covering "Introduction to International Relations," "Theories of International Cooperation," "Qualitative Methods in International Relations," "German Foreign Policy," "Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood," and others
1997-2001	European University Institute, Florence: PhD. Seminars on "Theories of International Relations," "New Institutionalism in International Relations and European Affairs," and "Qualitative Methods in International Relations"

Fall/Winter 1995/96	Department of Political Science, Stanford University: Undergraduate lecture: "International Politics"; graduate seminar: "International Cooperation, Regimes, and Organizations"
1993-1996	Department of Administrative Sciences, University of Konstanz: <i>undergraduate and graduate courses</i> on "Introduction to International Relations," "Theories of Cooperation," "European Foreign Policy and European Integration," and others
1992-1993	Department of Political Science, University of Wyoming: Undergraduate courses
1991-1992	Department of Political Science, Yale University: Undergraduate and graduate seminars
1988-1990	Department of Government, Cornell University: Undergraduate and graduate seminars on various issues in international security and on domestic politics of international relations
Summer 1987	Department of Social Sciences, University of Frankfurt: Graduate Seminar

### OTHER ACTIVITIES

<i>Editor</i>	(with Ursula Lehmkuhl and Gunnar Folke Schuppert) Schriften zur Governance-Forschung (Nomos-Verlag) Governance and Limited Statehood Series (Palgrave – Macmillan)
<i>Current Editorial Boards</i>	Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO) Encyclopedia of Transnational Governance Innovation (London School of Economics and Political Science) Global Governance Journal of European Public Policy Turkish Journal of International Relations
<i>Previous Editorial Boards</i>	Cambridge University Press Series on European Governance, Cooperation and Conflict, European Journal of International Relations, International Organization, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Common Market Studies, Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, Series "Weltpolitik im 21. Jahrhundert" (Nomos Verlag), Security Dialogue, Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen
<i>Reviewer</i>	American Political Science Review, Cambridge University Press, Columbia University Press, Cornell University Press, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, European Journal of International Relations, Governance, International Organization, International Security, International Studies Quarterly, Israel Science Foundation, Japan Society for the Promotion of Sciences, Johns Hopkins University Press, Journal of Common Market Studies, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Peace Research, U.S. National Science Foundation, Norwegian Research Council, Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Review of International Studies, Volkswagen Stiftung, Thyssen Stiftung, Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen, and others
<i>Member</i>	American Political Science Association, Council for European Studies, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft, European Union Studies Association, International Studies Association, and others
2013-	Scientific Board, Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB)

2013-	Board, German Council on Foreign Relations ( <i>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik</i> )
2013-	Chair, Scientific Advisory Board, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF)
2013-	Member, Advisory Board, Forum Zivile Friedensdienste (Forum Civil Peace Service)
2012-	Chair, Scientific Committee on the Social Sciences, Science Europe (= European association of research funding and research performing organizations)
2011-2012	Member, Expert Group, Working Group on German Identity, Chancellery of the Federal Republic of Germany
2011	Chair, Evaluation Committee of Israeli Political Science and International Relations Departments, on behalf of the Council for Higher Education, Ministry of Education, Israel
2010-2013	Long-Term Planning Committee, International Studies Association
2009-2013	Publications Committee, International Studies Association
2008-	Executive Board, Stiftung Zukunft Berlin
2007-	Scientific Board, Fritz Thyssen Foundation
2007-2010	Scientific Board, SWP German Institute for Security and International Affairs ( <i>Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik</i> )
June 2007	Member of Evaluation Team for the Departments of International Relations, Political Science, and Public Administration, Hebrew University, Jerusalem
2005-2012	Scientific Board, German Council on Foreign Relations ( <i>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik</i> )
2005-2012	Scientific Board, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
2004-2011	Elected Member of the Social Science Review Panel (Fachkollegium) of the <i>Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft</i> (DFG; German Research Foundation)
2004-2012	Scientific Board, Dahlem Konferenzen, Freie Universität Berlin
2003-	Scientific Board, Institute for European Politics, Berlin
2003-2005	Executive Committee of the German Association for the United Nations
2002-2006	Associate Editor, <i>International Organization</i>
2002-2005	Steering Committee, German-Norwegian Scholarship Programme Political Science/European Studies of the Ruhrgas Foundation
2001-2005	Chair of the Academic Board, Berlin Programme for German and European Studies
1999-	Member, Working Group on Peace and Conflict Research, Planning Staff, German Foreign Office
1994-2000	Executive Committee, International Politics Section of the German Political Science Association
1992-96	Workshop Committee, International Studies Association
1988-91	Steering Committee, Peace Studies Program, Cornell University
1987	Consultant to Karsten D. Voigt, Foreign Policy Spokesperson (SPD), German Bundestag

1985-1987 Editorial board of the journal "Friedensanalysen"  
1985-1988 Expert Group on Security Policy, Justice and Peace Commission of the German Catholic Bishops' Conference

**LANGUAGE SKILLS:** German (native), English (fluent), French (moderate)

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

### Monographs

- 2010: *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press)
- 2002: (with Anja Jetschke and Hans Peter Schmitz) *Die Macht der Menschenrechte. Internationale Normen, kommunikatives Handeln und politischer Wandel in den Ländern des Südens, Weltpolitik im 21. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 7 (Baden-Baden: Nomos)
- 1995: *Cooperation Among Democracies. The European Influence on U.S. Foreign Policy*, Princeton Studies in International History and Politics (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press)
- 1988: *Die Krise der Sicherheitspolitik. Neuorientierungen und Entscheidungsprozesse im politischen System der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1977-84* (Mainz-München: Grünewald-Kaiser) (= revised version of PhD dissertation)
- 1988: *Zero Option. INF, West Germany, and Arms Control* (Boulder, Col.: Westview)  
 German Version: *Null-Lösung. Entscheidungsprozesse zu den Mittelstreckenwaffen 1970-1987* (Frankfurt/M.: Campus, 1988)

### Edited Volumes and Special Issues

- In prep.: (with Tanja A. Börzel and David Levi-Faur [eds.]) *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; under contract)
- 2014: (ed.) *European Public Spheres. Bringing Politics Back In* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming)
- 2014: (with Stephen Krasner [eds.]) *External Actors, State Building, and Service Provision in Areas of Limited Statehood*, Special Issue of *Governance*, October 2014, forthcoming
- 2013: (with Stephen Ropp and Kathryn Sikkink [eds.]) *The Persistent Power of Human Rights. From Commitment to Compliance* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press)
- 2013: (with Walter Carlsnaes and Beth Simmons [eds.]) *Handbook of International Relations, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition* (London: Sage)
- 2012: (with Tanja A. Börzel [eds.]) *From Europeanization to Diffusion*, Special Issue of *West European Politics*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (2014 re-print: London, Routledge)
- 2011: (ed.) *Governance Without a State? Policies and Politics in Areas of Limited Statehood* (New York NY: Columbia University Press)
- 2010: (with Josef Braml and Eberhard Sandschneider [eds.]) *Einsatz für den Frieden. Sicherheit und Entwicklung in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit. Jahrbuch Internationale Politik*, Vol. 28, German Council on Foreign Relations (München: Oldenbourg)
- 2009: (with Amichai Magen and Michael McFaul [eds.]) *Promoting Democracy and the Rule of Law. American and European Strategies*. (Basingstoke UK: Palgrave – Macmillan)
- 2008: (with Jeffery Anderson and G. John Ikenberry [eds.]) *The End of the West? Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press)
- 2007: (with Ursula Lehmkuhl [eds.]) *Regieren ohne Staat? Governance in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit*, Schriften zur Governance-Forschung (Baden-Baden: Nomos)
- 2006: (with Nicole Janz [eds.]) *Menschenrechte – Globale Dimensionen eines universellen Anspruchs* (Baden-Baden: Nomos)



- 2004: (with Richard Herrmann and Marilynn Brewer [eds.]) *Transnational Identities. Becoming European in the European Union* (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield)
- 2002: (with Walter Carlsnaes and Beth Simmons [eds.]) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage)
- 2001: (with James A. Caporaso and Maria Green Cowles [eds.]) *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press)
- 2000: (with Edgar Grande [eds.]), "Globalisierung und die Handlungsfähigkeit des Nationalstaates," Special Issue of *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*, Vol. 7, No. 2
- 1999: (with Stephen Ropp and Kathryn Sikkink [eds.]) *The Power of Human Rights. International Norms and Domestic Change*, Cambridge Studies in International Relations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- 1995: (ed.), *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures, and International Institutions*, Cambridge Studies in International Relations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- 1995: (with Richard N. Lebow [eds.]), *International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press)
- 1995: (with Nils Petter Gleditsch [guest eds.]), *Democracy and Peace*, Special Issue of the "European Journal of International Relations," Vol. 1, No. 4
- 1986: (with Richard N. Lebow [eds.]), *Alternative Approaches to Security Policy*, Bulletin of Peace Proposals, special issue, Vol. 17, No.2

### Major Articles and Book Chapters

#### a) Refereed

- 2014: "European Public Spheres. Bringing Politics Back In: Introduction," in Risse (ed.), *European Public Spheres. Bringing Politics Back In* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming)
- 2014: "European Public Spheres, the Politicization of EU Affairs, and Its Consequences," in Risse (ed.), *European Public Spheres. Bringing Politics Back In* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming)
- 2014: (with Stephen Krasner) "External Actors, State-Building, and Service Provision in Areas of Limited Statehood: Introduction," in Risse/Krasner (eds.) *External Actors, State-Building, and Service Provision in Areas of Limited Statehood. Special Issue of "Governance"*, October 2014, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/gove.12065/full> (Jan. 6, 2014)
- 2013: (with Stephen Ropp) "Introduction and Overview," in Thomas Risse, Stephen Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink (eds.), *The Persistent Power of Human Rights. From Commitment to Compliance* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press), 3-25
- 2013: (with Tanja A. Börzel) "Human Rights in Areas of Limited Statehood: The New Agenda," in Thomas Risse, Stephen Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink (eds.), *The Persistent Power of Human Rights. From Commitment to Compliance* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press), 63-84
- 2013: (with Kathryn Sikkink) "Conclusions," in Thomas Risse, Stephen Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink (eds.), *The Persistent Power of Human Rights. From Commitment to Compliance* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press), 275-295
- 2012: (with Tanja A. Börzel) "From Europeanization to Diffusion. Introduction," *West European Politics*, Special Issue *From Europeanization to Diffusion*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1-19

- 2012: (with Tanja A. Börzel) "When Europeanization Meets Diffusion. Exploring New Territory," *West European Politics*, Special Issue *From Europeanization to Diffusion*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 192-207
- 2011: "Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood. Introduction and Overview," in Thomas Risse (ed.), *Governance Without a State? Policies and Politics in Areas of Limited Statehood* (New York NY: Columbia University Press), 1-35
- 2010: (with Tanja A. Börzel) "Governance Without a State – Can It Work?" *Regulation & Governance*, Vol. 4, 113-134
- 2010: (with Mareike Kleine) "Deliberation in Negotiations," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 17, No. 5, 708-726
- 2009: "Conclusions. Towards Transatlantic Democracy Promotion?," in Amichai Magen, Thomas Risse, and Michael McFaul (eds.), *Promoting Democracy and the Rule of Law. American and European Strategies* (Basingstoke UK: Palgrave – Macmillan), 244-271
- 2009: (with Tanja A. Börzel) "Venus Approaching Mars? The European Union's Approaches to Democracy Promotion in Comparative Perspective," in Magen, Risse, and McFaul (eds.), *Promoting Democracy and the Rule of Law. American and European Strategies* (Basingstoke UK: Palgrave – Macmillan), 34-60
- 2008: "Regieren in ‚Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit‘: Zur *Reisefähigkeit* des Governance-Konzeptes", in Gunnar Folke Schuppert and Michael Zürn (eds.), *Governance in einer sich wandelnden Welt, Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Sonderheft* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften), 149-170
- 2008: "The End of the West? Conclusions," in Jeffrey Anderson, G. John Ikenberry, and Thomas Risse (eds.), *The End of the West? Crisis and Change in the Transatlantic Order* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press), 263-290
- 2007: (with Mareike Kleine) "Assessing the Legitimacy of the EU's Treaty Revision Methods," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 1, 69-79
- 2007: (with Tanja A. Börzel) "Europeanization: The Domestic Impact of EU Politics", in Knud-Erik Jørgensen/Mark Pollack/Ben Rosamond (eds.), *Handbook of European Union Politics* (London: Sage)
- 2005: "Neo-Functionalism, European identity, and the puzzles of European integration," in Tanja A. Börzel (ed.), *The Disparity of European Integration. Revisiting Neofunctionalism in Honour of Ernst B. Haas*, Special Issue of the *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 291-309
- 2005: (with Cornelia Ulbert) "Deliberately changing the discourse: what does make arguing effective?," *Acta Politica*, Vol. 40, 351-367
- 2005: (with Tanja A. Börzel), "Public-Private Partnerships. Effective and Legitimate Tools of International Governance?" in Edgar Grande and Louis W. Pauly (eds.), *Complex Sovereignty. Reconstituting Political Authority in the Twenty-First Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 195-216
- 2004: „European Institutions and Identity Change: What Have We Learned?“ in Richard Herrmann, Thomas Risse and Marilyn Brewer (eds.), *Transnational Identities. Becoming European in the European Union* (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield), 247-271
- 2004: "Global Governance and Communicative Action," in David Held/Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, "Global Governance and Public Accountability," Special Issue of *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 39, Nr. 2, 288-313
- 2004: "Der 9.11. und der 11.9. – Folgen für das Fach Internationale Beziehungen," *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 111-121
- 2004: „Social Constructivism and European Integration,“ in Antje Wiener/Thomas Diez (eds.), *European Integration Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 159-176 (second edition: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 144-160)

- 2003: (with Tanja A. Börzel) „Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe,” in Kevin Featherstone/Claudio M. Radaelli (Hrsg.) *The Politics of Europeanisation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 57-80
- 2003: „Konstruktivismus, Rationalismus und Theorien Internationaler Beziehungen – Warum empirisch nichts so heiß gegessen wird, wie es theoretisch gekocht wurde,” in Gunther Hellmann, Klaus Dieter Wolf and Michael Zürn (eds.), *Die neuen Internationalen Beziehungen. Forschungsstand und Perspektiven in Deutschland* (Baden-Baden: Nomos), 99-132
- 2003: „The Euro between national and European Identity,” *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 487-503
- 2002: „Constructivism and International Institutions. Toward Conversations Across Paradigms,” in Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner (eds.), *Political Science as Discipline. Reconsidering Power, Choice, and the State at Century's End* (New York u.a.: W. W. Norton), 597-623
- 2002: „U.S. Power in a Liberal Security Community,” in G. John Ikenberry (ed.), *America Unrivaled. The Future of the Balance of Power* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press), 260-283
- 2002: (with Daniela Engelmann-Martin), „Identity Politics and European Integration. The Case of Germany,” in Anthony Pagden (ed.), *The Idea of Europe. From Antiquity to the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 287-316
- 2002: „Transnational Actors and World Politics,” in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth Simmons (ed.), *Handbook of International Relations* (London u.a.: Sage), 255-274
- 2001: (with James Caporaso and Maria Green Cowles) "Europeanization and Domestic Change: Introduction," in Cowles/Caporaso/Risse (eds.), *Europeanization and Domestic Change* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press), 1-20
- 2001: "A European Identity? Europeanization and the Evolution of Nation-State Identities," *ibid.*, 198-216
- 2001: (with Maria Green Cowles) "Conclusions," *ibid.*, 217-237
- 2000: "Let's Argue! Persuasion and Deliberation in International Relations," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 1, 1-39
- 2000: (with Edgar Grande), "Bridging the Gap: Konzeptionelle Anforderungen an die politikwissenschaftliche Analyse von Globalisierungsprozessen," *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 235-266
- 1999: "International Norms and Domestic Change: Arguing and Strategic Adaptation in the Human Rights Area," *Politics & Society*, Vol. 27, No. 4, December, 526-556
- 1999: (with Daniela Engelmann-Martin, Hans-Joachim Knopf, and Klaus Roscher) "To Euro or Not to Euro? EMU and Identity Politics in the European Union," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 147-187
- 1999: (with Martin Marcussen, Daniela Engelmann-Martin, Hans-Joachim Knopf, and Klaus Roscher) "Constructing Europe? The Evolution of French, British, and German Nation-State Identities," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 614-633
- 1999: (with Kathryn Sikkink) "The Socialization of International Human Rights Norms in Domestic Practices: Introduction," in Risse/Ropp/Sikkink (eds.), *The Power of Human Rights. International Norms and Domestic Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1-38
- 1999: (with Stephen C. Ropp) "International Human Rights and Domestic Change: Conclusions," *ibid.*, 234-278
- 1998: (with Sieglinde Gränzer, Anja Jetschke, and Hans Peter Schmitz) "Internationale Menschenrechtsnormen, transnationale Netzwerke und politischer Wandel in den Ländern des Südens," *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 5-41

1997: "The Cold War's Endgame and German Unification (A Review Essay)," *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 4, Spring, 159-185

1997: "Between a New World Order and None: Explaining the Re-Emergence of the United Nations in World Politics," in Keith Krause (ed.), *Critical Theory and International Security* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)

1996: "Collective Identity in a Democratic Community: The Case of NATO," in Peter Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security. Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press), 357-399

1996: "Exploring the Nature of the Beast: International Relations Theory and Comparative Policy Analysis Meet the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 53-80

1995: "Democratic Peace - Warlike Democracies? A Social Constructivist Interpretation of the Liberal Argument," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 489-515

1995: "Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Introduction" and "Conclusions: What Have We Learned?" in Risse-Kappen (ed.), *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

1994: "Ideas do not float freely: transnational coalitions, domestic structures, and the end of the cold war," *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 2, Spring, 185-214 (also in Lebow/Risse-Kappen [eds.], *International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War*)

1994: "Masses and Leaders. Public Opinion, Domestic Structures, and Foreign Policy in a Comparative Perspective," in David Deese (ed.), *The New Politics of American Foreign Policy* (New York: St. Martin's Press)

1993: (with Harald Müller) "From the Outside In and From the Inside Out. International Relations, Domestic Politics, and Foreign Policy," in Valerie Hudson/David Skidmore (eds.), *The Limits of State Autonomy. Societal Groups and Foreign Policy Formulation* (Boulder CO: Westview), 25-48

1991: "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies," *World Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 4, July, 479-512

1991: "Did 'Peace Through Strength' End the Cold War? Lessons from INF," *International Security*, Vol. 16, No. 1. Summer, 162-188

1991: "From Mutual Containment to Common Security. European Security During and After the Cold War," in Michael Klare/Daniel Thomas (eds.), *World Security. Trends And Challenges at Century's End* (New York: St. Martin's Press), 123-143

1987: (with Harald Müller) "Origins of Estrangement. The Peace Movement and the Changed Image of America in West Germany," *International Security*, Vol. 12, No. 1, Summer, 52-88

1983: (with Gert Krell and Hans Joachim Schmidt) "The No-First-Use-Question in West Germany," in John D. Steinbrunner/Leon V. Sigal (eds.), *Alliance Security: NATO and the No-First-Use-Question* (Washington: Brookings), 147-172

#### b) Other Major Articles

2014: "Vertrauen in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit – Eine politikwissenschaftliche Analyse," in Jörg Baberowski (ed.), *Was ist Vertrauen? Ein interdisziplinäres Gespräch* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus), 127-145

2013: „Globalization and Power: A Social Constructivist Perspective,“ *World Economics and Politics*, No. 10, 24-37 (in Chinese language)

2013: "Solidarität unter Fremden? Europäische Identität im Härtesten," in Christian Calliess (ed.), *Europäische Solidarität und nationale Identität* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck), 115-132

- 2013: "Arguing About Arguing: A Comment," *Critical Policy Studies*, Vol. 7, No.3, 339-349, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2013.831675>
- 2013: "The Political, the State, and Governance: Reflections on Essentially Contested Concepts," in Willibald Steinmetz/Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey/Heinz-Gerhard Haupt (eds.), *Writing Political History Today*, Frankfurt/M. – New York: Campus, 359-367
- 2013: „Governance Under Limited Sovereignty,“ in Martha Finnemore/Judith Goldstein (eds.), *Back to Basics. State Power in a Contemporary World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 78-104
- 2013: "Two Sides of the Same Coin? The Euro and Europeanization of Collective Identities," in Giovanni Moro (ed.), *The Single Currency and European Citizenship. Unveiling the Other Side of the Coin*, New York et al.: Bloomsbury, 111-122
- 2013: "Foreign Policy Analysis and the Governance Turn," in Fredrik Byander/Stefano Guzzini (eds.), *Rethinking Foreign Policy* (London: Routledge), 176-185
- 2013: "Transnational Actors and World Politics," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations. Second Edition* (London: Sage), 426-452
- 2012: "Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood", in David Levi-Faur (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 699-715
- 2011: „Wer regiert wie für wen? Implikationen der Governance-Perspektive,“ in Jonas Wolf et al. (eds.) *Just Peace Governance. Festschrift für Harald Müller* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus), 211-232
- 2011: "Norms and All That: Progress in Research on EU Foreign Policy," in Daniel Thomas (ed.), *Making EU Foreign Policy. National Preferences, European Norms, and Common Policies* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 192-202
- 2011: „Ideas, discourse, power, and the end of the cold war: 20 years on,“ *International Politics*, 1-16.
- 2010: (with Josef Braml and Eberhard Sandschneider) „Einleitung: Staatliche und supranationale Akteure in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit,“ in Josef Braml/Thomas Risse/Eberhard Sandschneider (eds.), *Einsatz für den Frieden. Sicherheit und Entwicklung in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit. Jahrbuch Internationale Politik, Vol. 28* (München: Oldenbourg), 3-12
- 2010: „Begrenzte Staatlichkeit und neue Governance-Strukturen,“ *ibid.*, 23-29
- 2010: (with Josef Braml and Eberhard Sandschneider) „Plädoyer für vorausschauendes innen- und außenpolitisches Handeln,“ *ibid.*, 407-425
- 2010: „Rethinking Advocacy Organizations? A Critical Comment,“ in Aseem Prakash/Mary Kay Gugerty (eds.), *Advocacy Organizations and Collective Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 283-294
- 2009: (with Lars Brozus) „Staatlichkeit und Governance – Regieren mit begrenzten Konzepten in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit?“ in Hans-Jürgen Burchardt (ed.), *Nord-Süd-Beziehungen im Umbruch. Neue Perspektiven auf Staat und Demokratie in der Weltpolitik* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus), 43-67
- 2007: (with Ursula Lehmkuhl) „Regieren ohne Staat? Governance in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit,“ in Thomas Risse/Ursula Lehmkuhl (eds.), *Regieren ohne Staat? Governance in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit* (Baden-Baden: Nomos)
- 2007: "Governance in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit: Reformen ohne Staat?" in Klaus Dieter Wolf (ed.), *Staat und Gesellschaft – fähig zur Reform? 23. wissenschaftliche Kongress der Deutschen Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft* (Baden-Baden: Nomos), 231-245
- 2007: „Politische Theorie und Internationale Beziehungen. Zum Dialog zwischen zwei Subdisziplinen der Politikwissenschaft,“ in Hubertus Buchstein/Gerhard Göhler (eds.), *Politische Theorie und Politikwissenschaft* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften), 105-125

- 2007: (with Ursula Lehmkuhl), „Governance in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit: Anmerkungen zu konzeptionellen Problemen der gegenwärtigen Governance-Diskussion,“ in Marianne Beisheim and Gunnar Folke Schuppert (eds.), *Staatszerfall und Governance*, Schriften zur Governance-Forschung 7 (Baden-Baden: Nomos), 144-159
- 2007: „Global Governance und kommunikatives Handeln,“ in Peter Niesen and Benjamin Herborth (eds.), *Anarchie der kommunikativen Freiheit. Jürgen Habermas und die Theorie der Internationalen Politik* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp), 57-86
- 2007: „Social Constructivism Meets Globalization,“ in David Held/Anthony McGrew (eds.), *Globalization Theory. Approaches and Controversies* (Cambridge: Polity Press), 126-147
- 2006: „Deutsche Identität und Außenpolitik,“ in Siegmund Schmidt/Gunther Hellmann/Reinhard Wolf (eds.), *Handbuch zur deutschen Außenpolitik* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften), 49-61
- 2006: „The Crisis of the Transatlantic Security Community,“ in Ingo Peters (ed.), *Transatlantic Tug-of-War. Prospects for US-European Cooperation. In Honor of Helga Haftendorn* (Berlin: LIT Verlag), 111-141; modified version in Dimitris Bourantonis, Kostas Ifantis, and Panayotis Tsakonas (eds.), *Multilateralism and Security Institutions in an Era of Globalization* (London-New York: Routledge, 2008), 78-100
- 2006: (with Diana Panke) „Liberalism,“ in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theories. Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 89-108
- 2006: „Transnational Governance and Legitimacy,“ in Arthur Benz and Yannis Papadopoulos (eds.), *Governance and Democracy. Comparing National, European and International Experiences* (London: Routledge), 179-199
- 2004: „Menschenrechte als Grundlage der Weltvergemeinschaftung? Die Diskrepanz zwischen Normanerkennung und Normeinhaltung,“ in Volker Rittberger (ed.), *Weltpolitik heute. Grundlagen und Perspektiven* (Baden-Baden: Nomos), 223-244 (reprinted in Nicole Janz und Thomas Risse [eds.], *Menschenrechte – Globale Dimensionen eines universellen Anspruchs* [Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2006], 17-37
- 2004: „Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Kommunikationsgemeinschaft: Theoretische Überlegungen und empirische Evidenz,“ in Claudio Franzius/Ulrich K. Preuß (Hrsg.), *Europäische Öffentlichkeit* (Baden-Baden: Nomos), 139-153
- 2003: „Beyond Iraq: The Crisis of the Transatlantic Security Community,“ *Die Friedenswarte – Journal of International Peace and Organization*, Vol. 78, No. 2-3, 173-193 (reprinted in David Held/ Mathias Koenig-Archibugi [eds.], *American Power in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* [Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004], 214-240)
- 2003: „Law and Politics Beyond the Nation-State: Areas of Conversation and Common Ground,“ in Christoph Engel and Adrienne Héritier (eds.), *Linking Politics and Law* (Baden-Baden: Nomos), 81-105
- 2003: „European Identity and the Heritage of National Cultures,“ in Robert Shannan Peckham (eds.), *Rethinking Heritage. Cultures and Politics in Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris), 74-89
- 2002: „Von der Anerkennung der Menschenrechte zu ihrer Einhaltung – Ein Spiralmodell des Menschenrechtswandels,“ in Eckart Klein and Christoph Menke (eds.), *Menschheit und Menschenrechte. Probleme der Universalisierung und Institutionalisierung* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag), 41-76
- 2002: „Zur Debatte um die (Nicht-) Existenz einer europäischen Öffentlichkeit,“ *Berliner Debatte Initial*, Vol. 13, No. 5/6, 15-23
- 2002: (with Maria Green Cowles) „Europäisierung und die Transformation des Nationalstaates. Ergebnisse empirischer Fallstudien,“ in Ingeborg Tömmel et al. (eds.), *Die EU – eine politische Gemeinschaft im Werden* (Opladen: Leske & Budrich), 23-45

- 2002: „Nationalism and Collective Identities: Europe versus the Nation-State?,” in Paul Heywood, Erik Jones, and Martin Rhodes (eds.), *Developments in West European Politics 2*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave), 77-93
- 2002: (with Tanja A. Börzel) „Die Wirkung internationaler Institutionen. Von der Normanerkennung zur Normeinhaltung,” in Markus Jachtenfuchs and Michèle Knodt (eds.), *Regieren in internationalen Institutionen. Festschrift für Beate Kohler-Koch* (Opladen: Leske & Budrich), 141-181
- 2000: “The Power of Norms versus the Norms of Power: Transnational Civil Society and Human Rights,” in Ann Florini (ed.), *The Third Force. The Rise of Transnational Civil Society* (Tokyo – Washington DC: Japan Center for International Exchange – Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), 177-209
- 2000: „International Institutions, Non-State Actors, and Domestic Change: The Case of Human Rights,” in *Collected Courses of the Academy of European Law*, Vol. VIII, Book 2 (Kluwer Law International), 1-49
- 1999: "Identitäten und Kommunikationsprozesse in der internationalen Politik – Sozialkonstruktivistische Perspektiven zum Wandel in der Außenpolitik," in Monika Medick-Krakau (ed.), *Außenpolitischer Wandel in theoretischer und vergleichender Perspektive – Die USA und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Ernst-Otto Czempiel* (Baden-Baden: Nomos), 33-57
- 1999: "Avances en el estudio de las relaciones transnacionales y politica mundial," *Foro Internacional*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 374-403
- 1997: (with Daniela Engelmann, Hans-Joachim Knopf, and Klaus Roscher) "Identity Politics in the European Union: The Case of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)," in Petri Minkkinen/Heikki Patomäki (eds.), *The Politics of Economic and Monetary Union* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers), 105-132
- 1996: "Friedensforschung als Friedensstiftung? Zum Verhältnis zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik," in Berthold Meyer (ed.), *Eine Welt oder Chaos? Friedensanalysen 25* (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp), 520-538
- 1995: "Reden ist nicht billig. Zur Debatte um Kommunikation und Rationalität," *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 171-184
- 1994: "Wie weiter mit dem 'demokratischen Frieden'?" *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*, Vol. 1, No. 2, December, 367-379
- 1994: "Demokratischer Frieden - unfriedliche Demokratien? Überlegungen zu einem theoretischen Puzzle," in Gert Krell/Harald Müller (eds.), *Frieden und Konflikt in den internationalen Beziehungen. Festschrift für Ernst-Otto Czempiel*, (Frankfurt/M.: Campus), 159-189
- 1994: "The Long-Term Future of European Security: Perpetual Anarchy or Community of Democracies?," in Walter Carlsnaes/Steve Smith (eds.), *Foreign Policy in the New Europe* (London: Sage), 45-60
- 1992: (with Isabelle Grunberg) "A Time of Reckoning? The End of the Cold War and Theories of Change in International Relations," in Pierre Allan/Kjell Goldmann (eds.), *The End of the Cold War. Evaluating Theories of International Relations* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff), 104-146
- 1992: "Muddling Through Mined Territory. German Foreign Policy Decision-Making and the Middle East," in Shahram Chubrin (ed.), *Germany and the Middle East. Patterns and Prospects* (London: Pinter), 177-194
- 1992: "Towards an Anti-Nuclear Consensus? West Germany, INF, and the Future of Nuclear Arms Control in Europe," in David Dewitt/Hans Rattinger (eds.), *East-West Arms Control. Challenges for the Western Alliance* (London-New York: Routledge), 191-211

1991: "Political Changes and the Prospects of Peace in the New Europe," *Cornell International Law Journal*, Vol. 24, No.3

1991: "Anti-Nuclear and Pro-Détente? The Evolution of the West German Security Debate," in Don Munton/Hans Rattinger (eds.), *Debating National Security. The Public Dimension* (New York: Lang Publishers), 269-299

1990: (with Harald Müller) "Internationale Umwelt, gesellschaftliches Umfeld und außenpolitischer Prozeß in liberaldemokratischen Industrienationen," in Volker Rittberger (ed.), *Theorien der internationalen Beziehungen*, PVS-Sonderheft (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag), 375-400

1990: "Sur le chemin d'une nouvelle structure de sécurité Européenne. La politique de défense en R.F.A.," in Patrice Buffotot (ed.), *L'Europe de la Défense* (Paris: Editions Européennes ERASME), 171-188

1988: "R.F.A.," in Patrice Buffotot (ed.), *Annuaire Européen de Défense* (Paris-Nanterre: Institut de Politique Internationale et Européenne), 277-302

1985: "'Fahrplan zur Abrüstung'? Zur Doppelbeschluß-Politik der Bundesrepublik bis 1983," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, B 14-15, April 6, 35-46

1984: "Das Doppelgesicht der Abschreckung. Politikwissenschaftliche Anmerkungen zu den kirchlichen Kontroversen um nukleare Abschreckung und Kriegführung," in Franz Böckle/Gert Krell (eds.), *Politik und Ethik der Abschreckung* (Mainz-München: Grünewald-Kaiser), 186-213

1984: "La fin de la cohésion. La discussion sur la paix au sein de l'Eglise catholique de la République Fédérale d'Allemagne," *revue d'Allemagne*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 238-251

1983: "Das Ende der Geschlossenheit. Die Friedensdiskussion in der katholischen Kirche der Bundesrepublik," in Hanne M. Birckenbach (ed.), *Friedensforschung, Kirche und kirchliche Friedensbewegungen* (Frankfurt/M.: Haag u. Herchen), 152-166

### Research Reports and Working Papers

2013: "Solidarität unter Fremden? Europäische Identität im Härte-test," *KFG Working Paper Series*, No. 50, Kolleg-Forschergruppe „The Transformative Power of Europe, Freie Universität Berlin, May.

2012: (with Tanja A. Börzel) "Human Rights: The New Agenda," *TRANSWORLD Working Papers*, No. 7, December

2012: "Determinants and Features of Alliances and Structural Partnerships," *TRANSWORLD Working Papers*, No. 2, September (Rome: Istituto Affari Internazionali)

2012: "Governance Configurations in Areas of Limited Statehood. Actors, Modes, Institutions, and Resources," *SFB-Governance Working Paper Series*, No. 32, Berlin, April

2009: (with Tanja A. Börzel) "The Transformative Power of Europe. The European Union and the Diffusion of Ideas," Kolleg-Forschergruppe *Transformative Power of Europe*, Working Paper No. 1, May

2008: (with Jana Katharina Grabowsky) „European Identity Formation in the Public Sphere and in Foreign Policy," *RECON Online Working Paper 2008/04*, ARENA, University of Oslo

2007: „Regieren in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit: Zur ‚Reisefähigkeit‘ des Governance-Konzeptes," *SFB-Governance Working Paper Series*, Nr. 5, DFG Sonderforschungsbereich 700, Berlin, Februar

2006: (with Ursula Lehmkuhl) "Governance in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit: Neue Formen des Regierens? Das Forschungsprogramm des Sonderforschungsbereiches 700," *SFB Governance Working Paper Series*, Nr. 1, DFG Sonderforschungsbereich 700, Berlin



- 2003: (with Matthias L. Maier) *Europeanization, Collective Identities, and Public Discourses. IDNET Thematic Network Final Report*, EC Fifth Framework Programme "Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base" (Florenz: European University Institute)
- 2003: *An Emerging European Public Sphere? Theoretical Clarifications and Empirical Indicators*, Working Paper No. 3, June (Washington DC: The BMW Center for German and European Studies, Georgetown University)
- 2001: (with Tanja A. Börzel) *The Post-Nice Agenda of the European Union: What's the Problem, How to Deal With It, and What to Avoid*. Policy Papers Series on Constitutional Reform of the European Union 1/2001. Florence: Robert-Schuman-Centre for Advanced Studies (Florenz: European University Institute) <http://www.iue.it/RSC/EU/Post-Nice01.pdf>
- 2000: (with Tanja A. Börzel), "When Europe Hits Home. Europeanization and Domestic Change" *EUI Working Papers RSC No. 2000/56* (Florence: European University Institute, 2000) and *European Integration On-Line Papers*
- 1998: (with Daniela Engelmann-Martin, Hans-Joachim Knopf, and Klaus Roscher) *To Euro or Not to Euro? EMU and Identity Politics in Europe*, Working Paper, European University Institute/Robert Schuman Centre (also published as Working Paper, ARENA, University of Oslo, Norway)
- 1997: *Between the Euro and the Deutsche Mark: German Identity and the European Union*, Working Paper, Center for German & European Studies, Georgetown University, 1997
- 1995: *Between a New World Order and None: Explaining the Re-Emergence of the United Nations in World Politics*, Centre for International and Strategic Studies, York University, Toronto, Canada, Occasional Papers No. 29, March
- 1989: *Structure and Process in Superpower Arms Control. Lessons from INF*, Working Paper (Los Angeles CA: Center for International and Strategic Affairs, UCLA)
- 1987: *Null-Lösung: Das Abkommen über die weltweite Beseitigung der landgestützten Mittelstrecken-Flugkörper* (Frankfurt/M.: PRIF-Report, December)  
*english version: Zero Option. The Global Elimination of Ground-Launched Intermediate Range Missiles - A Political Assessment*, (Frankfurt/M.: PRIF Reports No.2, June 1988)
- 1987: (with Jürgen Altmann, Benoit Morel and Ted Postol) *ATBMs and West European Security* (Frankfurt/M.: PRIF report, October)
- 1987: (with Gert Krell et al.) *Von der Rüstungskontrolle zur Abrüstung? Zum Stand der Genfer Rüstungskontrollverhandlungen nach Reykjavik* (Frankfurt/M.: PRIF-Report 1/1987, March)
- 1986: *Abschreckung, Rüstungskontrolle und Raketenabwehrwaffen. Zur Diskussion um die Strategische Verteidigungsinitiative (SDI) der USA* (Frankfurt/M., Bonn: PRIF-Report and Justitia-et-Pax-Working Paper, February)
- 1985: *"Fahrplan zur Abrüstung"? Zur INF-Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1970-1983* (Frankfurt/M., Bonn: PRIF-Research Report 1/1985 and Justitia et Pax-Working Paper 38/85, January)
- 1983: (with Gert Krell and Hans Joachim Schmidt) *Die Herausforderung der Nuklearrüstung. Gutachten zum Pastoralbrief der US-Bischöfenskonferenz zu Krieg und Frieden* (Frankfurt/M., Bonn: PRIF-Report and KAEF-DOK-WK, July)
- 1982: *Christen zur Friedensdiskussion. Analyse und synoptische Dokumentation von Stellungnahmen aus den Kirchen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Frankfurt/M., Bonn: PRIF-Report and KAEF-DOK-WK 13/82)

### Other Articles

- 2014: "Nur Mut, kämpft! Es gibt eine europäische Identität," *The European*, January, [http://de.theeuropean.eu/thomas-risse/7799-es-gibt-laengst-eine-europaeische-identitaet?utm\\_source=owly&utm\\_campaign=TE-Postings](http://de.theeuropean.eu/thomas-risse/7799-es-gibt-laengst-eine-europaeische-identitaet?utm_source=owly&utm_campaign=TE-Postings)
- 2012: „Identity Matters: Exploring the Ambivalence of EU Foreign Policy,“ *Global Policy*. Special issue "Changing the Debate on Europe – The Inaugural Dahrendorf Symposium," Vol. 3, Supplement 1, December, 87-95
- 2012: "Die 'Gemeinschaft von Europäern' im Härtesten: (K)eine Replik,“ *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Vol. 53, No. 1, 140-142
- 2009: „Notes on ‚Global Governance‘ and Prospects for Israeli-German Academic Exchange,“ in Arie M. Kacovicz (ed.), *In the Spirit of Einstein: Germans and Israelis on Ethics and International Order* (Jerusalem: The Einstein Center and the Leonard Davis Institute, Hebrew University, June), 57-67
- 2009: (with Gregor Walter-Drop) „Musterschüler mit Makeln. Im Jubiläumsjahr 2009 steht auch das Projekt Europa auf dem Prüfstand,“ *Internationale Politik*, Vol. 64, No. 2, February, 88-95 (*english version*: „An Imperfect Model Student. On the 20th Anniversary of the Fall of the Berlin Wall, the European Project Faces a New Test,“ *IP Global Edition*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Spring 2009, 70-76)
- 2008: „Ein Staat, der sogar hilft. Was halten eigentlich die Afghanen von der Bundeswehr? Die erstaunlichen Ergebnisse einer Befragung in dem Krisenland“, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, February 8
- 2007: „Zerfällt die Weltordnung? Paradoxien der Souveränität“, *Internationale Politik*, Vol. 52, No. 7/8, July/August, 40-47
- 2007: (with Ursula Lehmkuhl) „Governance in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit“, *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, B 20-21/2007, May 14, 3-9
- 2007: „Was in Afghanistan auf dem Spiel steht,“ *Internationale Politik*, Vol. 62, No. 4, 106-108
- 2005: „Governance in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit. ‚Failed States‘ werden zum zentralen Problem der Weltpolitik,“ *Internationale Politik*, Vol. 60, No. 9, 6-12 (English Version in: *Internationale Politik – Transatlantic Edition*, No. 4, 2005, 64-69)
- 2004: „We Did Much Better! Warum es (auch) ‚auf amerikanisch‘ sein musste,“ *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*, Vol. 11, No.2, 287-292
- 2004: „Kontinuität durch Wandel: Eine „neue“ deutsche Außenpolitik?“ *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, B 11, 8. 3. 2004, 24-31
- 2003/2004: „Die unipolare Weltordnung – Ein soziales Konstrukt. Ein Kommentar zu den Kommentaren,“ *WeltTrends*, No. 41, Winter, 73-77
- 2003: „Auf dem Weg zu einer gemeinsamen Außenpolitik? Der Verfassungsvertragsentwurf und die europäische Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik,“ *Integration*, Vol. 26, No. 4, November, 564-575
- 2003: „Die neue Weltordnung: US-amerikanische Hypermacht – europäische Ohnmacht?“, *Welt Trends*, No. 39, Summer, 110-119
- 2003: „Es gibt keine Alternative! USA und EU müssen ihre Beziehungen neu justieren,“ *Internationale Politik*, Vol. 58, No. 6, June, 9-18 (Englische Version: „For a New Transatlantic – and European – Bargain“, *Internationale Politik – Transatlantic Edition*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 2003, 22-30)
- 2003: „An Emerging European Public Sphere? What We Know, and How to Make Sense of It,“ *Collegium*, Special Issue, No. 28, June, 31-40
- 2003: "Tra rimozione di confini e costruzione di confini: lezioni dall'integrazione europea," in Anna Loretoni and Antonio Varsori (eds.), *Unire e dividere. Unire o dividere. Gli Stati fra integrazione e secessione* (Firenze: edizioni AIDA), 33-47

- 2003: "The Transatlantic Community – A Community of Values? Implications for Security Policy," in Jörg Calließ (ed.), *Die Erneuerung der transatlantischen Partnerschaft – The Renewal of Transatlantic Partnership*, Loccumer Protokolle 10/01 (Rehburg-Loccum: Locumer Protokolle), 91-110
- 2003: „Sovereignty Puzzles,“ in J. H. H. Weiler, Iain Begg, und John Peterson (Hrsg.), *Integraton in an Expanding European Union. Reassessing the Fundamentals* (Oxford: Blackwell Publ.), 335-339
- 2001: „Die Macht der Moral gegen die Normen der Macht. Transnationale Organisationen und Menschenrechte,“ *Vereinte Nationen*, Vol. 49, No. 1, February, 1-6
- 2000: (with Tanja A. Börzel), "Who is Afraid of a European Federation? How to Constitutionalize a Multi-Level Governance System," in Christian Joerges, Yves Meny, and J. H. H. Weiler (eds.), *What Kind of Constitution for What Kind of Policy? Responses to Joschka Fischer* (Florence – New York: Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies – Harvard Law School), 45-59
- 2000: "Democratic Global Governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," in *Progressive Governance for the XXI Century. Conference Proceedings, Florence, 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> November 1999* (New York-Florence: New York University Law School and European University Institute), 91-110
- 2000: "Theorien der internationalen Politik und die Praxis der Kriegsverhütung und Friedensförderung," in Siegfried Frech, Wolfgang Hesse, and Thomas Schinkel (eds.), *Internationale Beziehungen in der politischen Bildung* (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau-Verlag), 49-65
- 1999: (with Antje Wiener), "'Something rotten' and the social construction of social constructivism: a comment on comments," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 5, December, 775-782
- 1998: (with Anja Jetschke and Hans Peter Schmitz) "Die Macht der Menschenrechte. Zur innenpolitischen Durchsetzung internationaler Normen," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, B 46-47, Nov. 6, 43-53
- 1998: (with Anja Jetschke and Hans Peter Schmitz), "Spirale des Einflusses. Wie lassen sich Menschenrechtsnormen durchsetzen?" *Internationale Politik*, Vol. 53, No. 11, 61-67
- 1997: (with Daniela Engelmann, Hans-Joachim Knopf, and Klaus Roscher) "Identität und Europäische Union: Die Diskussion um den Euro in Großbritannien, Frankreich und Deutschland," in Thomas König/ Elmar Rieger/Hermann Schmitt (eds.), *Europäische Institutionenpolitik* (Frankfurt/M.-New York: Campus), 79-95
- 1997: "Transatlantic Identity and the Future of Canada-UK Relations," in Robert Wolfe (ed.), *Transatlantic Identity? Canada, the United Kingdom, and International Order* (Kingston, Ont.: School of Policy Studies, Queens University), 27-35
- 1996: "Interlocking Politics and the European Union," in Richard Herr/Steven Weber (Eds.), *European Integration and American Federalism: A Comparative Perspective* (Berkeley, CA: Portuguese Studies Program, University of California, Berkeley), 42-60
- 1996: "Konfliktprävention durch Theorie," *Internationale Politik*, Vol. 51, No. 8, August, 8-16
- 1995: "Vom Ost-West-Konflikt zur internationalen Unübersichtlichkeit," *Der Bürger im Staat*, Vol. 45, No. 1, February, 3-7
- 1994: "Europa und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den neunziger Jahren," in Hartmut Wasser (ed.), *Europa in den neunziger Jahren* (Weingarten: Weingartener Hochschulschriften, No. 21), 121-132
- 1992: "Bereichsrezension Militär," *Soziologische Revue*, Vol. 15, No. 1, January, 96-98
- 1991: "From Europe, A Ray of Hope," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 47, No. 5 (July), 26/27
- 1991: (contributor) "Der Golfkrieg, die Vernunft und die Bergpredigt," *Publik-Forum Aktuell*, February
- 1990: "Predicting the New Europe," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 46, No. 8, October, 25-29

- 1989: "Reflections on the German Puzzle," *Peace and Security*, Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, Vol. 4, No. 4, Winter, 8/9
- 1989: "Will NATO settle for Kohl cuts?," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 45, No. 5, June, 9-12
- 1988: "Odd German consensus against new missiles," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 44, No. 4, May, 14-17
- 1988: (with Hans-Joachim Schmidt and Gert Krell) "Das Abkommen über den Abbau der Mittelstreckenwaffen (INF-Vertrag) und die nukleare Rüstungskontrolle in Europa," in Klaus von Schubert et al. (eds.), *Friedensgutachten 1988* (Heidelberg: FEST), 105-120
- 1987: "Zum Verhältnis von strategischen Offensiv- und Abwehrwaffen," in Gert Krell/Egon Bahr/Klaus von Schubert (eds.), *Friedensgutachten 1987* (Frankfurt/M.: PRIF), 34-41
- 1987: "Star Wars controversy in West Germany," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 43, No. 6, July/August, 50-52
- 1986: (with Gert Krell and Bernd W. Kubbig) "Supermächte in der Sackgasse? Die Krise der Rüstungskontrolle und die Genfer Verhandlungen," *Friedensforschung Aktuell*, No. 14/15, Spring/Summer
- 1986: "Applying Arms Race Theory to NATO's Nuclear Weapons Deployments," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 207-213
- 1985: "Western Europe and Nuclear Arms Control: The Cases of INF and SDI," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 283-290
- 1985: (with Hans Joachim Schmidt) "SDI, taktische Raketenabwehrsysteme und die Bundesrepublik. Von der Schwierigkeit, sicherheitspolitische Probleme 'wegzurüsten'," *Friedensforschung Aktuell*, No. 12, Summer
- 1984: "'Final Respite' or 'Unconditional No'? The Church and the Questions of Peace in the Federal Republic of Germany," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 205-212
- 1984: (with Bernd W. Kubbig) "Living Up the Apocalyptic Dimensions of Nuclear Armament: The Churches as Pace-Setters of Current Thinking on Peace and War," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 67-77
- 1983: "Déjà Vu. Deployment of Nuclear Weapons in West Germany. Historical Controversies," *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 327-336
- 1983: "Prophetische Kritik und/oder Dialogforum? Die Friedensdiskussion in den christlichen Kirchen der Bundesrepublik," *SOWI-Hefte*, No. 1
- 1982: "Christen zur Friedensdiskussion. Zu den Kontroversen in den Kirchen der Bundesrepublik," *Friedensforschung Aktuell*, No. 2